


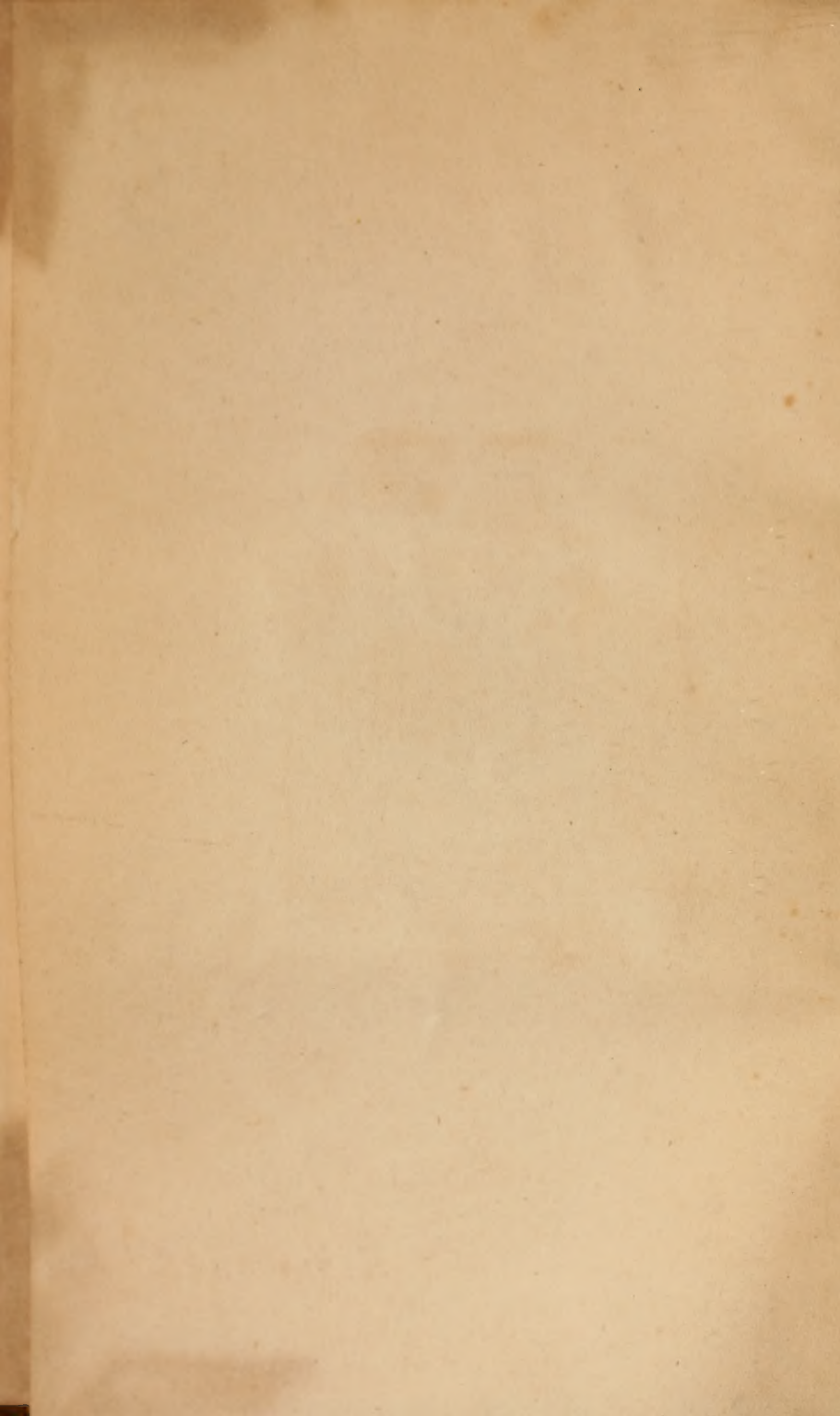




Alexander Dixon.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



BRITISH CRITIC

OF LITERATURE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Eccelesiastical Record.

VOLUME II

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. C. & J. B. BARNARD

AT THE NEW YORK OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

AND OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

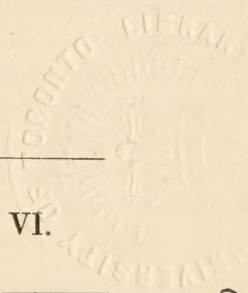
NEW YORK

1850

1
LE
13

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
QUARTERLY
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW
AND
Ecclesiastical Record.

VOLUME VI.



322778
—
2. 1. 36.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL;
AND
SOLD BY BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH; AND
MILLIKEN, DUBLIN.

1829.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC
OF ARTS
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Religious History.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC
OF ARTS
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR A. & C. BLACKMAN,
ST. MARK'S LANE, AND AT THE PRESS OF THE
ST. MARK'S LANE, AND AT THE PRESS OF THE

London: Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

CONTENTS

OF

Nº. XI.

PAGE

- ART. I. Memoirs of the Life and Administration of the Right Honourable William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Secretary of State in the Reign of King Edward VI., and Lord High Treasurer of England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ; containing an Historical View of the Times in which he lived, and of the many Eminent and Illustrious Persons with whom he was connected ; with Extracts from his Private and Official Correspondence, and other Papers, now first published from the Originals. By the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D. Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. 1
- II. Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccato. By the late Commander Clapperton of the Royal Navy. To which is added the Journal of Richard Lander, from Kano to the Sea-Coast, partly by a more Eastern Route. . . 46
- III. An Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles, from the First Promulgation of them in 1553 to their Final Establishment in 1571 ; with Exact Copies of the Latin and English Manuscripts, and Fac-similies of the Signatures of the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. By John Lamb, D.D. Master of Corpus Christi College. 81

ART.	PAGE
IV. History of the Commonwealth, from its Commencement to the Restoration of Charles the Second. By William Godwin. Vol. IV.	98
V. Testimonies in Proof of the Separate Existence of the Soul in a state of Self-consciousness between Death and the Resurrection. By the Rev. Thomas Huntingford, M.A. Vicar of Kempford, Gloucestershire. . .	130
VI. The History of the Huguenots during the Sixteenth Century. By W. S. Browning, Esq.	162
VII. The Evidences of Christianity : stated in a Popular and Practical Manner, in a Course of Lectures, delivered in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Islington. By Daniel Wilson, A.M.	194
VIII. Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion, derived from the literal fulfilment of the Prophecy : particularly illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of recent Travellers. By the Rev. Alexander Keith, Minister of the Parish of St. Cyrus. . .	203
IX. Death-Bed Scenes, and Pastoral Conversations. By the late John Warton, D.D. Vol. III.	216
X. A Sermon, preached at the Church and Chapel of St. John, at Hackney, on the two succeeding Sundays, the 28th of December, 1828, and the 4th of January, 1829, on occasion of the Royal Letter in Aid of the Society for repairing, enlarging, and building of Churches. By the Rev. H. . Norris, A.M. Perpetual Curate of St. John's Chapel, Prebendary of St. Paul's and of Llandaff, and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury	225
XI. The Change of the Sabbath, and the Institution of the Eucharist, illustrated from the Jewish Scriptures, for obviating the inferences both of Jews and of Roman Catholics : with an Appendix, animadverting on a	

ART.

PAGE

Tract by William Burgh, A.B. By George Miller,
D.D. M.R.I.A. 223

- XII. 1. Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation. With an Appendix. By Herbert Marsh, D.D. F.R.S., and F.S.A. Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Bishop of Peterborough.
2. A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on the Independence of the Authorized Version of the Bible. By Henry Walter, B.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A. Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge: Professor in the East India College, Herts; and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland. Intended as a Reply to the Additional Arguments in the Appendix to his Lordship's lately published Lectures . . 232

State of the Dioceses in England and Wales 241

Proceedings of the Universities 254



CONTENTS

OF

Nº. XII.

PAGE

- ART. I. 1. Letters on the Church. By an Episcopalian.
2. An Inquiry concerning the Means and Expedience of proposing and making any Change in the Canons, Articles, or Liturgy, or in any of the Laws affecting the Interests of the Church of England. By William Winstanley Hull.
3. Church Reform. By a Churchman. 267
- II. Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, collected from the Family Papers, and other authentic Documents. By William Coxe, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. Archdeacon of Wilts. 313
- III. Prolegomena specialia, recognovit Dathianisque et Vario- rum Notis suas immiscuit Franciscus Wrangham, A.M. S.R.S. Clevelandiæ Archidiaconus. 346
- IV. The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley, in the County of York, from the most early period; with historical and descriptive Sketches of the Abbeys of Watton and Meaux, the Convent of Haltemprise, the Villages of Cottingham, Leckonfield, Bishop and Cherry Burton, Walkington, Risby, Scorsburgh, and the Hamlets comprised within the Liberties of Beverley; illustrated by numerous Engravings, &c.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
By George Oliver, Vicar of Clee, Domestic Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Kensington; a Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.	362
V. Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, Wife of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart. Ambassador from Charles the Second to the Court of Madrid in 1665. Written by Herself. To which are added, Extracts from the Correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe.	369
VI. A New System of Geology, in which the Great Revolutions of the Earth and Animated Nature are reconciled at once to Modern Science and Sacred History. By Andrew Ure, M.D. F.A.S. Member of the Geological and Astronomical Societies of London, &c. &c. &c., Professor of Physies and Lecturer on Chemistry in the Andersonian University.	387
VII. The Life and Times of William Laud, D.D. Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By John Parker Lawson, M.A.	412
VIII. 1. An Historical Enquiry into the probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany. To which is prefixed, a Letter from Professor Sack, upon the Rev. H. J. Rose's Discourses on German Protestantism; translated from the German. By E. B. Pusey, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.	
2. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, in reply to Mr. Pusey's Work on the Causes of Rationalism in Germany; comprising some Observations on Confessions of Faith, and their Advantages. By the Rev. Hugh James Rose, B.D. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, and Vicar of Horsham, Sussex.	469

ART.	PAGE
IX. A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Thursday, May 14, 1829, at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy. By the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. Rector of St. Paul's, Shadwell; Professor in the East India College, Hertford; and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.	485
X. The Complete Emancipation of the Protestant Vaudois of Piedmont Advocated in a strong and unanswerable Argument, and submitted to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, by their Countryman, Count Ferdinand Dal Pozzo, late Maître des Requêtes, and First President of the Imperial Court of Genoa.	490
XI. Sermons, chiefly Practical. By the Rev. Edward Bather, M.A. Archdeacon of Salop, in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; and Vicar of Meole Brace, Salop. 492	

State of the Dioceses in England and Wales	500
Proceedings of the Universities	511

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1829.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Life and Administration of the Right Honourable William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Secretary of State in the Reign of King Edward VI. and Lord High Treasurer of England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; containing an Historical View of the Times in which he lived, and of the many Eminent and Illustrious Persons with whom he was connected; with Extracts from his Private and Official Correspondence, and other Papers, now first published from the Originals.* By the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D. Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Vol. I. London. Saunders and Otley. 4to. pp. 792. £3 : 3s.

It appears that when Camden was urged by Lord Burghley to compile an historical account of the first beginnings of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one potent inducement offered by the High Treasurer was a full and free access both to his own papers, and to all the Queen's Rolls, Memorials and Records; a mass of materials which could enable him to eternize the memory of that renowned princess, and to gratify the wishes and expectations of her illustrious minister. The chronicler and antiquarian accordingly went to work; but soon found himself almost buried alive in the monumental pile of documents from which the truth was to be dug out. It happened, however, that while he was covered with the sweat and dust of this seemingly interminable labour, that head, whose very shake was oracular, shook its last! The incomparable statesman died; and then, says the buffeter of manuscript and parchment, "my industry began to flag and wax cold in the business."

Heaven bless the worthy pioneer! what would have become of him had *his industry* been fated to a conflict with the portentous

accumulations which blockade the path of the modern compiler, and through which he has to make his way to the light, as it were, by a desperate and weary process of excavation? What would he have said to the overwhelming piles preserved in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, in the Herald's Office, in the Inner Temple Collection of Petyt MSS., in the Libraries of the Universities, and in other depositories too numerous to mention. Above all, how would he have perspired at the very sight of the 122 folio volumes in the Lansdowne collection, bearing the name of my Lord High Treasurer; and what would have been his consternation on finding that, besides fighting his way through this mountainous heap of unpublished materials, he would have to grapple with a deep and solid battalion of printed books; a column so formidable, that the author now before us "can confidently assert, that he found he had done but *little* when he had carefully read and examined, for purposes of reference, more than fifty-nine thousand closely printed pages!"*

Of this enormous and almost unmanageable mass of historical memorials, one cause may be found in the habits of the great statesman himself, which were such as threatened to crush all future biographers and annalists beneath the load of their own treasures. It is well known that his pen was throughout his long life incessantly at work. It seems never to have been out of his hand. He no more thought of sitting down without his pen to the solution of state difficulties, than a geometer does to the solution of his problems. Every question was fairly and completely wrought out upon paper. All the considerations which suggested themselves on either side were carefully arrayed against each other, and the result obtained by a laborious and patient comparison of the adverse reasons. And then, such was his avarice of time, such his incredible application to business, such the vast range and variety of affairs which fell under his cognizance and management, and such the multitude of individuals with whom he was brought into perpetual intercourse and correspondence, that for considerably more than half a century the materials of his own and the national history were in a state of gigantic and incessant growth, till they have almost become the very despair of his biographers.

It is not, however, to be supposed that, since the days of Camden, no literary adventurer has been found of sinew and hardihood sufficient for an encounter with these mighty collections. It is well known that the indefatigable Strype was engaged at an advanced period of his life, in collecting materials for a work like this, and that the Burghley Papers appear to have been among

* Preface, p. xiv.

them. The labours of subsequent compilers have done much towards facilitating and abridging the toil of an author of the present day. Much, however, still remained to be accomplished; so much, that Mr. Lodge, in his *Portraits of Illustrious Persons*, has spoken of it as an extraordinary circumstance, that a life of this great statesman, at all commensurate with the extent of his political fame, had never yet appeared; adding, that the materials for such a work are so abundant, and the theme of such mighty interest, that a life of this minister, combining, on an ample scale, authentic facts and judicious reasonings, would supply, perhaps, the most important deficiency in the whole circle of our historical literature.*

This deficiency the author has taken upon himself to supply, and the ample quarto before us forms only one moiety of his task; and that by far the least important moiety, considered with reference to the principal object of it. It comprises that portion only of Burghley's life which preceded the commencement of his services as the minister of Queen Elizabeth. Previous to the reign of that princess, the life of this statesman was, comparatively, but as a small stream running, for the most part, like a slender thread through the vast regions of European history. But from the accession of his royal mistress to the day of his death, it was as a broad and majestic river, among the grandest objects both in the geography and in the landscape of the surrounding country; giving its chief character to the scenery, imparting fruitfulness to the soil, and sending wealth and power to the remotest provinces. And if it be asked why the former and least momentous department of the work should occupy a space fully equal to that which will be required for the remainder, we must content ourselves with referring to the explanation of the author himself, namely, that to him it appeared impossible to treat of the life of Burghley otherwise than *historically*; that he seems to have been a public man almost from the very beginning; and that he may be considered as bearing a part, and no subordinate, though not always a public and official part, in many of the greatest transactions of the time of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Mary. In other words, the author has found it expedient to compile an account not merely of the life, but of the times, of Lord Burghley, his biography being "so interwoven with the history of the grand revolution going on in the sixteenth century as to tempt us to say of him, with the difference only of one word, what Florus has said of the Roman people—*Ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius VIRI, sed generis humani facta discant.*"†

Though we are by no means satisfied of the *necessity* for such

* Preface, p. i. ii.

† *Ibid.* p. xi.

diffuseness and comprehension of plan, we are but little disposed to quarrel with it. The period in question is among the most important and spirit-stirring in the annals of the human race. There are no recorded transactions, since the first establishment of Christianity, which have left so deep and indelible an impression on succeeding generations. The interest of the subject, therefore, can never be wholly exhausted. We are always ready to listen to an examiner whose labours promise to illuminate any one spot within this vast and awful circuit of inquiry. We are accordingly not unwilling to accept the present portion of Dr. Nares's work, not merely as the personal biography of Cecil, but partly as a narrative of that wonderful revolution which constituted, as it were, the school in which his mind was educated. At any period, and under any circumstances, he must have risen to a distinguished rank among statesmen. But the reformation, or rather the recovery, of religion, and the awakening of the human intellect, after a restless and feverish slumber of ages, formed a crisis in the destinies of man, which was well fitted to call forth his capacities to their fullest developement. And the result, accordingly, was the formation of such a politician as scarcely any former or subsequent age has ever looked upon.

Of the general execution of the work our opinion is, that it indicates very respectable powers, great industry, strict fidelity, and, on the whole, very commendable impartiality; but not such impartiality as that which is indicated by the despicable motto* of that heartless literary man-mercenary, Horace Walpole. This sort of degenerate, ignoble, and traitorous neutrality, the author emphatically disclaims. Such negations, he justly conceives, will furnish no security against dangerous prejudices. He might have gone further, and added, that instead of furnishing security, they actually lay the heart open to prejudices the most odious and destructive. For a man to declare that he is without patriotism, without religion, without social attachment, what is it but to declare that he is without the sympathies which unite us with our kind? What is it but to pronounce on himself a sentence of excommunication? What is it but to proclaim that he is above or below humanity? What is it but to qualify himself for the office of recording the fortunes and vicissitudes of the human race, by avowing a character unworthy of all human confidence? Abjuring this miserable and nauseous affectation of liberalism, Dr. Nares acknowledges, with undisguised pride, that he writes and feels as an Englishman—as an English protestant—as a Church of England man—and as a divine. And having honestly armed his

* Pour être bon historien, il ne faudroit être d'aucune religion, d'aucune pais, d'aucune profession, d'aucune parti.

reader with this caution, he virtually invites him to be on his guard against whatever prepossessions those names may fairly be presumed to imply. By so doing, he much more righteously entitles himself to be trusted, than he could do by professing an indifference of which no high-minded or kind-hearted being ever can be conscious.

With regard to the style of this performance we have little to say, except that the author has succeeded in attaining perspicuity, which he professes to consider the chief object of his ambition.* To any of the higher excellencies of composition the work unquestionably has no claim. It has but little of that vividness of narration,—that vigour of statement,—that power of so marshaling a combination of events that they shall present themselves to the reader in the most instructive and commanding point of view,—little, in short, of that mastery over his materials which constitutes an historian of the first order. The historical disquisitions which occasionally start up appear to us to be somewhat perplexed, generally rather languid and diffuse, and capable of much advantageous abridgment and concentration. Indeed, the whole work might well be compressed within considerably narrower limits without at all weakening its effect, or defrauding the public of any valuable information.

As the public are not generally so familiar with the earlier portion of Burghley's life as with that which mixes itself more intimately with the national history, we may perhaps be rendering an acceptable service to some of our readers by extricating it from the general and comprehensive narrative of Dr. Nares, and presenting them with a brief abstract of it, on the authority of these latest researches. It appears, then, that this celebrated person was born in the year 1520; that he was descended from the ancient and honourable family of the *Sitsilts*, a name which is scrupulously traced by his biographer through all its awful vicissitudes of orthography, till it settled into the permanent and unchangeable form of Cecil. Till he was fourteen years old his education was carried on at Grantham. He was at that early age removed to St. John's College, Cambridge, conformably to the practice of the time, which tended to force young men forward to a prematurity of mental and bodily accomplishment. For we learn from Harding's Chronicle that "they began very early with languages and manners; from ten to twelve were taught music and dancing, and to speak of gentleness! Then they scoured the fields as sportsmen; at sixteen were practised in mock battles, jousting and breaking and riding the war-horse; and at *seventeen* or *eighteen*

* p. xx.

were reckoned fit to enter the world, and to be entrusted with the duties of *men*.*

With the jousting, and the war-horse, and the scouring the fields, and the mock battles, it is probable that Cecil had very little concern; for we find that his habits at the University were intensely studious and sedentary, and that he contrived to read himself into an obstinate distemper, which settled in his legs, and was supposed to be the origin of the inveterate gout, which tormented him more or less for the rest of his days. By his extraordinary application and proficiency he attracted the attention of the master of his college, who encouraged him by occasional presents of money. He distinguished himself by reading gratuitously what was called the Sophistry Lecture at the age of sixteen, and the Greek Lecture before the age of nineteen. He studied under the direction of the celebrated scholar Cheke, and had the happiness of becoming known to two persons of great future eminence, Matthew Parker, afterwards primate of all England, and Nicholas Bacon, afterwards lord chancellor.

At the age of twenty-one he removed from the University to Gray's Inn. His studies here seem to have been somewhat excursive. A competent acquaintance with the laws and constitution of their country was, at that day, regarded as a very becoming, and almost necessary qualification for young men of family and promise. But, by way of an amusing digression from this main study, Cecil appears to have refreshed himself occasionally with antiquarian research; and, that he might miss none of the delights of that animating pursuit, he busied himself with the collection and arrangement of pedigrees, till at last he obtained the reputation of a most accomplished herald! The knowledge thus amassed was far from useless to him at a subsequent period of his life. It made him acquainted with the history, the intermarriages, the property, and the influence of all the principal families in England; a species of information by no means superfluous to a statesman; and, besides, it gave additional weight to his reputation for sagacity and intelligence, by sometimes showing the members of the aristocracy that he was better versed in the annals and the concerns of their families than they were themselves.

During his residence at Gray's Inn it would appear that he once fell into the sin of gambling. The evil, however, brought its own remedy; for his first venture was so unfortunate, that it reclaimed him for ever from the practice. The history of his own conversion, and that of his fellow-sinner, is worthy of all commemoration, as exhibiting, we believe, the only eruption of

* Nares, p. 22.

merriment which is recorded in the biography of this solemn and venerable personage. We give the narrative in the quaint and racy phrase of the faithful *domestic*, (as he calls himself,) who lived in his house for many years, and who wrote his life.

"But as his yeres and company required, he wold, many tymes, be merrie amonge young gentlemen, who weare most desirous of his company, for his wittie mirth, and merry temper. Amonge the rest, I heard him tell this merriment of himself.

"That a mad companion inticed him to plaie, where [upon] in a short tyme, he lost all his monye, beddinge, and bookes, to his companion; having never used plaie before.

"And being [afterwards] amonge his other companie, he told them how such a one had misled him; saieing he wold presentlie have a device to be even with him.

"And with a longe tronke, he made a hole in the wall, nere his plaie-fellow's bedde-head, and in a fearfull voice, spake thus thorough the tronke.

"O mortall man repent! repent of thy horrible time [consumed in] plaie, cousenage, and lewdnesse, or els thou art damned, and canst not be saved!—

"Which [being spoken] at midnight, [when he was] all alone, so amazed him, as drove him into a sweate for feare.

"Most penytent and heavie, the next daie, in presence of the yewthes, he told, with tremblinge, what a fearfull voice spake to him at midnight, vowinge never to plaie againe: and, calling for Mr. Cecill, asked him forgiveness, on his knees; and restored all his money, beddinge, and bookes. So two gamesters weare both reclaimed with this merrie device, and never plaied more. Many other, the like merrie jests, I have hard him tell, to long to be here noted."—vol. i. p. 59.

Really we recollect nothing like this in the whole history of practical facetiousness, with the exception, perhaps, of a certain equally solemn and equally successful adjuration, delivered, in a similar mysterious manner, to that illustrious commander Commodore Trunnion.* It is whimsical enough to contemplate, for a moment, this mirror of gravity and wisdom as party to a frolic which *might* have furnished a hint to the author of *Peregrine Pickle*!

In the same year that he entered at Gray's Inn he married Mary, the sister of his friend and fellow-collegian Cheke, then Royal Professor of Greek at Cambridge. In that year too (1541) a somewhat singular incident introduced him to the notice of Henry VIII. Happening to be at court one day, for the purpose of seeing his father, who was yeoman or master of the wardrobe to the king, Cecil chanced to meet, in the presence-

* Trunnion, Trunnion, get up and be spliced, or lie still and —, &c. &c.

chamber, with two Romish priests, chaplains of the great Irish chieftain O'Neale, who was at that time in attendance at the court. He immediately began to grapple with these divines, whose stock of theology and Latin appears to have been marvelously frugal. The dispute soon terminated in the utter discomfiture of the respondents, who retired, as may well be imagined, sorely wrathful and malcontent at their public defeat by the hand of a polemic of twenty-one. The affair soon reached the ears of the royal theologian, who doubtless was hugely delighted with the demolition of the two papal doctors, especially if the subject of controversy was,—as Dr. Nares takes for granted,—the supremacy of the Pope. He immediately sent for Cecil, and was so much gratified by his conversation that he offered him his patronage, and speedily granted him the reversion of the office of *Custos Brevium* in the Court of Common Pleas.

In less than two years he lost his first wife; and in 1545 he took for his second wife one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gyddes Hall in Essex. As Sir Anthony was one of the governors of Prince Edward, this marriage connected him still more closely with the court. In 1547, the first year of the reign of the young king, he succeeded to the office of *Custos Brevium*, which then became vacant, and produced him the substantial addition of 240*l.* to his income. In the same year his reputation for industry, dispatch, and knowledge of business, procured for him the appointment of Master of Requests to the Protector Somerset, an office the duties of which do not appear very clearly defined. According to Strype's account of it, its "intent was to hear poor men's petitions and suits." And it appears that if, "upon examination of their cases, the duke ended not their business, he would send his letters to the chancery in their favour, which some judged to be a stopping the course of the courts, and endeavouring to warp the judges." This unpopular and suspected office Cecil did not hold long. In his hands, however, it became the most regular channel for all applications to the throne, or the executive government; and involved him in a vast variety of correspondence, much of which is extant at this day. It contains a multitude of curious letters addressed to him as *Magister libellorum*; *Protectori à postulatis*, &c., all carefully docketed and indorsed by Cecil or his private secretary.

Being now regularly attached to the protector, he attended him to the battle of Musselborough or Pinkey, in the character of judge marshal. And here the wisest of all possible heads was in very imminent danger. It was almost "miraculously saved by one, that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the

level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." This was his only experience of military perils: and it is somewhat fearful to reflect how near the realm of England was, at that moment, to the loss of perhaps the only man who could have sustained and guided her with so much glory through the agony of her subsequent difficulties. But for the timely sacrifice of the limb of an unknown individual, a different turn *might* have been given to the destinies of Europe.

To this expedition Cecil brought his accustomed diligence and activity. His eternal pen was constantly at work. He is understood to have furnished W. Patten with the materials of his *Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ*: and it is most probable that he had a distinguished share in the composition of the state papers issued in the name of the Protector, and addressed to the Scottish government and people.

In 1548 Cecil was advanced to the post of secretary to the Protector, an appointment which, of course, implied that he was much in the duke's confidence. We accordingly find him soon employed in a matter of considerable delicacy and embarrassment. Together with the celebrated Dr. Ridley he was specially commissioned to hold a conference with Gardiner, and to bring him, if possible, to a greater conformity with the view of the government respecting the reformation of religion. On this occasion all his address was unsuccessful. Neither the persuasions of Cecil, nor the authority of the Protector or the council, could prevail upon Gardiner to forbear publicly maintaining the Romish doctrine of the Eucharist, or to approve the exercise of ecclesiastical supremacy by a council of regency during the minority of the king. In a sermon preached by him before the court, he was obstinately silent on the latter of these points; while he produced an elaborate argument in support of the former; and for this contumacy he was committed to the Tower.

When the Protector first fell into trouble, in 1549, Cecil was sent to the Tower, as one of his adherents. He obtained his liberty, however, in three months, and became secretary of state; the administration of public affairs having passed, with the king's knowledge and consent, from the hands of Somerset to those of Northumberland. The suddenness of his release and subsequent elevation have exposed him to the charge of deserting his patron, and receiving his new preferment as the reward of his treachery. To the investigation of this charge, Dr. Nares has devoted rather a merciless length of disquisition; and the result is, that there does not appear to be any reasonable ground for this odious imputation. A high value was set upon Cecil's capacity and application by all parties. In accepting office under the new minister,

he sacrificed no principle, since the change of men produced no change of measures, either in regard to politics or religion. And it is difficult to see why Cecil should be blamed for receiving a public appointment under Northumberland, when Somerset himself was content to accept from the same person, his liberty, and his restoration to a seat in the council, and to give his daughter, Lady Jane Seymour, in marriage to Lord Dudley, the son of his adversary.

It has been said again that the conduct of Cecil to his patron, on the renewal of his calamities, was more consistent with discretion than gratitude. Prudence, it must be confessed, always maintained a high place among the cardinal virtues of Cecil, both in public and in private life. We confess, however, that we are unable to discern why, on this occasion, prudence should have been made to bow before other principles. There is no extant reason for believing that any exertion of Cecil's could have averted, or even mitigated, the fate of the Protector. It is well known that Somerset was a rash and ostentatious mortal: and it was scarcely to be expected that his adherents should place their fortunes, their liberties, and perhaps their lives, in jeopardy, for one who was so miserably wanting to himself. Besides, there was nothing in Cecil's connection with Somerset so peculiar, as to imply an obligation to embrace the most desperate vicissitudes of his fortune; much less to devote himself to destruction without the slightest prospect of preserving his patron. To have done so, would have been little better than an insane and prodigal waste of generosity.

* In 1550, Cecil was appointed secretary to the king, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum, and soon after had a reversionary grant of the rectory of Wimbledon, in Surrey, for sixty years. About the same time he was placed on the commission for searching out and punishing Anabaptists and Non-conformists, and was nominated one of a quorum of three, who were authorized to act. In 1551, he was knighted:—"a rare thing,"—says his domestic—"or a sign of rare gifts, for so young a man to be called to such places of honour and estimation."

During the whole reign of Edward VI., Cecil's attention to the affairs of the Church, and the settlement of religion, appears to have been incessant. He was addressed by learned and distinguished foreigners on matters connected with the progress of the Reformation. He was in the commission for revising of the ecclesiastical law, and assisted in the preparation of materials for the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which was afterwards published in 1571. He was a party to all discussions relative to doctrine and discipline, and was generally in close and faithful

co-operation with Cranmer; and to his consideration the Archbishop accordingly submitted the proposed Articles of Religion, previous to their being laid before the Convocation and the Parliament. He may therefore be reckoned among the earliest, as well as the most intelligent and effective labourers, in the construction of our existing fabric of ecclesiastical polity. He is further entitled to the distinguished praise of widening the foundations of the maritime and commercial grandeur of England. It was he that first endeavoured to deliver British commerce from the oppression of foreign monopoly; and though his measures may not always have been concerted upon those enlightened views, which subsequent experience, and improved intelligence, have now rendered familiar, it is no mean glory to have given almost the first impulse to the public opinion and feeling, relative to interests of such overpowering magnitude. In 1553, shortly before the death of the king, his services were rewarded with additional honour and emolument, by his appointment to the office of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, with an annual salary of 100 marks. It may be remarked, that the language of the patent is a complete answer to the stupid calumnies with which his adversaries sometimes endeavoured to disparage the respectability of his birth. He is described as worthy of the honour conferred on him *GENE-
RIS CLARITATE, morum probitate, et rerum variarum scientiâ.*

Not long after this accession to his distinctions, Cecil found himself involved in difficulties which demanded all the resources of his sagacity and address. The health of Edward VI. began visibly to decline, and the flagitious designs of Northumberland to develop themselves. Of these intrigues he obtained seasonable notice through the good offices of a friend: and the intelligence alarmed him to such a degree, that as seamen make all snug when they foresee a squall, he caused his money, plate, and writings, to be removed out of his house in London; and when he found the project advancing, he even went armed, and actually conveyed all his lands to his eldest son Thomas. Nay, according to his own account, when the conspiracy was first opened to him he fully determined to flee the realm; and was retained only by the perusal of the Dialogue of Plato, "where Socrates, being in prison, was offered to escape and flee, yet he would not." When the scheme of Northumberland was, at last, brought to maturity, and a patent obtained from Edward for altering the succession, the members of the council were required to sanction this instrument with their signatures; and this concession was extorted by the dread of vengeance, even from those who were most averse to the transaction,* and from Cecil among the rest. By this com-

* Macdiarmid, p. 176.

pliance considerable damage was inflicted on his reputation, which he long afterwards thought it necessary to repair by a memorial, wherein he asserts that threats and promises were employed in vain to extort his concurrence in the attempt; that he refused to subscribe the patent as a privy counsellor; and that he was at length prevailed upon by the king's earnest entreaty to write his name as witness to the royal signature. It also appears that on the death of Edward he refused to draw up the proclamation, declaring the title of the Lady Jane, or to write in its vindication.* To the investigation of this matter Dr. Nares devotes a vast number of tiresome pages: but all his researches lead only to the conclusion, that Cecil, and the whole council, were fairly bullied and run down by the desperate violence of Northumberland, who declared that he was ready to fight in his shirt with any man who should question the proceeding. It is very easy for us, who live in an age when trials and dangers of this description are no longer to be feared, to figure to ourselves the magnanimity of an inflexible resistance to the ambitious designs of bold, sanguinary, and powerful men. It must however be remembered, that in those days, as Fuller observes, *it was present drowning not to swim with the stream*. Opposition to this wild scheme of usurpation would probably have ended only in the destruction of all who should have ventured upon it, and this without much hastening the defeat of the project; while, on the other hand, it must have been pretty evident to all discerning minds, that the attempt, if left to its own course, could scarcely terminate in any thing but the ruin of its author. Such, at all events, must surely have been the views of the Popish members of the council who set their hands to the patent, and who nevertheless hastened to Mary, as soon as they were able to do so, after the death of the king; and such in all probability were the views of Cecil, when he was prevailed upon to join them in giving his sanction to the act.

With regard to Cecil's allegation, that he signed the patent not as privy counsellor, but merely as a witness to the signature of the king, it will be instantly seen that little weight can be attached to this statement, unless it could be shown that his signature was different from the rest, either in place or form. If there was nothing on the face of the patent to apprise the public that his name appeared there merely in the way of official countersign, it would contribute equally with the others to the sanction of that instrument. Neither is there anything very satisfactory in the assertion of his refusal to prepare the proclamation for setting forth the succession of Lady Jane; for it does not appear that he grounded his refusal on the enormity of the transaction, but that

* Macdiarmid, p. 177, &c.

he declined on the score of his own unfitness for the office, which required, he said, the skill of an experienced lawyer; a plea which reminds us of the discretion of the fox, who, when asked by the potentate of the forest whether or not his breath were offensive, replied that *truly he had a cold, and could not smell*. In short, there can be little doubt that Cecil in his heart both dreaded and abhorred, and, to a certain point, opposed the enterprise of Northumberland; but that he was at last borne away from the straight course of duty by a current of circumstances, almost too strong even for the highest fortitude to resist.

We cannot quit this part of our subject without adverting to a very curious circumstance noticed by Dr. Nares, illustrative, as it would seem, of the nefarious craft and wickedness of Northumberland. It is unquestionable, that some time before his death, Edward had proposed to the privy council the principle of a positive exclusion of females from the English throne. It is further most certain, that a "device" or scheme was drawn up by him in his own handwriting, conformably to these notions, for the document is preserved in the Petyt MSS. and is printed by Burnet and Strype.* In this paper he had provided for the descent of the crown to the male issue of himself, or of the *Suffolk* line. From the same MSS. Burnet and Strype have also printed a document† purporting to be the original assent of the council to this limitation of the crown, signed by twenty-four counsellors, and among them by *Cecil*. This document expressly refers to the *device* above-mentioned, as having been seen by the parties whose names are underwritten. On looking, however, at the *device* itself, we find that its provisions, as they respect the Lady Jane, differ from those which relate to the other females of the family by two little words, which yet make a mighty alteration in the arrangement. The language runs thus—"for lack of issue of my body to the Lady Fraunceses (the Duchess of *Suffolk's*) heirs males, if she have any such issue before my death." Now after this we should naturally expect the next clause to stand thus:—*to the Lady Jane's heirs masles*:—but instead of this, the instrument proceeds as follows,—*"to the Lady Jane and her heires masles,"*—then—"to the Lady Katerin's heirs masles, &c.:" thus making a distinction in favour of Lady Jane, by limiting the crown *to her in person*, before it should descend to her male issue: a distinction contradictory to the whole spirit of the *device* alluded to, as appears clearly from the language with which that paper begins, and which purposes that the descent should be, "for lack

* Burnet, part iii. book iv. No. 10, 11.

† Strype's *Cranmer*, Append. 164.

of issue male of my body, to the issue male coming of the issue female, as I have after declared."

An inspection of the instrument, in the printed copies of it, furnishes no explanation whatever of this strange and unaccountable inconsistency. Fortunately, however, it occurred to Dr. Nares to examine the MS. itself;* and there he found, to his surprise, that Edward had originally written, what the tenor of the instrument would lead us to anticipate, "*to the Lady JANE's heires masles,*" conformably to all the other cases; but that the letter *s* had been struck out with the pen at the end of *Jane*, and that the two little but most important words—"and her"—were inserted above; the passage standing exactly thus—"to the Lady
and her
Janes heires masles."

Now in all this it must be allowed that there is a great appearance of foul play. One cannot but strongly suspect that this alteration (by which Lady Jane *alone*, of all the females of the line of *Suffolk*, was personally brought into the direct line of inheritance) was effected by the sinister influence and contrivance of Northumberland. How the king should be prevailed upon to consent to an alteration which partially defeated his own views of male succession, it were now vain to conjecture. Neither does it appear whether this alteration were made at the time when the above subscription of the twenty-four was executed; though it is most probable that it *was*, because that document affirms that the device was first wholly written with his majesty's most gracious hand, and afterwards copied out in his majesty's presence, and authenticated by his signature. Possibly the slight variance of phraseology may have escaped the attention of the council; if not, they must have been persuaded to acquiesce on the ostensible ground that there was then little probability of *any* male heir whatever previous to the king's decease; and that in such case the public interests would be better provided for by a limitation, in the first instance, to Jane in person, than by a regency vested in the Duchess of Suffolk or her daughters—which last was the provision made for that case in the original scheme of the king; and which, though afterwards *dashed out*,† is yet legible on the face of that instrument. After all, however, the affair still remains involved in considerable mystery, and leaves the parties concerned with little excuse, except that which may be derived from the dangerous and violent spirit of the times.

After the death of the king, Cecil, with the rest of the council,

* Nares, p. 452.

† See Burnet, vol. iii. book iv. Records No. 10, p. 207, edit. 1715.

found himself absolutely in the power of Northumberland. It would seem that they owed their escape chiefly to the subtlety and address of Cecil, at whose suggestion they first persuaded Northumberland that his presence was absolutely necessary among the forces which had been levied for their support, and when he had left the Tower, where they were all effectually confined, they easily satisfied the Duke of Suffolk that the exigencies of the cause would require their presence elsewhere. No sooner were they at liberty than they repaired to the Earl of Pembroke's, at Baynard's Castle, and declared openly for Queen Mary.

The letter sent by them to the queen is still in existence,* and indorsed by Cecil. The vindication it offers is, that the parties saw "no possibility to utter their determination, *without great destruction and bloodshed, both of themselves and others*, tyll that time;" an excuse, as Dr. Nares remarks, which, if admitted, must acquit all or none, but which, nevertheless, did not protect all from the resentment of the queen. Of those, however, who obtained their pardon, Cecil had the good fortune to be one; and such was the general estimate of his capacity for business, that the queen was anxious to retain him in her service, and accordingly tendered to him the appointment of secretary, which he had hitherto held—an offer which his attachment to the Reformed Faith prompted him decidedly to reject.

The disquiet occasioned by his implication with these "inductions dangerous" probably brought on a transitory fit of dissatisfaction with the slavery of a public life, for the death of the king is thus recorded by him in his journal: "vii Julii, 1553. *Liberatatem adeptus sum morte Regis; et ex MISERO AULICO, factus sum liber et mei juris.*" During the reign of Mary this *miserable courtier* was allowed the unmolested enjoyment of the privacy he sighed for. His high character and distinguished services entitled him to consideration; and his discretion was watchful against any dangerous use of the indulgence which was granted him. He now passed a very considerable portion of his time in retirement. He zealously cultivated and encouraged botany, and promoted the introduction of foreign seeds and plants. He immersed himself in the care and management of his property. His capacities, no longer absorbed in affairs of state, diffused themselves into all the details of domestic life. The microscopic powers of his mind seem to have been quite extraordinary. He could turn aside from the vast and colossal interests of Europe, to look into the fractions and the atoms of domestic and agricultural expenditure. He resembled the elephant, who, with equal ease, can

* Strype's *Cranmer*, App. No. lxxi. vol. ii. p. 915.

strangle a buffalo or pick up a needle. The entries in his household-book are, in their way, nearly as wonderful as his state papers. Hatfield House and the British Museum are, at this day, full of memorials of his almost incredible attention to such matters. They are crammed with his correspondence to his managers and stewards, and with his marginal commentaries and scholia respecting rents, and wages, and liveries; the felling of timber and the letting of farms; the fees and payments in kind to brewer, baker, and butcher; the supply of his family with malt and beer; with beef and mutton; with herrings, both red and white; with salmon and stockfish; with frying oil and vinegar; with soap, and candles, and white pease; and, in short, with every imaginable article of human consumption. Nothing seems more marvellous, and more difficult to conceive, than this faculty of being equally at home in the midst of little things and of great ones. One would suppose that an intellect conversant with the destinies and the vicissitudes of empires must inevitably contract a fastidious impatience of all humble and obscure concerns. The truth, however, is, that minds of the very highest capacity have often a versatile activity and self-command quite as surprising as their massive strength; and that no man is *eminently* fit for the direction of great public interests who cannot unite to a commanding amplitude of view an indefatigable application to particulars. The domestic precision and watchfulness of Cecil may justly be regarded as among the indications of a character which seems to have been graciously raised up by Providence for the preservation of the British empire.

But although Cecil declined the service of the Queen, and kept himself clear of the cabals and agitations of party, he by no means appears to have so wrapped himself up in his own individual virtue as to exclude all care and anxiety for public interests. His presence in England was, beyond question, of great importance to the cause of the Reformation. He was enabled to render occasional services to that cause, without exciting the jealousy or the resentment of the court. He attached himself to the party of Cardinal Pole, from whom he had reason to expect more moderation, perhaps more humanity, than from the austere, ambitious, and worldly-minded Gardiner. In 1555, having been chosen one of the members of parliament for Lincolnshire, he ventured to join in the opposition to the measures of the court, and to speak fearlessly and strongly against the confiscation of the property of those who had fled their country for religion. His public spirit on this occasion brought him into considerable danger. He was summoned before the council, but contrived to place his conduct in such a light that he was discharged by their

unanimous consent. But the most signal service which he rendered to his country, during his retirement from office, was his vigilant attention to the safety and the interests of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom he maintained a constant intercourse and correspondence. His communication with that princess during the reign of Mary may be considered as among the greatest triumphs of his dexterity and circumspection. Few men then living, except Cecil, could have contrived, under circumstances of such extreme peril and difficulty, to convey to the future queen the intelligence necessary to her preservation from the snares of her suspicious and vindictive sister.

With regard to the religious habits of Cecil, it appears beyond all doubt that, under Mary, he lived in outward conformity with the existing Church Establishment. He had in his household a priest; and a paper is still in existence, in the State Paper Office, by which it appears that he confessed, and probably attended at the mass. This paper bears Cecil's own indorsement, and is as follows:—

“The names of them that dweleth in the pariche of Wimbleton, that was confessed, and resaved the sacrament of the altre.

“My Master, Sir Wilyem Cecil, and my Lady Myldread his wyffe.” Then follow the other names; Thomas Cecil, their eldest son, standing next.

By this conformity Cecil brought upon himself considerable obloquy. In vindication of it, Dr. Nares produces the example of those Protestants who, with Melanchthon at their head, conformed to the Interim; and of the moderate, amiable, and conscientious Bishop Toustal, who conformed to every religious innovation, when once established by law, from a scrupulous principle of submission to the powers that be, and from the belief that private opinion should always be sacrificed for the preservation of public peace. He further alleges, that the point once underwent a formal discussion between Lethington and Knox, and that the conclusion of those sturdy reformers was, that, under certain circumstances, a sort of submission is allowable.

“Knox had argued, that the *people of God* were bound to put down idolatry, and root out idolaters, without reserve or exception. When *Lethington* stated that *Calvin*, and some others of the foreign Reformists, had counselled their followers to be quiet and submissive, even under persecution, Knox very truly and wisely observed, that this referred to Christians so dispersed as to have no other resource, but only to sob to God for deliverance. That such, indeed, he continues, ‘should hazard any farther than these godly men will them, I could not hastily be of counsel. But my argument has another ground; for I speak of a people—unto whom God has given *sufficient force*, not only to *resist*, but to

suppress all kind of open idolatry ; and such a people, I again affirm, are bound to keep their land clear and unpolluted."—pp. 675, 676.

The benefit of this decision is claimed by Dr. Nares in favour of Cecil, and other Protestants, upon the ground that they were, at this time, but a severed and dispersed people as to all power of putting down the Romish idolatry. Without entering into a disquisition on this perplexed case of conscience, we cannot forbear to remark that, if this view of the question had been universal, there would have been nothing but conformity throughout the realm; and, in that case, the Protestant Church of England would have been bereft of the glory and the might with which the martyrdom of her bishops and pastors has surrounded her. We do not take upon ourselves to pronounce a stern judgment on Cecil, and on those who, like him, bowed before that necessity which could not be openly resisted without imminent danger of destruction. It is, nevertheless, impossible to suppress a feeling of thankfulness and of triumph that there were many, at that day, who formed a higher and nobler estimate of their duty.

After all, however, it would be unjust to the memory of Cecil to omit the suggestion, that the evidence above produced, of his conformity to the Romish doctrines, is hardly sufficient to fix upon him the charge of insincerity. There were indisputably many persons at that time who had wholly abjured Popery, so far as that system implied an admission of the temporal or spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and who yet had failed to settle their convictions on many points of the Romish theology. It is, for instance, by no means perfectly clear to us that Cecil grievously violated his conscience by receiving the sacrament conformably to the Romish doctrine and ritual. The belief of the "real presence" doubtless still kept possession of many minds of the first capacity; and we are far from certain that it may not have lingered in his. Of this we are distinctly informed—that to the very last he was anxious to have the question of the mass finally disposed of rather by argument than by force; and that, even after the death of Mary, he was mainly instrumental in having it submitted afresh to regular disputation between the opposite parties, previous to its abrogation by Elizabeth. And, even then, the Communion Office was so framed as to offer the least possible violence to the prejudices of those who still held the tenet of the "real presence" in the Romish sense of those terms.

Such is the outline of Cecil's life up to the period of Queen Mary's decease; and on looking back upon it, we do not discover that the laborious researches of Dr. Nares have enabled him to throw much new or valuable light on the immediate biography of this eminent person. There are in this volume few particulars of

any great importance respecting him, that might not be learned from the compendious and spirited life of him by Macdiarmid. We do not mention this with any view to the disparagement of the author's compilation, which, as we have already remarked, must principally be regarded as a collection of materials illustrative of the times in which this distinguished statesman was formed, and to which recent discussions and changes have given an unusual vividness of interest. It is true that Dr. Nares has done what he could to present Cecil as a prominent figure on his crowded canvass. After all, however, it must be confessed that the influence of that extraordinary man was, at that time, scarcely sufficient to place him at the centre of those mighty movements of the age. His agency, though certainly considerable, was not as yet sufficiently commanding to give him a very distinct position of his own, and to bring him forward, in bold relief, from the multitude of figures with which the comprehensive plan of his biographer has inevitably surrounded him. Of this, indeed, Dr. Nares himself appears to be occasionally conscious; for whenever he finds himself unable to expand the importance of his hero to the full extent of the vast sphere of British and European politics, he satisfies himself by assuring us, that all this while such a man as Cecil must have been watchfully and sagaciously contemplating the whole scene of action; that he must have been furnishing his own mind with lessons of wisdom derived from the various and complex evolutions which were perpetually executed before his eyes; and that consequently every history of his mind or of his actions must be imperfect, which should fail to present the whole conflict of interests and passions, in the midst of which he was training his powers for their future course of achievement. Whenever, therefore, we would connect him with events from which he was apparently removed, we have only to fancy him in his retirements surveying the signs of the times with an aspect of fathomless wisdom, and shaking his head—as head never was shaken before or since—with unutterable pregnancy of meaning. In that contemplative occupation, therefore, we may now venture to leave him, and to transfer our attention to certain regions in the history before us which may be supposed to interest most forcibly the feelings of every sincere and zealous Protestant.

To this period, which involves the great moral revolution, it is always impossible to return without an awful and distressing conflict of feelings. It is doubtless a period to rejoice over; but then we must always rejoice over it with trembling. It is a period which cannot be contemplated without the deepest thankfulness; but then our gratitude and elation of heart are perpetually dashed with a sense of bitter humiliation. What can be more glorious

than the deliverance which was accomplished? What can be more execrably sordid than a portion of the instrumentality by which that deliverance was wrought? Is it possible, in the first place, to think of that bloated tyrant, who "spared no man in his wrath, and no woman in his lust;" whose life, for the last ten or twelve years of it, was one incessant outrage on humanity, one perpetual "sounding of all the depths and shoals" of his people's slavishness,—is it possible to think, without loathing and indignation, of that prodigy of despotism, as the prime ruler and director in this great religious change? Is it not overpowering to reflect that the savage caprice and ungoverned animal propensities of this monster should have given the first impulse to so wondrous and holy a movement? Is it not almost frightful to recollect that the banner of deliverance from spiritual vassalage should have been lifted by hands red with blood, and polluted with rapacity and sacrilege? nay, that if his vices had been less gigantic, and his strength of purpose less tremendous, we might, perhaps, have been at this moment even as other lands which have never won their spiritual freedom, and which are *made spoil of either by philosophy or by vain deceit*—either by secret scepticism, or by gaudy and painted superstition. We never surely can think of these things without being almost shaken to pieces with the reflection—without feeling an alternate elevation and sinking of the heart to which words can scarcely give utterance. It is triumphant to think upon the eminence on which we stand; but it is most appalling to look back on the terrors and the dangers, the struggles and the humiliations, through which it was attained. Never in human annals was the truth so signally exemplified, that God can cause the wrath of man to praise him; and not only his wrath, but his follies and his crimes, his most wanton caprices, and his deadliest atrocities. A hurricane may sweep away the pestilence from a tropical atmosphere,—a tyranny like that of Henry may, almost as unconsciously, sweep away the moral corruption which has been gathering for centuries.

We must confess that we can see neither wisdom nor honesty in averting our eyes from this view of the matter. We cannot imagine that the cause of the Reformation imposes on English Protestants the sore and desperate task of vindicating, or of palliating, the abominations of this brutal oppressor; of a wretch who hanged the adherents of Romish power, and burned the adversaries of Romish doctrine; who dragged Papists and Sacramentaries to execution on the same hurdle; who stripped the Pontiff of his authority only that he might bring it home, to bear with a closer and more deadly pressure on his own subjects, and might enjoy the savage delight of wheeling round their heads the spiritual as well

as the temporal blade. The pontifical writers are perpetually reproaching us with this. They affect to speak of the Reformation as a portentous mixture of error and crime, in which Henry was the principal, and the court, the parliament, and the people were the accessaries. They load it with all the sins of its flagitious author, and call upon us to return from an apostasy rendered doubly detestable by the wickedness of its leader. And on hearing these rebukes, we are sometimes tempted to soften the enormities of the royal *heretic*, and the vile hypocrisy and turpitude of many of his creatures. But this is not the way to encounter the assaults of our adversaries. We may safely surrender to their scorn or their abhorrence many of the leading agents in our righteous revolt from Papistry. It is vain, and worse than vain, to attempt to derive either dignity or merit to the cause, from the motive which first drove it violently towards its consummation. Why should the rack of controversy be produced to extort from us the unqualified confession of this plain truth—that if the Eighth Henry had been a man to remain content with his brother's widow, we might possibly at this hour be stupifying or maddening ourselves, as of old, with the cup of Babylonian sorcery; that the peasantry of England might be as degraded and priest-ridden a herd as the peasantry of Ireland, and the allegiance of her people divided between the rightful monarch and an Italian priest. That these things are not so, is a magnificent and blessed result, which we are bound to receive with adoring gratitude at the hand of a mysterious Providence. But why should we seek to disguise the fact, that this result has emerged out of a conflict of the most turbulent and disgraceful passions, but that the Spirit of God brooded over this strife of elements, and that the Word of Omnipotence said *let there be light, and there was light*. Surely it is better to say at once, *this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes*, than to be spinning apologies and palliations for men who were blindly working out the purposes of the Almighty, often without a thought for his glory, or a care for the virtue or the happiness of his people.

Again, who can survey without anguish and disgust the hateful system of spoliation which entered into the scheme of reform in which Henry led the way; which was followed with disastrous fidelity by those who co-operated with him, and by those who came after him; and which has reduced the Church of England to a state of comparative beggary* and humiliation. One might

* We say this advisedly, in spite of the invectives we sometimes hear against the Church as a gorgeous nuisance. If all its wealth were now thrown into a consolidated fund, it would be found, on an equal distribution, to give little more than a pittance to each of its ministers. The spirit of rapacity which was abroad in those days was un-

almost laugh (as Dr. Nares observes) at Henry's sly instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, in which the sagacious diplomatist is enjoined to give the Scottish monarch a relish for the plunder of the monasteries; and thus to excite in his royal nephew a craving appetite for *Reformation*. But the matter is far too serious and too calamitous for merriment, when we come to reflect that this was but part of a regular system, which in this country transferred to an unprincipled and dissolute aristocracy the funds which ought to have been held sacred to the intellectual, moral and religious improvement of the people.

"The impropriation of the tythes of benefices," says Dr. Nares,* "left so little for ministering clergymen, that it is upon record that in many parishes there was scarcely enough left to buy bread for the incumbents and their families, for it was among the *anomalies* of this ecclesiastical revolution, that the reduction of beneficiary incomes accompanied the abolition of clerical celibacy."

And hence the bitter pleasantry with which Collier represents the consequences of this blessed change.

"When the tythes were taken away in many places, and the parish duties (fees) lessened, they had the freedom of engaging in a more expensive way of living. When the revenues were cut short 'twas at their option to increase their charge. They had an opportunity of wanting more things, where the means of procuring them was more slender than ever. Thus they had liberty without property; they might, if they pleased, be legally undone and starve by act of parliament."

Who again can read, without feeling his blood boil, such passages as the following, which is produced by Dr. Nares as the commentary of one Brinklow, a London merchant, whom Holinshed puts in his list of learned writers of those times, and who thus deplores the effects of this detestable rapine.

"It was amisse that monkes should have parsonages in their hands, and deal but the twentieth part thereof to the poor, and preached but once in the year to them that paid the tithes of the parsonages. It was amisse that they scarcely among the twenty sat not one sufficient vicar to preach for the tithes that they received. But see now how that was amisse is amended for all the godly pretense. It is amended even as the

discriminating. It disdained no game, whether great or small. It spared neither the lordly abbot nor the humble vicar. We may find a potent representation of this spirit (which is of all ages) in the following lines of Juvenal, though of course under pagan images.

"Confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia Templi
Pocula adorandæ rubiginis, et populorum
Dona, vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
Hæc ibi si non sunt, minor extat sacrilegus, qui
Radat inaurati femur Herculis, et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, vel bracteolam de Castore ducat.
An dubitet, solitus totum conflare Tonantem?"

devil amended his dame's legge (as it is in the proverb); when he should have set it right, he brake it quite in pieces. The monkes gave too little almes, and sat unable persons many times in their benefices; but now where twenty pounds was given yearly to the poor, in more than an hundred places in England, is not one meal's meat given; this is a fair amendment! Where they had always one or other vicar, that either preached or hired some to preach; now there is no vicar at all, but the farmer is vicar and parson altogether; and only an old cast-away monk or friar, which can scarcely say his mattins, is hired for xx or xxx shillings, meat and drink, nay, in some places, for meat and drink alone, without any wages; I know, and not I alone, but twenty thousand more know, more than five hundred vicarages and parsonages thus well and *gospelly* served after the *new gospel* of England."—p. 383.

In short, to such a flagitious extent was the plunder carried on, that to us it seems an almost miraculous mercy that it did not end in the utter destruction and dissolution of the establishment, and leave the kingdom to be torn to pieces by the whole legion of non-conformity and sectarianism. It is, indeed, suggested by Dr. Nares,* that the covetousness of man at that time was an instrument in the hand of Providence to prevent the relapse of the Reformed Church into Popery; and there doubtless may be much truth in the statement. Had there been no transfer of ecclesiastical property to laymen, many of whom were profoundly indifferent to all religion, there might not have been raised an embankment of self-interest strong enough to stand against the reflux of Romish influence and power. But when we perceive that the lust of confiscation was so insatiable and rabid as nearly to extinguish all care for the spiritual interests of the people, or the decent comfort and respectability of the great body of its ministers, it is enough to make mankind look with sickening contempt at the early *process* of the Reformation, and almost to call down curses upon the worldly and godless spirit in which the work was often carried on by the civil powers.

The accession of that extraordinary child, Edward VI. did not arrest this career of robbery; and of all the demons of pillage none was more thoroughly steeped in sacrilegious infamy and guilt than the *good Duke* of Somerset, the Regent and Protector of England, the man who was to carry forward the noble work of reformation during the minority of his royal nephew—the man who set Cecil at Gardiner, when that intractable prelate persisted in questioning the authority of a Council of Regency to proceed with a change in the ecclesiastical system of the country. It is well known with what a high hand he gave the signal to the obscene birds of prey, when his own rapacity and pride spared neither churches nor sepulchres—the oratories of the living nor

* Page 495.

the asylums of the dead—and when the venerable Abbey of Westminster was scarcely rescued from his accursed grasp. And how fatally and widely infectious such examples were, we may learn from the fact, that even Cecil did not scruple to swell his property with the produce of this unholy plunder; and that if the church were now to receive back her own, the princely domains of his noble house would, probably, suffer a grievous reduction of its splendour. Nay, what is still more confounding, Elizabeth herself—the very child and virago of the Reformation—was in this respect no better than a harsh and unfeeling step-mother to the reformed church; for there is much bitter and galling truth in the remark, that if her sister made martyrs, she made beggars; that the one executed men, the other estates; that the one destroyed bishops, the other bishoprics; and that if the one persecuted the church by fire and faggot, the other helped to entail upon the church the inheritance of a perpetual and hopeless poverty.*

All this while too, be it remembered, the voice of an intrepid testimony was perpetually lifted up against the impiety and inhumanity of this ruthless dilapidation. The court was openly, and to their very face, charged with these profanations by the preachers of the day. In his plain and homely phrase, old Latimer denounced the heartless rapacity of the great, and exposed its pernicious consequences. The remonstrances of the admirable Ridley were equally bold, and in one instance much more successful. His appeal made so deep an impression on the heart and conscience of the youthful monarch, that they ended in the establishment of those glorious charities which to this day make the name and memory of Edward VI. so dear to England, and especially to her metropolis. On the whole, however, the mischief done, and the opportunities of good impiously thrown away, are enough to make the real friends of the cause redden with indignation; they are enough almost to give the appearance of a vile and despicable job to the grandest and most wonderful of all revolutions. Well might Collier say, that—

“ If the English laity had not enriched themselves with the spoils of the Church, the Reformation would have had a *clearer complexion*, and been better understood by the rest of Christendom. But when Protestantism had such a face of interest; when men got manors and townships by renouncing the Pope; when men of small pretensions made estates out of their orthodoxy, and shot up into title and figure; when the Church was stripped of her revenues and maimed in her jurisdiction; when changes in religion were carried on by revolt and civil commotion, (as it happened in France, Scotland, and the Low Countries);—when

* See pref. to Burnet, vol. iii.

they saw discipline laid asleep, learning decay, and *liberty increase*,—these were discouraging circumstances.”

So calamitously discouraging were they, that they loaded the cause with dishonour at that time, and have strengthened the hands and hardened the hearts of its adversaries even unto this day.

We maintain, therefore, that the final results of the religious revolution in this country must always appear little less than absolutely miraculous. It seems as if Providence had gathered nearly all the vices of human nature into one dreadful scourge wherewith to lash the pride which had so long been trampling upon the liberties of man's immortal spirit; as if the dogs of rapine, and lust, and tyranny, were purposely unkennelled and unchained, and let slip to fix their fangs upon the throat of that monster of imposture, that for ages had sucked the very marrow of kings, and to drag her to the earth. And yet, out of all this turmoil and havoc has eventually sprung up the system under which we now live, and which has made our country the asylum and the sanctuary of Christian truth. That our reform was *conceived in sin* it would be most unjust and ungrateful to maintain; for undeniably the seeds of it were scattered long before the days of Henry. But when we look to its mightiest leaders and patrons, we feel almost compelled to avow that it was cradled in iniquity, and “nursed in baseness.” We hardly know of any thing whereunto to liken it, unless it be to a lamb suckled by a wolf, or a dove warmed into life by the incubation of a ravening vulture: and, in truth, it seemed at times as if the foster-parent was ready to devour its adopted progeny. And when we come to inquire how it is that the new establishment survived the tender mercies of its protectors; how it was preserved in the midst of dangers which seemed every moment to threaten it with destruction, we shall find ample reason for adoring the wisdom and the goodness, which often causes the most formidable evils to correct each other, and to give to the results some intermediate and most beneficial direction. It has been affirmed, and truly enough, that politicians and not divines had the most potential voice in the first formation of our Protestant Church. The impulse which led to her establishment came unquestionably from the *high places* of the land. The sovereign was constantly at the head of all the changes; and thus it was that the vices and the passions of a dissolute and semi-barbarous court were seen to busy themselves more or less in the settlement of the national faith and worship. But then, on the other hand, this very circumstance, (which imparts, it must be allowed, something of a physiognomy of worldliness to the whole proceeding—which to this day is perpetually in the mouth of the adversaries of our church when they take up their taunts

against her,)—this very circumstance was graciously and most signally overruled for good. In the midst of manifold evils, it was attended with one redeeming consequence. The perpetual inspection and superintendence of secular persons was probably instrumental in repressing the enthusiasm which might otherwise have thrown too much heat into the work, and burst it into fragments before it was complete. The moderation which resulted from this state of things, and which is impressed so remarkably on the whole face of the system, is a blessing which never can be too highly estimated. It is to this that the stability of the fabric is, under Providence, mainly to be ascribed. Fanaticism contains within itself the seeds of degeneracy and decay. The selfishness, the ambition, the avarice, the rapacity which stood by, while the charm was winding up, contributed at least to prevent the introduction of that pernicious ingredient. And thus they helped, almost unconsciously, to do for the great cause one of the most important of all good offices. They helped to prevent its being tainted by an infusion, which would have rendered it distasteful and odious to the intelligent, and highly dangerous to the moral and spiritual health of the community.

If, however, we would fix our regards on the true channel by which the Divine blessing was derived to this grand achievement, where should we look but to those who, in the estimate of the world, are called its subordinate agents and ministers? Where should we look but to the doctors, and the martyrs, and the confessors of the English Church? We have recently been told that the Reformation in England displayed but little of that which had been its glory in other lands. But these are words of vanity and of slander. There is no country in Europe which has brighter instances to produce of “free-spoken truth,” and of singleness of purpose, and of faithfulness unto death. And what if these illustrious examples were found, not among those who call themselves the *excellent of the earth*, but in the ranks of humble and comparatively obscure suffering? What is there in all this which our reformed Church should blush to avow? What does it prove, but that the intrinsic righteousness and holiness of the cause, in spite of the abominations of its most powerful abettors, had found its way to the hearts of such men as Heaven loves to select, that they may confound the wisdom of the wise, and the power of the mighty, and the terrors of the oppressor?—that persons were to be found who held a steady course in the midst of the serpentine craft or giddy caprice of their own party, or in defiance of the threats of their enraged adversaries? With these men, and such as these, was deposited the very life and virtue of the enterprise. These were they by whom the warfare was really carried on,

though Providence was pleased to use the bad passions of princes and nobles as pioneers to open the country for their operations. It has been said, that England has no such names to show as those of Luther, and Calvin, and Knox. Why, if the lot of Luther, or Calvin, or Knox, had fallen in England, and they had attempted to take the lead in a religious revolution there, in opposition to the will, or without the full consent, of Henry, it is pretty evident what must have been the fate of the Reformation. The heads of these men, or twenty such as these, would have been laid in the dust long before they could have made any deep and permanent impression on the public mind. Providence has various methods and resources at command for the accomplishment of its designs. If England has not a Luther or a Calvin to produce among the first leaders of the new system, she has others to show who, under all the circumstances, were quite as well fitted to promote among her people the interests of truth. In former days she had to boast of a Wiclif, the intrepid spiritual progenitor of all her subsequent martyrs. In the days of Henry she had her Ridley, her Latimer, and her Hooper, and a multitude of other names, which for profound learning, and for inflexible courage and self-devotion, are second to none among the most illustrious worthies of the Reformation; men who, in their rank and station, advanced the triumph of scriptural religion quite as effectually as Knox or Luther did in theirs. The cause may, originally, have been that of human interest and passion. By the example, the influence, and the sufferings of such men as these, it was converted into the cause of holiness and virtue. These, therefore, and not the brutal Henry and his jackall courtiers, are to be deemed our true reformers; and by the purity of their lives, and the sincerity of their doctrines, or the fires of their martyrdom, the evil and worldly savour, which at first tainted the sacrifice, has doubtless been purged away.

We have said thus much, because we cannot help thinking that we perceive occasionally in some of the historians of our Reformation, a most unwise parsimony of concession upon these points, and something of an imprudent hardihood in playing the advocate for men, whose grasping, profligate, and worldly lives have caused the *good* of the Reformation to be so bitterly *evil spoken of*. This disposition appears to us to be occasionally discernible even in the work of Dr. Nares, and most palpably in the history of Mr. Soames. It is observed by that laborious and, otherwise, excellent writer,* that

“ the prominent objections levelled by the Romanists against the Reformation, are founded on the characters of its principal promoters; but

* Vol. iii. p. 389, note b.

that they resolve themselves into the facts, that most of the reforming clergymen married, and that many of the laymen answered political or interested ends by the part which they took."

And these charges he calls "futile and absurd." Absurd they most undoubtedly are, beyond all names of folly, as directed against the married clergy. Equally worthless and despicable are all such insinuations, when levelled against the body of eminent divines engaged in the compilation of our Articles and Formularies, or against the merits and results of the Reformation itself. But we conceive that it is by no means so easy to dispose of the impeachment, so far as it involves the personal character of the laity, by whose influence and authority the change was principally carried on. The pillage of the Church Mr. Soames cannot but admit to be a stain left upon this revolution by those foul and ravenous harpies, who "left nothing unrent, unrifled, and unpolluted." But then he contends that it was a stain only because the spoliation transgressed all moderate bounds. We contend, on the other hand, that this very contempt of all moderation is itself a "damning proof" of the odious spirit which possessed the principal agents. Few men, says Mr. Soames very justly, would desire to see the whole body of English dignitaries possessed of that enormous landed property which was in their hands three centuries ago. And if the government had first secured a respectable and liberal maintenance to *all* the bishops, and the impropriate tythes to *all* the clergy, and had then applied the remainder, or a considerable portion of the remainder, not to the support of pampered dignitaries,* but to purposes connected with humanity, or sound learning, or religious worship and education—if they had done this, they would have been fairly entitled to the honour which is always due to a sincere regard for the most precious interests of mankind. This, however, they did not do, nor any thing like this. And whether it was that they were unable or unwilling to do it—in either case it is undeniable that a base and worldly spirit mixed itself with this great and holy achievement—to disfigure its glories and to maim its usefulness. And we do repeat, that in controversy with papists it is much better to admit this candidly and intrepidly, than to be making awkward efforts to soften or to conceal this most unseemly portion of the history. The sum of the matter is, that a mighty deliverance has been wrought for us—that Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, allowed some of the worst passions of our nature, first to throw down the main obstructions to

* It is obvious that no such application of the revenues of the Church would have met with any countenance from Cranmer; for he said of the prebendaries of *those days*, "they will neither teach nor learn, but they be good vianders!"

that deliverance, and afterwards to starve and mutilate, in a great degree, that good cause, the name of which they used to sanctify their own selfish purposes.

Some noble exceptions there certainly may have been to the application of these animadversions. We much doubt, however, whether Somerset can fairly be placed among the number. Mr. Soames, indeed, affirms it to be obvious, that if the Protector had consulted political expediency alone, he would have allowed the continuance of the mitigated Romanism established under Henry; and that his determination to overthrow that system must, therefore, have arisen from an imperious sense of duty. We strongly suspect that it arose from an imperious sense of necessity. In the first place, there is nothing in the life or character of this ostentatious person, which entitles him to credit for much religious sincerity. We can hardly persuade ourselves that such a quality ever belonged to his nature. But, secondly, he must surely have felt, that in the existing state of things, it was absolutely unavoidable, either to go back or to advance. To remain stationary was next to impossible. The mitigated or rather the mongrel Romanism which Henry had left, could never have been long maintained. It would have satisfied no party. It should be recollected, that the late tyrant in his wrath had unsealed the mystic vessel, and set free its long-imprisoned tenant. The spirit of religious inquiry and improvement instantly sprung forth; and it required all Henry's force and energy of character to keep that restless power in awe. On his death, therefore, nothing was to be done but either to try, once more, the most potent and direful spells of the old enchantment, with a view to conjure that spirit back to its confinement; or else, to suffer it to remain abroad. A large proportion of the people, indeed, might be ready and impatient for the former experiment; but numberless motives of self-interest forbad its adoption by the government. The attempt might be well adapted to the dogged temper of a Mary, aided and encouraged by the saturnine bigotry of a Philip; but it was very ill-fitted to an unprincipled court, gorged with the plunder of the Church, and dreading a reaction which might by possibility compel them to restitution. There was consequently no alternative but to respect the energies which were still in manifest activity, and to proceed towards the consummation of the work which had been begun. And this course was rendered the more unavoidable by the notorious fact, that the young king had been carefully brought up in the principles of Protestantism.

It is a relief to turn away from the thought of such men, and such iniquities as we have been contemplating, to the venerable

worthies to whom the Church of England owes the decent solemnity of her worship, the primitive purity of her faith, and the blessing of her sublime and soothing Liturgy. The very mention of these glories instantly suggests the name of Cranmer to every heart capable of valuing these blessings. The debt of gratitude which this country owes to that prelate is absolutely measureless; for to his learning, industry, and moderation, it is universally allowed, she stands chiefly indebted for the present structure of her Church in discipline and doctrine. It must be confessed that this obligation has been occasionally repaid by an indiscreet extravagance of admiration, which has claimed for him the honours of a character to which his title is somewhat doubtful. It is not so much for exalted and inflexible courage that Cranmer challenges the homage of posterity, as for his eminent wisdom and caution; for his sober, patient, unwearied, and conscientious inquiries after Christian truth. Fortunate it might have been for his own peace, had he been allowed to serve his country and his God as a retired scholar and divine, instead of being forced up into the region of whirlwinds and of tempests, and constantly exposed to terrors, too much for any but the most heroic resolution. But whatever may have been his occasional lapses, every impartial understanding, and every kindly and generous spirit, must surely acquiesce in the verdict of the honest and indefatigable Strype, who says,—

“I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyric of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults and frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemishes shall by curious observers be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable; and his great and exemplary goodness and usefulness in the Church of God may make ample amends for some errors.”

Of late, however, the memory of this distinguished benefactor to the Protestant cause, has been assailed with a rancour which we know not well how to describe, otherwise than by saying, that it irresistibly calls to our recollection the temper and the manner in which a certain other accuser once stood up to charge an eminent servant of God. Every failing is dragged forth and placed in the most trying point of view. Every virtue, every merit, and every service is most invidiously suppressed or perverted. A sort of livid glare is shed over the whole picture, which gives to every feature a sinister and repulsive expression; so that it is scarcely possible to rise from an examination of it, without unqualified feelings of aversion and contempt. Such is the exhibition presented to us of the man who was mainly instrumental in giving us

our impressive services, our moderate doctrine, and our incomparable forms of public devotion.

The first charge against him is, that he served Henry in the affair of his divorce. The service, however, was none of his seeking. His early studies had satisfied him that the pope's authority in this kingdom was a mere usurpation; and being accidentally in company where the subject of the divorce was started, he expressed an opinion that there was no necessity to resort to Rome for a decision of the question. This suggestion brought him to the notice of the king, and soon placed him on the commission dispatched under the Earl of Wiltshire to the continent, for the purpose of expediting the decision. One would most assuredly have been glad to see Cranmer travelling to the primacy by almost any other road than this. It may, nevertheless, be very safely affirmed, that there is no ground whatever for ascribing his services to any sordid or selfish views. With his dying breath he averred that he was all but forced into the see of Canterbury, and we can discover not the slightest reason for questioning the sincerity of that declaration. With respect to his celebrated protest, on entering upon that preferment, we have already offered some remarks in a former number of this *Journal*.* Doubtless it would have been much more grand and magnanimous in him to have told the king that he would receive the primacy from no hands but his, and that he would acknowledge no supremacy whatever in a foreign bishop. Not having the firmness to do this, he did that which was honest in the next degree, he openly proclaimed at the altar what he conceived to be the extent of his obligations to the pope. If he had been the worthless, time-serving caitiff he has been represented, we are at a loss to discover why he should not, with perfect composure, have swallowed the oath to the pontiff, and then, as quietly, have supported the independence of the English Church, and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king. It would have been time enough for an unprincipled hypocrite to produce his salvos and his explanations when charged with duplicity. Had Cranmer been such a character, he might well have taken his chance of any such accusation. Had he been so accused, he might have had his Jesuitical answer ready—namely, that he never so understood the oath as to restrain him from advancing the Reformation. If not accused, all would have been well. He would then have been in the same condition as Wareham and others, who had taken the oath to the pope, and yet supported the royal supremacy. His protest, therefore, though not the noblest of all possible courses, was far from being a Popish subterfuge. It was a pub-

* *British Critic*, for October, 1828.

lie abjuration of any construction of the oath which might bind him to abstain from further innovation.

Another charge against Cranmer is, that he annulled the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn upon a frivolous pretence. If this be so, we would gladly know what that pretence was. Undoubtedly, a suit was instituted to nullify the marriage; and in that suit, Cranmer was unable to decline the duty of acting as judge. The exact grounds of the sentence, we believe, are unknown to this day. It seems, however, that the decision rested on certain admissions made by Anne herself. But there is no evidence whatever of Cranmer's having been employed to extort those admissions, nor of his having engaged in the business "with all the zeal of a proselyte," as Dr. Lingard, with unparalleled coolness, has been pleased to affirm.

The dissolution of the marriage with Anne of Cleves is, it must be confessed, a most unseemly and revolting affair; and it is heartily to be wished that Cranmer had been clear of any share in it. It appears that Henry did not scruple to humiliate the whole Convocation by calling upon them to rid his hands of his tall, ponderous, and square-built consort; and never, perhaps, did an assembly of divines sit down to a business much more sordid or degrading. The matter was eloquently submitted to them by Gardiner. Cranmer, with five other prelates, and seven persons of inferior rank, was appointed to report upon the evidence laid before them; and the disreputable result was, that the marriage was pronounced null and void. His share of the disgrace the archbishop must undoubtedly bear. All that can be said for him is, that there is no reason for supposing that he was prominently active in the matter. He was swept into the torrent, but does not appear to have raised his arms against it.

It must further be conceded, that there is not much appearance of magnanimous fidelity in the conduct of Cranmer on the disgrace of Cromwell. It should, however, be remembered, that in the hour of that minister's calamity and desertion the archbishop was the only individual who ventured to address the king on his behalf. His letter, Dr. Lingard tells us, is "penned with his usual timidity and caution." To us we confess that, all circumstances considered, it appears, on the whole, to be nearly such as friendship, tempered by wisdom, would have dictated; for while it avoids any direct question of the guilt of Cromwell, it is so framed as to call back most forcibly to the recollection of the king the eminent fidelity and invaluable services of his late favourite. An address differently conceived would only have exasperated the wrath of the tyrant, and would have sealed more firmly than ever the fate of his victim. Every one, however, must

grieve to find that the bill for Cromwell's attainder passed the House of Peers with little opposition, and that, in that opposition, the voice of the archbishop was not heard.

The part taken by Cranmer in the criminal and insane project of Northumberland, though perhaps incapable of an entire vindication, was certainly not such as to fix any deep mark of infamy on his memory. It is notorious that, for a while, he was an obstinate recusant; and that he did not yield until the overbearing insolence of Northumberland was seconded by the opinion of the judges and the dying importunities of the king. It must further be recollected that, if he gave way, it was in company with many other distinguished individuals, whose subsequent conduct showed that, in complying, they did but throw themselves to the earth while the tornado was sweeping over them, and that they had resolved to resume their upright position as soon as the storm was overpast. It would, indeed, have been a glorious and heart-stirring spectacle if those individuals had risen as one man against the ambition and the arrogance of the traitor, and had outfaced his threatenings with a calm and stern defiance. But during times of violence and semi-barbarism such spectacles are seldom exhibited in courts. When the gates of destruction stand wide open night and day ready to swallow up all untractable and incommodious integrity, the art of self-preservation is pretty sure to be promoted to the rank of a cardinal virtue. We have already seen that, by their own confession, it was the dread of ruin and bloodshed which drove the delinquent counsellors from the straight path of duty and allegiance. In behalf of many of them this vindication was admitted; especially in favour of those zealous Catholics from whom more firmness in the cause of Mary might reasonably have been expected. To Cranmer, however, the benefit of any such plea was denied,* although his opposition to the treasonable enterprize had been much more stubborn than that of any other person, Cecil, perhaps, excepted.

As to the alleged flexibility of Cranmer on religious matters, it is not true that he varied with the fluctuations of the royal conscience. He openly and stoutly opposed the statute of the Six Articles, except as it involved the doctrine of Sacrament, respecting which his own mind was not then rightly informed. Nay, so uncompromising was his opposition that, in spite of a request to that effect from the king, he refused to absent himself from the division upon the question in the House of Lords. And it is further undeniable that, while Cromwell was in the Tower awaiting his doom, and the Romish party conceived themselves to be

* The treason of Cranmer was indeed pardoned; but he was rescued from the block only that he might be reserved for the stake.

triumphant, he inflexibly withstood the parliamentary commissioners in their pertinacious attempts to promulgate a Romish summary of doctrine. He did this too at the imminent peril of incurring the king's displeasure, who was then notoriously under the influence of that party.

But we are told that when Henry died Cranmer "*found out*" that the doctrine of transubstantiation was false. The calumny here insinuated is such as it is scarcely possible to hear with patience. Even the admirable Ridley never *found out* the falsehood of this doctrine till about the year 1545, and that after a long course of retired and solitary study. The light which had visited him he laboured to communicate to his friend and diocesan; and it was accordingly about the year 1547 that, after patient examination, Cranmer followed the example of his chaplain, and embraced the Protestant doctrine of the Sacrament. If any doubt could be entertained as to the process by which he was in the habit of *finding out* the truth, ample satisfaction might be had from the following testimony of Peter Martyr, who, speaking of Cranmer's work on the Sacrament against Gardiner, declares,* that "there was none of the Fathers which he had not noted; no ancient or modern book extant he (Martyr) had not, with his own eyes, seen noted by the archbishop's hand. Whatsoever belonged to the whole controversy, he said, that the archbishop had digested into particular chapters, councils, canons, popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto; and that with so great labour, that, unless he had been an eye-witness of it, and had seen it, he could not easily have believed others, if they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence, and exactness wherewith the archbishop had done it."

Upon the share which Cranmer had in the condemnation first of the sacramentaries, and afterwards of other religious offenders, it is quite impossible to reflect without the deepest sorrow. But the general mildness and moderation of his character absolutely give the lie to the execrable and slanderous suggestion which ascribes this severity to a sanguinary temper that was *never at a loss for people to burn*. The practice of centuries had unhappily consecrated the belief that death in all its horrors was the appropriate punishment of obstinate error, and that nothing short of this extremity could permanently secure the truth from violation and the souls of men from danger. Undoubtedly a person who had himself undergone a vicissitude of religious persuasion ought to have learned the absurdity and the atrocity of such a notion; but the inveterate and immemorial principle was too strong for common sense and common humanity. It converted the author of

* Nares, p. 371. Strype's Cranmer, i. 369.

the Utopia into an unsparing persecutor; it lighted the pile which consumed Servetus; it has left a stain of blood upon the memory of Cranmer.

The mention of this afflicting portion of the archbishop's history inevitably reminds us of the eminent dexterity with which Dr. Lingard has derived from such comparatively rare examples a very comfortable palliation of the wholesale massacre and havoc of Queen Mary's reign. Having remarked that the foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel "persecution of the Reformers," he adds, with matchless composure, "it is, however, but fair to recollect, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrines was inculcated as a duty by every religious party. Mary only practised what *they* taught." Now really this does strike us as the very perfection of calm, self-possessed, intrepid perversion and mis-statement. It is altogether quite admirable in its way. "The very rareness redeems it." The distinguished beauty of it is, that if the passage were perused by a person imperfectly versed in the preceding annals of the Church, he would be apt to conclude that Mary had learned the lesson of persecution chiefly from the practice of the Protestants; that to the Reformers she stood principally indebted for her knowledge of the best means of repressing the Reformation; and that, consequently, they had none but themselves to thank for the sufferings they endured in their turn. What then would be the astonishment of such a person on being informed that Mary's own Church had, for ages past, been practising and teaching the same lesson, upon the grandest scale, and generally with the most tremendous success; that to the fervid genius of that Church the world was wholly indebted for the discovery; that by her accursed, but most consistent example, it was, that intolerance and zeal had long been yoked together so closely, that even the spirit of the Reformation was, at the first, scarcely venturous enough to put them asunder? And what would he think of a commentator on history who, to swell the odium against Cranmer, should empty the phials of his wrath, not on the mother of these abominations, but rather on those who, though they abjured her communion, were not able to recover, in a moment, from the fierce intoxication of her enchantments?

Shortly after the accession of Mary, Cranmer was earnestly warned by his friends to fly, as many others were preparing to do, from the approaching persecution. No advice or intreaty could shake his resolution to remain at his post. This supple, pusillanimous, unprincipled, and selfish intriguer, (as he has lately been represented,) displayed on this occasion a fortitude worthy of the

brightest periods of primitive self-devotion. It is true, that when his heaviest trials came upon him they were at first too sore for his spirit—and he fell. He signed his recantation, (whether once, or twice, or seven times, is scarcely worth inquiry,) and yet he was brought to the stake. We will not dwell on the refinement in barbarity which spared no insidious blandishment, first to awaken his love of life and his dread of a tormenting death, then to lure him to set his hand to his own infamy, and which did not drag its victim forth to execution till he was steeped to the very lips in humiliation. We pass by the detestable mockery of citing him to Rome when he could not stir beyond the walls of his dungeon; of pronouncing upon him a sentence of contumacy for disobeying the summons; and of going through the forms of a trial, when the accused was physically incapable of defence, or remonstrance, or even of personal appearance before the tribunal. We turn at once to his demeanour in the last agony, as represented to us by a *Popish* spectator; to his self-possession and alacrity at the stake; to the fortitude which enabled him steadily to hold his *offending hand* in the flame, without a movement or a cry; to his “patience in the torment, and his courage in dying, which,” says the *Catholic* reporter, “if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and the subversion of true religion, *I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any Father of ancient time.*”^{*} Such was the departure of Cranmer. And when we recollect his constitutional defect of firmness, nothing is more astonishing than the heroism of his last hour. It has been most invidiously alleged that his retractation at St. Mary’s was merely the consequence of his despair of pardon. But his despair of pardon never can have inspired this “*timid courtier*” with invincible firmness while the flames were devouring his flesh. His courage in the midst of suffering, (which might well extort shrieks and groans even from men made of more stubborn stuff than Cranmer,) can never have been the effect of hypocrisy and dissimulation. The most perverse malignity will hardly maintain that he was playing a part when he held his hand immovably in the fire that was scorching every nerve and sinew, accusing that hand as the guilty instrument of his disgrace. We have here, at least, a substantial proof that, at that moment, every other anguish was trifling, compared with the agony of his deep, but not despairing, repentance. We have here an exhibition which pours contempt upon the hateful and flippant surmise that, had his life been spared, he would have

^{*} Nares, p. 723.

heard mass *like a good Catholic*; and that he would afterwards have purchased, by another apostacy, the right of burning braver and better men.

What then is the truth of this whole matter? We have here before us a person endowed with many inestimable qualities, though not, perhaps, with that iron fortitude, that constitutional force of character which, combined with higher principles, bears men uniformly and stiffly up under the sternest trials of this life. The fatality which placed him in a court, and especially in such a court as that of Henry, was most unfortunate for his quiet and his happiness. He was there like a man shut up with a half-tame lion, who would sometimes fawn upon him, and sometimes be ready to fly upon him. During the rest of his days he was doomed, more or less, to live in a menagerie of ravenous beasts—in the very midst of the impurity and the violence of the capricious savages. A more inauspicious and comfortless position for human virtue cannot well be imagined: and the consequence has been, that some spots and blemishes have broken out upon his character, which those who best know his substantial merits must always look upon with the bitterest regret. But then on the other hand, it will ever remain indelibly true, that the obligations of this country to him are “broad and deep;” that to his conscientious labours, and to his incomparable prudence and moderation, England mainly owes the present fabric of her Church; and that his sincerity and faithfulness were triumphant in the hour of death. We cannot, therefore, affect to conceal or qualify the disgust with which we have viewed a recent portraiture of him,—executed indeed by knowledge, but “knowledge,” to all appearance, “much darkened by malice,”—a portraiture which robs him of all amiable or dignified expression; which denies him the air, not merely of sanctity, but of common respectability; which represents him in the likeness of a pitiful, cowardly, sordid, unfeeling, hypocritical, self-interested knave; and which, in short, is altogether fitted to hold up his memory to public scorn and execration.

Of the merits and services of the Church which rose under the hand of this master-builder, we have already had occasion to speak somewhat largely in our animadversions on the Constitutional History of Mr. Hallam. We are therefore relieved from the necessity of any lengthened reference to the vehement tone in which his accusations against that Church have recently been echoed by his admirers. We feel, however, strongly impelled, by this unmeasured obloquy, to borrow, for a moment, one sentiment of the historian, the benefit of which, if it be just, ought in all equity and righteousness to be allowed to the Church, in any esti-

mate which may be formed of her temper and proceedings, as an essential part of the constitution. It is wisely and nobly observed by him, that "men of sordid characters rejoice to generalize so convenient a maxim, as the non-existence of public virtue."* Now, if this be so, we cannot ascribe any very exalted attribute to the mind which denies to the ecclesiastical body one particle of public spirit and disinterested virtue—and which ascribes their whole conduct to a steady hatred of freedom, and to a grovelling devotion to the crown. By fixing its attention on the words, or actions, or designs, of some individual churchmen, a virtuous mind may work itself, at any time, into a fever of indignation against the servility of priests; and then is the moment for the "*sordid character*" to step in and "*generalize*," and to whisper that the spirit of slavishness and degradation possesses, at all times, the whole ecclesiastical profession; and that the progress of our constitution towards its perfection was actually retarded by the sinister influence of that selfish and abject body. We fully acquiesce in the opinion of Mr. Hallam, that nothing can more powerfully argue a middling and narrow mind than the disposition thus to distribute over a whole community the occasional demerits of some of its representatives; and to stigmatize it, as beyond redemption, for their dangerous application of certain general principles. And we cannot but feel persuaded, that, if this truth had been steadily kept in mind, it might have helped to tame the cynical acrimony which often betrays itself in the speculations of this writer and his adherents, relatively to the history of our religious establishment.

There is another sentiment propounded by the Historian of the Constitution, worthy to be held in remembrance by all readers of his work, and of certain commentaries which have been put forth upon it. It is intimated by that author, that party-spirit, though, in speculation, not strictly defensible, has something in it of faithfulness and nobleness and elevation, which makes it the best substitute for public spirit in the proper sense of the word.† We verily believe that there is much truth and wisdom in this remark; and we are willing to allow the advantage of it, in liberal measure, to politicians and to statesmen. But we are utterly at a loss to comprehend the justice of wholly excluding churchmen from its protection. If devotion to the honour of a party be held to redeem, and almost to sanctify, the aberrations of public men, why should the divines be branded by merciless reprobation when they unite for the defence and the preservation of their order? Why are we to be told that their spirit was selfish and mercenary, since they rose against oppression when it assailed their property

* Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. ii. p. 610.

† Ibid. p. 647, 648.

and their freedom? The firmness and intrepidity of churchmen undoubtedly helped to save the Protestant constitution in the time of James II. Why is this transcendent service to be tarnished by obloquy and disparagement, purely because the aggressions, which the Church then suffered from the throne, were the occasion which called her forth to plant herself in the breach? But this is usually the way with that *ludus impudentiæ*, miscalled the School of Liberality. When the public virtue of secular persons and friends of the people is somewhat questionable, there is reserved a very respectable and convenient position upon which they may fall back from the higher and more chivalrous ground. If not altogether patriots, they, at least, are partizans of tried honour and fidelity. But for churchmen this retreat is utterly cut off. If they are slow to move against established authority, it is a sure indication that the whole body is without a single spark of free-born nobleness and integrity. If, on the other hand, they combine for their own protection, their opposition is nothing better than a disgusting mixture of selfish bigotry and faction. When political agitators seem to forget the public interest, they are provided with a motive which at least secures them from contempt. When the sacred order show that they have human feelings, and a sense of wrong, no motive can be found too low and too disgraceful to explain their unusual sensibility. The praise of party-spirit is, in short, a species of sanctuary, which is kept open for the comfort of political delinquency. But, if a churchman ventures to approach it, he is driven back with scorn, and left to the hue and cry of the enemy and the avenger.

We advert to these little peculiarities of a certain school, purely for the sake of illustrating the manner in which they are often pleased to administer historical justice to the clerical profession; and not because we are anxious to secure to the members of that profession the privilege of fleeing to that *substitute, the spirit of party*, as to a city of refuge, whenever they may be tempted to quit the strong hold of religious integrity. The politicians are welcome to that retreat, which they *have made so strong for themselves*. No motives short of the loftiest and purest can properly become a Christian minister, or a governor of the Christian Church; and it is always instructive for persons, invested with that sacred responsibility, to contemplate the tender mercies they have to expect from the men of liberality, on descending from the high ground they ought to occupy.

“A man as old as I am,” says Burke, “will not be astonished that several churchmen in every description do not lead that life of perfect self-denial which is wished by all, by some expected; but by *none exacted with more rigour than by those who are the most attentive to their own interests, and the most indulgent to their own passions.*”

This remark may be useful to the clergy as a warning against any deviations and obliquities which may cause them *to fall into the hands of man*; but it ought likewise to have its use as a caution to the students of history. It is fit they should know the spirit which often presides over the labours of those who are pleased to edify the world with the annals of ecclesiastical servility and turpitude.

We revert, for a moment, once more, to the invidious suggestion that the direct, and regular opposition of the Church to the measures of James II., commenced only at the moment of his invasion of their own rights. On what occasion, we would ask, could it commence so naturally? Where could churchmen make so effectual and righteous a stand as on their own ground? What other post could they defend with such a combination of zeal and knowledge? How is it that patriots have turned back the tide of oppression, but by resisting it when it approached their own territory? What is it that immortalized Hampden but his firmness when the tax-gatherer came to his door, and by his resolution to abide the hazard of bringing the question of ship-money before the tribunals of his country? And how could the Church better fight the battle of the constitution, than in the person of her bishops, when an infatuated tyrant sought to violate and enslave their consciences?

But then we are told, that the Church, till that time, had always been the school of unlimited obedience; and that, when her own dignity was touched, she suddenly forgot to practise the submission which she had uniformly taught. Now, with regard to this most uncharitable and sweeping censure, we gladly resort to the language of the Constitutional Historian himself, which, compared with that of his commentators, is a perfect pattern of righteous moderation.

"It is not my intention," says Mr. Hallam, speaking with reference to the latter period of the reign of Charles II., "to censure, in any strong sense of the word, the Anglican clergy, at this time, for their assertion of absolute non-resistance, so far as it was done without calumny and insolence towards those of another way of thinking, and without self-interested adulation of the ruling power. Their error was very dangerous, and had nearly proved destructive to the whole constitution, but it was one which had come down with high recommendation, and of which they could only, perhaps, be undeceived, as men are best undeceived of most errors, by experience that it might hurt themselves. It was the tenet of their homilies, their canons, their most distinguished divines and casuists; it had the apparent sanction of the legislature in a statute of the present reign.* Many excellent men, as was shown after the Revo-

* 13 Cha. II. c. 2. s. 5.

lution, who had never made use of this doctrine as engines of faction or private interest, could not disentangle their minds from the arguments on which it rested. But, by too great a number, it was eagerly brought forward to serve the purposes of arbitrary power, or at best to fix the wavering Protestantism of the court by professions of unimpeachable loyalty. To this motive, in fact, we may trace a good deal of the vehemence with which the non-resisting principle had been originally advanced by the Church of England under the Tudors, and was continually urged under the Stuarts.

“ From the era of the Exclusion-Bill especially, to the death of Charles II., a number of books were published in favour of an indefeasible hereditary right to the crown; and of absolute non-resistance. These were, however, of two very different classes. The authors of the first, who were perhaps the more numerous, did not deny the legal limitations of monarchy. They admitted that no one was bound to concur in the execution of unlawful commands. Hence the obedience they deemed indispensable was denominated passive; an epithet which, in modern usage, is little more than redundant, but, at that time, made a sensible distinction. If all men should confine themselves to this line of duty, and merely refuse to become the instruments of such unlawful commands, it was evident that no tyranny could be carried into effect. If some should be wicked enough to co-operate against the liberties of their country, it would still be the bounden duty of Christians to submit. Of this, which may be reckoned the moderate party, the most eminent were Hickes, in a treatise called *Jovian*, and Sherbeck, in his case of non-resistance to the supreme powers. To this also must have belonged Archbishop Sancroft, and the great body of non-juring clergy, who had refused to read the declaration of indulgence under James II., and whose conduct would have been utterly absurd, except on the supposition that there existed some lawful boundaries of royal authority.”—*Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 332—335.

That these views are substantially correct, any person, who retains a curiosity respecting this question, may fully satisfy himself, by reference to the trial of Dr. Sacheverel,—that record of a proceeding in itself eminently absurd, but eventually of great importance to the constitution. He may find there a regular and continuous series of authorities, produced by Sacheverel's counsel, in support of the high tory doctrine, extracted from the writings of the most celebrated divines, from the time of Cranmer down to that of the impeachment. A dispassionate examination of these can hardly fail to convince us that the writers never seriously contemplated a submission which should place the life, and property, and conscience, and freedom, of whole nations at the mercy of a despotism, whether with one head or many. Their notion was, that no mention of resistance ought to find its way into any formal theory of government. It was to be something of which the loyal subject was to say—*nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum*. They

held, indeed, that resistance is unlawful and unchristian, so long as the ruling power should act within the technical limits of its authority; and, unfortunately, they had learned from the lawyers to assign to those limits a very formidable amplitude; but it never was their deliberate doctrine that kings might be tamely allowed to trample on all laws divine and human. One most magnanimous exception, to be sure, there was, to this temper of moderation and tacit compromise; and that was to be found in the doctrine of old Bishop Saunderson, who seems fairly to have taken leave of all sound discretion and common sense; to have thrown himself desperately into the most untenable position which the whole range of the question affords, and there, as it were with his back against the wall, to have bid defiance to the whole insurrection of man's natural principles and feelings.

"For a man," he says, "to blaspheme the holy name of God, to sacrifice to idols, to give wrong sentence in judgment, by his power to oppress those that are not able to withstand him, by subtilty to overreach others in bargaining, *to take up arms, offensive or defensive, against a lawful sovereign*;—none of these, and sundry other things of the like nature, being all of them simply, and *de toto genere*, unlawful, must be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon any colour or pretension whatsoever; the express command of God himself only excepted, as in the case of Abraham for sacrificing his son:—not for the avoiding of scandal—not at the instance of any friend, or command of any power on earth—not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others—nor for the defence of religion—nor for the preservation of Church or state—no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul—no, not for the redemption of the whole world."—*Sacheverell's Impeachment. State Trials*, vol. xv. p. 255. Ed. 1812.

The recital of these enormous positions appears to have produced, as well it might, a sort of commotion in the House. And yet, it can hardly be doubted that this good and honest bishop was betrayed into these monstrous statements by his very integrity; by his dread of crooked and Jesuitical casuistry, rather than by a spirit of slavish devotion to the crown. Neither can we question that, had he lived to see even legal power arming itself against the peace and happiness, the virtue and religion, of millions, he must, in spite of himself, have seen, in such a frightful emergency, a virtual dispensation with his own principles—an intimation almost equivalent to the "*express command of God*." He must surely have perceived, that there *may* be cases in which submission to the prince is treason against human nature, and consequently against heaven itself.

But we have been wandering most licentiously away from Dr. Nares and his labours; and here we find ourselves, at last, nearly

two centuries distant from the birth of his hero. How this has happened we hardly know. We must plead, however, that his own example has tempted us to be somewhat excursive. If the *Life of Burleigh* has opened to *him* the history of the Reformation—the history of the Reformation has irresistibly reminded *us* of the calumnies which have lately assailed the Church which that Reformation has given us; and it is scarcely in human nature to hear such slander without an effort to repel it. The attempt to discharge this duty, we feel it but just to say, has had the effect of giving to the Constitutional Historian an aspect of mild and mitigated enmity, placed, as we have now seen him, by the side of other performers whose “evil will” is still more deadly, and who have made his work a position for their hostilities. From his own representations we might, sometimes, rise with the impression that the Church was far too much of a humble and obsequious friend to the state, and that she was awakened to the error of such unqualified compliance when she herself began to feel the gripe of encroachment. From the representations of his commentators, we should deem her to have been little better than an unprincipled and mercenary confederate, combined with the monarch in a dark and foul conspiracy against the freedom and the intelligence of the country, and quitting that execrable league only when her share of the spoil appeared to be in jeopardy. For the former of these statements the conduct and the writings of some individual churchmen may occasionally, perhaps, furnish a plausible pretence. To the latter, nothing could have given birth but the habit of seeking the worst possible motives for words or actions at all liable to misconstruction, and fixing on some of the worst members of a society as fair representatives of its general spirit and character.

After all, however, we may confidently revert to the views which we have already maintained in our former remarks on the work of Mr. Hallam, namely, that the claims of the Church are not to be estimated according to the merits or demerits of individual ministers or dignitaries. A true notion of her value is to be derived, not so much from the occasional preachings, or writings, or actions of churchmen, whose stations may have brought them into contact with political interests, as from her strength in the confidence of the people, and her influence on the public virtue and devotion. To this test she may confidently appeal. We have already contended that her hold on the public mind and heart was one mighty instrument in three great and providential deliverances experienced by our country; that it potently helped to save us from the rampant and rebellious arrogance of the Holy Discipline in the days of Elizabeth; that it

mainly contributed to the happy resurrection of the monarchy in the days of Charles II.; and that it aided most signally in our preservation from the desperate designs of his infatuated brother. Peradventure, the days may not be far distant when the Church shall be called upon once more to prove her claim to the reverence and gratitude of the people, as a powerful conservative principle of the constitution. An awful experiment has recently been made, one effect of which must assuredly be, to call for the exertion of whatever she may possess of beneficent and salutary power. We are fully persuaded that she will be prepared to answer that call; or, at least, that nothing can prevent her doing so but an unprincipled abuse of her resources by those who have the distribution of her patronage. Mangled and mutilated as those resources were by the political agency which opened the way to her Reformation, her means of good are still sufficient ultimately to repel the worst danger which may be gathering, unless she is most stupidly and most wickedly debarred from an effective application of them. Of the change which has recently been made, and which may produce a fearful demand upon her energies, it becomes us to speak only as loyal and Christian men must ever speak of the law under which they live. Thus much, however, we may venture to say—(and we say it not for the purpose of spreading gloomy and oppressive apprehensions)—that the admission of Romanists into the privy council and the legislature is a step, of which no human sagacity can pretend distinctly to foresee the consequences. The hopes of the most sanguine among its intelligent and honest advocates must inevitably be dashed by some secret doubts and misgivings. It is, therefore, the duty of those who truly value the blessings purchased for us by the toil and blood of our Reformers, to regard the future workings of that measure, if not with an unfriendly and jealous, yet, at least, with a watchful eye. They should be prepared to hail with thankfulness its beneficial operation—if such should be the blessed result to which a gracious Providence shall direct it. But they should likewise be prepared, with every talent and with every faculty, to resist any tendencies which may lurk within it hostile to the Protestant cause—and which may manifest themselves hereafter in the shape of open aggression or of insidious approach. Of one thing we may be most firmly assured—that there will be no defect of vigilance, activity, and zeal on the part of those who have recently won the territory which has been the object of so protracted and obstinate a struggle. Whatever may be the faults of that communion, indolence and apathy most certainly are not of the number. Whatever advantage their late success may offer, we may be fully per-

suaded that they will labour most faithfully, and most intensely, to improve it. There will be no repose, no languor, no cessation among them; the ground they have gained will be employed, with the utmost industry and skill, for the purpose of strengthening their position and of extending their operations. What then can be said for the Protestant Interest if, under these altered circumstances, it shall be wanting to itself? What can be said for the Church of England—(taken in the largest sense, as comprehending not merely her professional members, but the laity of her communion, and especially those who have the disposal of her dignities and benefices)—what can be said for the Church, if a spirit of slumber should creep over her, while her adversary and rival is before her, with loins girded, and lamp flaming, as if in keen and restless watchfulness for the coming of the bridegroom? If the admission of Papists to the common privileges of Dissent shall animate the Church vigorously to stir up the heavenly gift that is within her, and shall rally her sons around her in warm and cordial allegiance, then may the change, which so many now look upon with heaviness of heart, be in truth but a signal for the approach of brighter days than, yet, she has ever seen. But if the measure in question shall excite no such feeling of increased responsibility, we almost tremble to think upon the consequences;—and we feel ourselves compelled to remind our brethren, that an abandonment to delusion is the appropriate punishment for an indifference to truth.

At present, however, we perceive no reason to fear any such result. The most apprehensive mind must allow that there is much cause for gratitude, and even exultation, in the late history of Catholic Emancipation. The attachment of the people to their Protestant institutions was then nobly, and almost universally, expressed in their petitions to the legislature. There is in this one fact an inexpressible consolation. It shows us that the public heart is sound in this country at least. It shows, we trust, that a wall of adamant is built up against a return of the waters which once inundated this land. It affords a consolation of a still higher sort—it shows us that, be the measure of concession good or bad, it is the measure rather of the government than of the nation. If the measure be good, a merciful Providence, it is to be presumed, will not defeat its beneficial operation, in vengeance for the mistaken resistance which was arrayed against it. If it be bad—if it be such as to deserve the approbation neither of God nor man—the people may have the satisfaction, at least, of knowing that they protested against it—that the sin, *if it be one*, is not a national sin. They may in that

case, therefore, warrantably entertain the hope, that the Almighty will graciously mitigate the displeasure with which his justice might otherwise have visited it; and that, in his mysterious providence, he may even convert it into an instrument of blessing.

ART. II.—*Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo*. By the late Commander Clapperton, of the Royal Navy. *To which is added the Journal of Richard Lander, from Kano to the Sea-Coast, partly by a more Eastern Route*. With a Portrait of Captain Clapperton, and a Map of the Route. London. Murray. 1829. 4to. 2l. 2s.

WERE the geography of Africa, its physical characteristics, the direction and height of its mountains, the course of its rivers, magnitude and position of its lakes, or even the peculiarities of its climate, the only objects in view when missions are sent out, such as that of which this work gives an account, there could be no question as to the inexpediency of risking the lives of so many men of talents for a purpose which, however valuable in itself, may be attained at too high a price. But it would be a narrow view of the subject to consider the physical state of Africa as the sole or even as the most important object contemplated. The moral state of the myriads who people that vast continent, and the means which offer themselves of improving their condition, are the great questions, the solution of which we seek from the explorer of central Africa. And when it is considered how large a portion of the debasement by which the African is now depressed, may be attributed to the nefarious traffic in which almost all Europe for upwards of two centuries participated, it will not perhaps appear Quixotic to say, that some compensation is due for so much mischief, and that the lives lost in the attainment of such an end, cannot be considered as thrown away in an useless or secondary inquiry.

That great truth which the advocates for the slave-trade were so unwilling to admit, viz. that the further the traveller recedes from the coast, the more does he find the natives advanced in civilization and happiness, has been so long established beyond dispute, that it is almost in danger of being forgotten, from the silence of the adversary; and it has not perhaps been remarked as it deserved, that the memorable journeys which have at length connected the northern and southern shores of Africa, have afforded abundant materials in support of that position. As far, indeed, as they are yet known, the most brutal and inhuman of the Negro

tribes are those within a moderate distance from the coast; but should it ultimately prove to be otherwise, it will still remain to be shown that the slaving-system is not the great source of African degradation. That system, it must be remembered, is fostered by Mohammedanism, and as the creed of Mohammed has found its way into the very heart of Nigritia, many of the tribes in the interior are exposed to the merciless incursions to which that traffic gives birth. It is from the coast, however, that the great demand arises, and were that once cut off, it is plain, from Col. Denham's observations, that the ghazziyehs, or slaving-incursions, would cease. Of this we have a striking instance near the beginning of the present work, (p. 13—21.) That great end once attained, hopes of the rapid improvement of Africa might be reasonably cherished. By the vigilance of our cruisers on the coast and the good conduct of our travellers in the interior, a favourable opinion of the British character has been established in all the most civilized and accessible parts of the country; and most of the chiefs would be proud to have agents from our government resident at their courts, as has been suggested by Bowdich and Macqueen, and such persons would be, of all others, best qualified to extend our knowledge of the country and assist in promoting the civilization of its inhabitants.

But the fatal effects of the climate on the health of most Europeans will be deemed by many an insuperable bar to the adoption of this plan. It may, however, be questioned whether, if sufficient care were taken as to the rate, time, and mode of travelling, the choice of season, and position of his residence, such a traveller would be exposed to the same hazards as were encountered by Clapperton, Denham, and Laing. Many Englishmen have resided for years without material injury to their health, even at Sierra Leone, and it should be remembered that though we hear of almost all those who die at such stations, no account is kept of the survivors. There can be little doubt that the latter form a frightful minority, yet were a report of their numbers produced, the amount would probably be greater than is generally supposed.

To these considerations which, it is hoped, will not appear absolutely chimerical, it may be added that the loss of the lamented traveller, whose journal is now before us, is not to be ascribed solely to the effects of the climate. His liver was diseased before he last quitted England; and much of his subsequent sufferings and debility was occasioned by anxiety and disappointment, as well as by fatigue and want of medical assistance. Discouraging therefore as the melancholy termination of his mission may appear, it

does not cut off all hope of a better fate to future adventurers in the same path; nor will it, we trust, repress the efforts of Government to draw aside the veil which has from the earliest ages concealed the greater part of Africa from the rest of the world.

The circumstances which immediately led to the mission of which the following pages are an abstract, cannot have escaped the notice of those who are acquainted with Captain Clapperton's former narrative. His flattering reception at Sakatû in the spring of 1824, the wish expressed by Bellô, Sultân of the Fellâtahs to have a consul and physician resident at his court, the assurance that the Kwârâ, or Jâlibâ, communicated with the sea, and, above all, the promise that an escort should be sent to accompany the British mission from the southern coast, all conspired to give such a promise of permanent advantages, that the whole nation might be said to anticipate the views entertained by Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, who did not hesitate in adopting, without delay, the arrangement made by Captain Clapperton with Bellô.—(*Brit. Crit.* ii. 540.) At the request of that officer, Mr. Dickson, a friend of his, who had served as a surgeon in the West Indies, was appointed to accompany him, and another naval surgeon, Dr. Morrison, together with Captain Pearce, R. N. was afterwards appointed to join them, as it was thought advisable, in an undertaking so hazardous and at the same time presenting so wide a field of inquiry, to guard against the casualties which might occur, and leave an opening, if opportunity should offer, for excursions in different directions. To a knowledge of medicine Dr. Morrison and Mr. Dickson added an acquaintance with various branches of natural history, but, perhaps, there was no one of the whole party from whom the public had more to expect, or whose loss is more to be deplored, than Captain Pearce. To a kind-heartedness and simplicity of character, which endeared him as an individual to all who knew him, he united an ardent love for the service in which he was engaged, and talents far above mediocrity, which had been zealously employed in the acquisition of every branch of knowledge connected with his profession. To his skill as a draughtsman Mr. Barrow has borne testimony in the present work, (p. xiii.) but he was probably not aware that Captain Pearce excelled as a practical astronomer, and was ready to take an active part in every inquiry which could forward the scientific objects of the mission. Such was his anxiety to accompany it, that he would not listen for a moment to the objections started by some of his friends as to the impropriety of his acting under the orders of an officer of inferior rank, and he most cordially waved every consi-

deration of that sort, for the purpose of advancing the interests of science and what he justly deemed the honour of his country.

There was certainly no backwardness on the part of Government to take advantage of the opportunity which Belló's proposition seemed to offer.—Poor Clapperton was hurried away from his relations in Scotland, and the whole party was shipped off for the Bight of Benin on the 27th of August, 1825, not three months after the arrival of their leader from Bornû. Though it was extremely desirable to lose no time, especially as by that means the party might reach the end of its journey before the rains had set in, yet there were some evils attending this precipitation; none of the travellers had leisure to make the necessary preparations, and their instructions (of which, by the way, we hear nothing in this book) do not appear to have been drawn up so as to provide for the contingencies which they had to expect. It would be going too far to say that the difficulties under which Clapperton laboured in his last journey were occasioned by the want of such foresight; but it is not too much to affirm that nothing but the unavoidable haste with which his instructions were prepared, could have prevented the framers of them from contemplating the possibility of the dilemma in which he was placed, and protecting him by a discretionary power as to the execution of the whole of his mission.

Of the proceedings of the party till they reached the Bight, on the 26th of November, 1825, not a word is said, except that they touched at Teneriffe and St. Jago. This is the more remarkable as the papers of Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison long since reached England, and the whole party made many observations on the summit of the Peak and elsewhere in the course of their voyage.

Mr. Dickson was landed on the coast of Hwîdâ, having determined, for reasons which do not appear, to make his way alone to Yâwerî on the Niger, where he was to rejoin his companions. He was accompanied by a Portuguese, named De Sousa, as far as Dâhômé, where that gentleman resided, and intelligence was subsequently received of his arrival at Shar, seventeen days journey beyond that place; from thence he set out with an escort for Yâwerî, but has never been heard of since. Of Belló nothing seemed to be known on the coast, the rest of the party therefore proceeded a little further eastward, intending to ascend the Benin river. From this they were dissuaded by Mr. Houtson, a gentleman established as a merchant in Hwîdâ; he informed them that the king of Benin, to whom the English are peculiarly odious, would probably throw every obstacle in their way, but that the

chief of Badaghi,* near the mouth of the Lagos, would, no doubt, afford them protection to the frontiers of Yuribah, a state reaching to the banks of the Niger, and believed to be in alliance with the Fellâtahs. Mr. Houtson also engaged to accompany them as far as Katanga, or Ayô, the capital of Yuribah; they therefore landed at Badaghi on the 29th of November, and having, on the 7th of December, begun their journey, received a very hospitable reception at Puka from an Ayô chief, who had two Bornuese in his train. This place, which is within five miles of the sea, is the southern frontier town of Yuribah,† (p. 56.) It was once populous, and surrounded by a wall and deep ditch, but is now in ruins. As the cabecçira, or chief, would not give them bearers, they were obliged to proceed with the people whom they brought, and Captain Clapperton, who was neither provided with boots nor saddle, was obliged to travel great part of the way on foot in the midst of ant-hills, the inhabitants of which continually drew blood from his feet and ancles. They travelled by night, and at one village the natives sent guides with lamps to light them on their way. "Our short rest and ride," he says, "had a bad effect on us, and the road only wanted thorns to make our misery complete." At Dagmû, which they reached at midnight, they found that their beds had gone on further, and they were therefore obliged to sleep on the ground in the open air. These circumstances deserve notice, as they seem to show a want of any pre-concerted plan, and, what is of more consequence, a very imprudent exposure to the influence of the night air, which is notoriously hazardous in tropical climates. It is possible that their plans might have been thwarted by the negligence or mistake of their servants, but nothing of that kind appears in the Narrative. With such difficulties and privations at the outset of their journey, it is the less surprising that its consequences should have been so fatal.

On the third day Captain Clapperton had a slight attack of ague, the natural consequence of passing from "mornings raw, cold, and hazy," to a noon-day sun so oppressive that "he was obliged to sit down in the shade quite exhausted," (p. 9.) On the seventh day both Dr. Morrison and Captain Pearce were indisposed. On the ninth they reached Jannah about noon. This was the first town of any importance they had seen since they

* Spelt Badagry by Captain Clapperton; the last syllable begins with a strong guttural, resembling the letter R as pronounced by the Northumbrians. It is the Ghain of the Arabs and Hebrews. Perhaps the name should be spelt Badaghê.—(*Robertson's Notes on Africa*, p. 283.)

† Spelt Yariba by Lander; Yarriba by Bowdich; Yarraba by Dupuis; Yaraba or Youriba by Captain Clapperton; and Yurubâ in a map drawn by a native of Haúsâ.

quitted the coast. At the palaver-house, an open shed, they had to wait about an hour before the cabeceira made his appearance, which, however, he did at last,

“ gorgeously arrayed in a large yellow silken shirt and red velvet cap ; with a silver-mounted and silver-wrought kind of horse-whip, ornamented with beads, in one hand, and a child’s silver bell in the other, which he rattled or shook when he spoke ; he was seated on a large leathern cushion, which was placed on a mat covered with scarlet cloth. On the cloth,” says Captain Clapperton, (p. 11.) “ I was going to sit down, but the ladies very unceremoniously whipt it from under me, and I squatted myself on the mat ; his female attendants sung in chorus very beautifully : the drummers were at a more respectable distance, and the whole space in front of his house was covered with people. Here also were the worshippers, who paid their respects in due form to their master, going out and coming in three times. We shook hands with him. He said he was glad to see us ; that whatever we had to say to the king of Eyeo [Ayo], we must first deliver to him ; that if he approved of our palaver, so would the king ; but if not, neither would the king of Eyeo. This seemed somewhat ungracious and consequential, especially when coupled with his apparent inattention, while the interpreter was speaking to him ; but on our explaining to him that we had nothing of particular importance to say to the king of Eyeo, beyond a request that he would accept the king of England’s respects, and grant a passage through his country, he said all was right ; that he was glad we should see the king of Eyeo’s face ; that God would give us a good path, and that he would forward us right or without any trouble In the evening we were visited by the caboceer [chief] incognito. He was now quite a different man : his servant Akoni, who had come with us from Badagry, sat down, and the caboceer made a seat of his knee. He now conversed freely, gave us a great deal of good advice, and spoke of God more like a christian than a pagan. He said that the king of Eyeo would not allow us to go through his dominions, but that he would give us horses and carriers to bring us to the king ; but that the Eyeo people were unaccustomed to carry hammocks, and we must go on horseback. He repeatedly assured us of safe conduct to Eyeo, and said we might start to-morrow if our sick were well. We then gave him the greatest part of our string of coral, which in this country is highly esteemed. Mr. Houtson learnt this evening, that a message had arrived to the caboceer, from some part of the coast, probably Lagos or Dahomy, advising him that the Englishmen were going to make war upon the king of Eyeo, and that we might perhaps kill the king ; this, I apprehend, was the reason why he was so positive in wanting to know our business with the king of Eyeo.”

The town of Jannah stands on the side of a gentle hill, commanding an extensive view to the west ; the view to the east is interrupted by thick woods. The inhabitants are apparently civil and industrious, and may amount to 8000. They delight in

carved work, almost every thing of wood is carved. Narrow irregular streets, houses occupying a large space, and a market well supplied with the produce of the country, whether raw or manufactured, sufficiently mark the degree of civilization and prosperity which the place has attained.

"Here," says Clapperton, (p. 13.) "amongst the Yarribanies is the poor dog treated with respect and made the companion of men; here he has collars round his neck of different colours, and ornamented with cowries, and sits by his master, and follows him in all his journies and visits. In no other country of Africa, that I have been in, is this faithful animal treated with common humanity."

Allowing themselves no respite, and travelling in the cold damp morning air after having been exposed to the heat of the preceding day, it is not wonderful that almost all the Europeans in the party were far from well. Dr. Morrison and Captain Pearce were both, on the 22d of December, only sixteen days after they left the coast, so ill, that Captain Clapperton very judiciously recommended their return on board ship, in the hope of benefit from the sea-air, but neither of them would listen to the proposal; the former, however, followed his advice on the following day, and set out for the coast, accompanied by Mr. Houtson, but was not able to advance further than Jannah, where he died four days afterwards, almost at the same time as Captain Pearce who continued with Clapperton and just lived to reach Engwa, a village about seventy miles N. of Badaghi. A change of wind, and probably a difference of elevation, had, just before this, produced a corresponding change of temperature, which proved most beneficial to Clapperton himself and his faithful attendant Richard Lander.

Proceeding as far as Chocho [Kho-kho?] in $8^{\circ} 8' \text{ N.}$ and $4^{\circ} 2' \text{ E.}$, by a gradual ascent, covered for the most part with thick, almost impenetrable, forests, springing from a bed of strong red clay and vegetable mould, occasionally well cultivated, and maintaining a numerous population; the travellers entered a range of granitic hills, running from N. N. W. to E. S. E. often appearing in naked grey masses, entirely destitute of vegetation, and rising from 400 to 800 feet above the level of the narrow, winding, well-watered vallies by which they are intersected. This chain reaches as far as Kúsú nearly in $8^{\circ} 50' \text{ N.}$ It is manifestly the first step in the ascent to the great central level, and is probably a continuation of the chain which terminates to the west in the land of the Fúlas; a part of which is formed by the mountains called Kong by Park. That name is given, indeed, in the map to this range, but it should seem without any authority. The highest part crossed, is there also said not to exceed 2500 feet, but for this again no authority appears in the text. From Kúsú

to Ayô the range is less regular, and runs from N. E. to S. W.* seeming to indicate some great convulsion. Here the vallies widen gradually into plains, but want of wood and stunted trees point out a poorer soil, if not a severer climate. The domestic animals, except near the capital, are also of a small size; the wild animals are such as are usually found within the tropics, but do not seem to abound. The vegetable produce is considerable. Cloths are the principal manufacture, but slaves the staple article of commerce, and kauris, as in most parts of Africa, the common medium of exchange; a prime slave at Jannah is worth about 3*l.* or 4*l.*

At Châu, a day's journey from the capital, a cabecçira or chief, attended by a very numerous retinue, came to meet the travellers and escort them to the royal residence; and about noon the next day, from the top of a high ridge, they first saw the city of Ayô, called Katankâ† by the Fellâtahs. It lies in a finely cultivated valley, extending to the westward as far as the eye can reach, but intercepted to the eastward by a high rock, broken into large masses and singularly varied at its summit. The city, about three miles in length, and almost embosomed in shady trees, forms a belt round a rocky mountain of granite. The throng, on the approach of the white men to the royal presence, was immense, and the king's people had much difficulty in making a way through the crowd and allowing the procession to advance in regular order.

"Sticks and whips," says Captain Clapperton, "were used, though generally in a good-natured manner; and I cannot help remarking on this, as on all other occasions of this kind, that the Youribas appear to be a mild and kind people—kind to their wives and children and to one another; and that the government, though absolute, is conducted with the greatest mildness. After we got as far as the two umbrellas in front, the space was all clear before the king, and for about twenty yards on each side. We walked up to the verandah‡ with our hats on, until we came into the shade, when we took off our hats, made a bow and shook hands; he lifting up our hands three times, repeating 'Ako, ako!' (how do you do?) the women behind him standing up and cheering us, calling out 'Oh, oh, oh!' (hurrah!) the men on the outside joining. It was impossible to count the number of his ladies, they were so densely packed and so very numerous. If I might judge by their smiles, they appeared as glad to see us as their master. The king was dressed in a white tobe, or large shirt, with a blue one under; round his neck some

* Should it not be from N. W. to S. E.? It is, however, probable that these hills may be a branch of the high range running through Adâmâwâ.

† It is spelt Katankâ, but pronounced Katangâ; *kâf* having the sound of *G* in most parts of Africa.

‡ By a singular perversity our countrymen in India, who usually omit the final *h* in Asiatic words, where it ought to be added, have introduced the practice of tacking it to this Portuguese word, where it ought not.

three strings of large blue cut-glass beads ; on his head the imitation of an European crown of blue cotton, covered over paste-board, made apparently by some European, and sent up to him from the coast."—p. 36.

They were offered apartments in the palace, but preferred a comfortable lodging elsewhere, in order to be near their servants and luggage. After dark, the king paid them a friendly visit *incognito*, and he was then not distinguishable in his dress from any of the people.

Confidential conferences are held privately, and at night ; it was intimated, therefore, that the presents should be delivered after sunset, and in the morning of that day, the king paid the mission a visit. When Clapperton declared the object of his mission, and added that his sovereign, having heard of the greatness of the King of Yûriba, wished to beg his acceptance of a present, he expressed his satisfaction at seeing white men, of whom neither himself, nor his father, nor any of his ancestors, had ever seen one ; " and now," he said, " he trusted his country would be put right, his enemies brought to submission, and he would be enabled to build up his father's house, which war had destroyed."

" This he spoke," says Clapperton, (p. 39,) " in such a feeling and energetic manner, and repeated it so many times, that I could not help sympathizing with him. He then said we were welcome to his country, and he was glad to see us, and would have been so even if we had not a cownie, instead of coming with our hands full, as we had done ; that he wanted nothing from white men but something to assist him against his enemies and his rebellious subjects, so as to enable him to reduce them to obedience."

He expressed satisfaction on hearing that the travellers had been well treated, and said that Badghî, Alada and Da-hômê, all belonged to him, and paid duty for every ship which anchored on the coast. He feelingly deplored the civil war occasioned by his father's death, adding that all the ruined towns which they had seen, were destroyed and burned by his rebellious Haûsâ slaves and their friends the Fellâtahs, (p. 39.) The parasols, gold-headed cane, cloth blue and red, and other presents sent to him by the King of England, highly delighted him ; and after some hesitation, he promised a safe conduct across the Kwâra, notwithstanding the civil war which, rendered travelling through Nifê dangerous. He was not, however, as good as his word, and Clapperton could not get away from his court before the 7th of March, having been detained there upwards of six weeks. Nothing like distrust or suspicion of any evil intention appears to have been harboured, which is the more remarkable when it is considered that he was confessedly going to a powerful prince, of whom the King of Ayô had so much reason to be jealous. It is

possible, however, that Bornû might be the place to which he was supposed to be going.

Yuribâ or Yaribâ, the country of the Ayôs, extends from Puka, within five miles of the sea, to about North Latitude 10°. It is bounded by Ketto, Maha and Borgû on the North and West, the Kwarâ or Niger on the East, Benin and Jabû on the South-East, Aladâ on the South, and Dâ-hômê on the West. The two last, together with Maha, are its tributaries. Its government is an hereditary and absolute monarchy, the subjects being considered as slaves of the king; but they are treated like domestic slaves, and the royal power seems to have been long exercised with mildness and humanity. The *cabeceiras*, or governors of provinces, are the only persons of distinction, and seem to hold their offices by a sort of military tenure, each appearing with his retainers when called upon to serve in war. The Yuribânies, or people of Ayô, have less of the peculiar negro features than almost any other natives of tropical Africa; the men are well made and have an independent air, but the women are generally inferior in appearance to the men. The king and chiefs are never approached but with the humblest prostrations, the body of their visitors being stretched along the ground, and their cheeks rubbed in the dust; and men of equal rank, when they meet, kneel on one knee, but women on both, leaning upon one of their elbows, the arm of which is placed on the ground that the hand may support the other elbow, (pp. 9—12.) Their religion consists, as far as could be ascertained, in the worship of one God, to whom they offer sacrifices of horses, cows, sheep, goats and fowls. At the great yearly festival, which appears to take place about the vernal equinox, all these animals are sacrificed at the Temple, in which a little of the blood is sprinkled on the ground; and the victims are dressed and eaten in a public banquet given by the king to all his subjects, both men and women, all, it is said, stark naked: and though *pîtô*, or “country ale,” is drunk copiously, the least indecency would be punished with death. The king during these solemnities appears in all his finery, and he was very anxious that his guest should stay and “see him robed as a king,” (p. 41;) but as the rainy season was approaching, his wish could not be complied with. He seemed much shocked on being asked whether there were any human sacrifices at these great festivals, as in Dâ-hômê; however it seems to depend upon the will of the priest whether a human being or an inferior animal is sacrificed on those occasions, and though the former is said to be always a criminal, it may be doubted whether the slaves massacred by the people of Ashantî and Dâ-hômê, in their bloody rites, are not considered as such by those who sacrifice them. The most

decided difference between the Ayôs and their western neighbours is, that one human victim only is offered by the former, while the number slaughtered by the latter is undoubtedly considerable.* The truth of what the king said on this subject was strongly corroborated by accounts received at Jannah from a Mohammedan, a native of Bornû, who had witnessed these rites. At the death of the king, his eldest son, (p. 323,) four of his principal chiefs, four of his women, and a great many of his slaves are obliged to swallow a dose of poison presented by the priest in a parrot's egg, and if it do not take effect, to hang themselves. Their mode of burial is singular; a deep but narrow grave is dug, and the corpse is placed in it in a sitting posture, with its elbows between its knees. Over the graves of the rich salutes are fired, and a wake, moistened by potations of rum, is kept in their houses. All kinds of vermin are eaten, and dog's flesh is a great luxury. Katungâ, the capital, is in $8^{\circ} 59' \text{ N.}$ and $6^{\circ} 12' \text{ E.}$ Its walls of clay, twenty feet high, surrounded by a dry ditch, and pierced with ten gates, enclose an oval of about fifteen miles in circumference, the diameter of which is four miles one way and six the other. The whole is encompassed by a belt of thick wood. The palace occupies about a mile square, and stands between two large parks; the buildings are similar to the houses on the coast, but the woodwork is ornamented with sculpture—a decoration much in fashion among the Ayôs and their eastern neighbours. Pantomimes are also a favourite amusement, and are executed with considerable skill, (p. 53.) The caricature of a white man—emaciated and ghastly as he so often appears in negro-land—was but too well hit off, and formed a finale to the exhibition, which was received with universal applause.

Had it been in Captain Clapperton's power to obtain the necessary information about the countries through which he was to pass, before he set out, he would probably have made more inquiries into the history, habits and condition of this people; for he would then have been aware that the power and influence of this state has continued unimpaired for more than a century—a circumstance the more remarkable, as the supplies of arms received through the slave-trade might have been supposed to give the chiefs on the coast a decided superiority over their inland neighbours. But it is plain from Bosman (Letter 20, p. 424.) that Hwidâ and Aladâ, or Ardra, were merely vassals to a more pow-

* Captain Clapperton has incidentally afforded a corroboration of the accounts given by Dabzel, (*Hist. of Dahomy*, xxiv. 189, &c.) "Mr. Houtson, who had been at the customs in Dâ-hômé, asked whether the King of Ayô put to death such a number of people on that occasion as were slain at Dâ-hômé."—(p. 41.) However this does not clear Dabzel and his colleagues from the charge of exaggeration.

erful state in the interior, before the close of the seventeenth century; and from Snelgrave's account (p. 55.) of the dread inspired by the Ayôs little more than thirty years afterwards, it can scarcely be doubted that they were the people of whom Bosman had heard. Their singular custom of requiring the king whom they mean to depose, to become his own executioner, (*Dabzel*, p. 13, *Norris*, p. 12,) is not mentioned by Clapperton; but their courage, cavalry and superiority over their neighbours are clearly established: and if the Rio Férmoso prove navigable to any considerable distance, an intercourse most beneficial to Africa may, and probably will, be hereafter maintained between our colonists at Fernando Po and the kingdom of Yuribâ. The high lands in the interior appear to be far more healthy than the coast, and the disposition of the natives, as far as it has as yet been observed, seems to promise a fair opening for civilization.

The direct route being insecure, Captain Clapperton, who left Mr. Houtson at Katungâ, was obliged to retrace his steps, and in less than thirty miles from the capital entered the territory of Kiama, a province of Borgû, which lies to the North-West of Ayô: he was escorted into Kiama by a number of men "mounted," he says, (p. 65,) "on as fine horses as ever I saw." This is the more observable, as he repeatedly remarks the diminutive size of the Ayô horses, though so much dreaded on the coast. The low lands in Africa seem peculiarly unfavourable to that noble animal; even at the Cape of Good Hope, the horses must be sent to the hills in the interior, at one season of the year; at Cape Coast, they never live above a few months; and at Jaqueen, Snelgrave tells us, (p. 26,) they "are but little bigger than asses." Yarro, the Sultan of Kiama, gave the mission a very favourable reception, and he came to visit the ambassador, "mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men, and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a strip of narrow white cloth tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind, each carrying a light spear in the hand."—(p. 66.) They, however, covered their waists when they entered the house. This chief was over-joyed at one of Tatham's African swords, which formed a part of Clapperton's present, and in the evening sent an earthenware jug, ornamented with the well-known portrait of "old Toby Philpot," for his inspection; and more European articles were seen during two days' residence in Kiama than during six weeks in Yuribâ. The câfilah, or caravan, from Ashantî and Gonjah to Haûsâ, consisting of upwards of 1000 individuals and as many beasts of burden, was then resting at Kiama. Its taya, or leader, a native of Kanô, pretended to have seen Clapperton in

Bornû. The connection of this country with Bornû and Haûsâ has already introduced a breed of horses from the former, and will probably lead to the introduction of Mohammedanism from both, for Friday is observed by the Pagans as a holiday, and their king assumes the title of Sultân. The Muselmans are sufficiently numerous to have a mosque, and the sultan's head-man was named Abû Bakr—a plain indication of his faith. The capital, called Kiama, is in $9^{\circ} 37' 33''$ N. and $5^{\circ} 22' 56''$ E.—a straggling, ill-built, thinly inhabited town, consisting of circular huts in square inclosures, intermingled with corn fields, surrounded by a ruinous mud wall, on the south side of a rocky ridge, and in the midst of a woody country. It may contain, 30,000 inhabitants, who with the rest of their countrymen, have the reputation of being desperate thieves, and the greatest hunters in Africa: Clapperton, however, never found them dishonest. Gûrma, they say, is eight days' journey to the North. Katakoli and Gonjah lie West-North-West. Clapperton was detained five days by the hospitality of this chief, and on the fourth day afterwards reached Wâwâ, having gone through a narrow pass in a rocky ledge "formed like a wall, and rising in some places into beautiful rocky mounts, with bold precipices, shaded on the top with trees of the most luxuriant foliage." "Here," he said to himself, as he went through, "is the pass or gates leading to the Niger."—(p. 73.) This pass is a little to the south of the river Oli, or Ali, which runs into the Kwarâ above Rakah, six or seven miles to the South of Wâwâ.* At that place, in $9^{\circ} 53' 54''$ N. and $5^{\circ} 56'$ E., he had the first opportunity of hearing a distinct account of the fate of Mungo Park, and also met some messengers from Dâ-hômê or Fôï, the adjoining state on the South-West, from whence the European goods find their way into Borgû. Having been detained at Wâwâ nine days, he had leisure to obtain information respecting Borgû, of which it forms a part, as well as Kiama, Niki, Yâwerî and Busâ, the latter being the residence of the liege-lord or real sovereign of the country. The inhabitants are a cheerful but dissolute people, much addicted to drunkenness and incontinence, but honest, good-natured and hospitable—pretending to have come originally from Nifê and Haûsâ, but speaking a dialect of the Ayô or Yuribâ language. In religion they are either Pagans or Mohammedans, the former worshipping inferior deities as intercessors with the Supreme Being—

* We have here one of the many proofs of the extreme negligence with which this work has been prepared for the press. "After crossing," says the author, (p. 79,) "I halted at the village of the ferry, which is called Billa, on the south side of the river, and so it is placed in the map: but the river was to the north of him; how could he, therefore, be on the south side of it after crossing it?"

an improvement probably on the creed of their forefathers, derived from their intercourse with Mohammedans, and founded on the supposition that a feudal system like their own, prevails in Heaven. They fully believe the whites to be cannibals, and that all the slaves sold to them, are eaten. Throughout these countries hordes of Fellâtahs are met with, generally Pagans, speaking the same language, and having the same peculiar features as those who are now masters of Haûsâ; who, as Clapperton learnt at Zaria, the capital of Zegzeg, came from Fûta-Bonda, Fûta-Torra, and we may add, Fûta-Jallô, which they call Mèlî (p. 159). Here, therefore, we have at last the Melli of Leo Africanus, (11, 641,) Mâli of Ibn Batûtâ, and the land of the Mâlâwâ or Mârâwâ, of whom Mr. Bowdich heard so much at Kumâsî, and who were so ingeniously brought by Smith (p. 135.) from Cape Guardafuy across the broadest part of Africa. Mâlî, which was originally the proper name of the land of the Fulâs, Bambârâ, &c. (p. 337,) has been transferred since their conquest of Haûsâ to that country; for the Mâlâwâ of Mr. Bowdich (*Vocab.* p. 505.) is identical with the Haûsâ of Hannah Kilham (*Spec. of Afric. Lang.* No. 10.) and the Kachnâwâ or Kashnah language.

Just beyond Wâwâ, the party entered a range of low rocky hills, running, as the text says, from E. S. E. to W. S. W. (!) and consisting of square white quartz pebbles imbedded in a grey substance. This chain separates Wâwâ from Busâ, and, after travelling about twelve miles further, they reached the Menai near its junction with another branch of the Kwarâ. The main branch was thirty yards in breadth, running three or four knots an hour, red and muddy, as if in flood; but the king's messenger pointed to the high-water mark during the rains, which was fifteen feet above its present level. (p. 98.) On crossing the Menai, they entered Busâ, which is in 10° 14' N. and 6° 11' E. The Sultan of Yâwerî had sent seven boats to carry Clapperton up the river to his residence, but the latter declined the invitation, as he was anxious to reach Bornû before the rains. Busâ, it must be remembered, is the place where almost all the reports concur in fixing the melancholy termination of Park's last expedition; and the hesitation with which the sultan spoke, when questioned on the subject, could leave little doubt as to the truth of that fact.

“The place pointed out as that in which the boat and crew were lost, is in the eastern channel, the river being divided into three branches at this place, not one of which is more than a good pistol-shot across. A low flat island, of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Busâ and the fatal spot, which is in a line from the sultan's house, with a double-trunked tree with white bark, standing singly on the low flat island. The bank is not particularly high at present (in the

beginning of April,) being only about ten feet above the level of this branch, which here breaks over a grey slate rock, extending quite across to the eastern shore."—p. 104.

Captain Clapperton, though convinced that Park had fallen a victim to the hostility of the people of Busâ, was at a loss to reconcile such conduct with the hospitable, unsuspicious treatment which he himself received, till he became acquainted, while at Kulfû, with a man who declared himself to have been an eye-witness of the death of Park and his companions.

"This account," he says, (p. 135,) "I believe to be the most correct of all that I have yet got; and [it] was told without my putting any questions or showing any eagerness for him to go on with his story. It was, 'that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time the Fellatas first rose in arms and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the Sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advanced guard of the Fellata army, then ravaging Soudan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffé and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly among them. The number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men and two blacks; that they found great treasure in the boat, but that the people had all died* who eat of the meat that was found in her.' A letter from the chief of Yauri confirmed this account, declaring that Park and his party had been killed, and their boats plundered, by the people of Busâ; adding, that the bodies of two black men were found in the boats chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two canoes joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double-barrelled, and a sword, and two books that had belonged to those in the boat."—p. 132.

The books he promised to give up whenever Clapperton should come to Yâûrî; but there is every reason to believe they were printed books, nor could any intelligence of MSS. be obtained.

* This circumstance, which was mentioned more than once to Clapperton, was explained by the Ma'llam [Mu'allam] or Imâm of the merchants, with whom Lander travelled from Wâûwâ (or Wâwâ) to Kiama. That old man told Lander, unasked, (p. 317), that he had known the white men who came down the river to Yâûrî. The king of that country cautioned them against proceeding further by water, on account of the rocks and cruel race of people on the banks of the river. They proceeded, and were murdered at Busâ, of which the king and most of the inhabitants were swept off by a pestilence soon afterwards. This was therefore considered as a visitation from heaven; and "If you hurt a Christian, you will die like the people of Busâ," became a common saying throughout the country.

Mention is made in one place (p. 134) of a Fellâtah who was sent to Raba, a town on the Kwarâ, to the former Imâm of Busâ, who was said to possess some of Park's books, but no notice is taken of the return of this messenger; indeed, a long vacancy occurs in this part of his journal, occasioned no doubt by the illness which detained Clapperton from the 2d of May till the 19th of June at Kulfû in Nifê.

Having entered so much into detail with respect to their route through the entirely unexplored and interesting regions, which lie between the ocean and the Niger, our limits will not allow us to notice any thing more than the most prominent features of the remainder of their perilous journey, and the return, in some respects more perilous, of Clapperton's faithful attendant, Lander.

The course of the Kwarâ or Jâlibâ is interrupted by rocky islands and rapids at a small distance below Busâ; and Comie, or Wonjerque, the king's ferry, is about thirty-five miles to the South of that place. There the river is all in one stream, about a quarter of a mile wide; and running at the rate of two miles an hour, not being more than ten or twelve feet deep in the middle; that place is also the great thoroughfare between North and South Africa. The master of the house in which Clapperton lodged at Comie, told him that the river is full of rocks and shoals nearly the whole way to Fundah, where it enters the sea, that being probably the place where it first becomes salt. The people of Benin go to Fundah by land, being prohibited by their god (Fetish) from travelling by water. The Kwarâ takes a sweep to the east, and having received the waters of the Kûdûnia on that side, bends round to the west and flows into the sea; so that there is now little room for doubting the truth of this part of Reichard's hypothesis,* or that the Rio Feroso or river of Benin is one, if not the only mouth, by which the Jâlibâ communicates with the ocean.

The western side of the river, which Clapperton now quitted, is occupied by a people who, if their own account is to be trusted, came originally from Bornû; and the fact of their speaking a different language from the negroes, whom they call the aborigines, seems to corroborate this assertion. That tribe is named Cambri, and consists of tall men, more stupid-looking than wild,

* See Von Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*, (V. p. 410.) After having distinctly shown, from well-established facts respecting the mountains to the south and east of the Niger, that it could not join the Rio dos Camaraões, much less the Zaïre, "these considerations," he says, (p. 413,) "give a little more probability to the supposition that the Niger joins some of the western rivers near the Camaraões." The high mountains to the east of that river, he adds, are probably a part of the Kumri Range, and the Niger, passing to the west of them, enters the sea by the rivers of Benin, New Calabar, Banni, Del Rey, &c. which appear to form a delta at the mouth of a great stream.

gentle and unwarlike; and, therefore, often ill used by their rulers; they are Pagans, and offer hippopotamuses and alligators to their gods. They have probably been driven southwards by more powerful tribes; a change of position which the various invasions of the Romans, Goths, and Saracens, must have occasioned more than once in Africa: and the traditions of the Fulàs on the western coast, if Mollien is to be trusted, confirm that supposition. On the 10th of April, Captain Clapperton crossed the Kwarâ, and on the 12th reached Tabra, a town built on each side of the Mè-yarrô, a considerable stream flowing from the north-east into the Kwarâ. Here he met with the first bridge he had seen in Africa; and he was detained and afterwards carried out of his way to see one of the rival kings who were fighting for the throne of Nifê. The one whom he was obliged to visit, had turned Muselmân, and was named Mohammed el Magia. He had called in the assistance of the Fellâths, who, as Clapperton observes, (p. 129,) "will remove him out of the way the moment he is of no more use to them." This detention prevented the party from leaving Tabra till the 2d of May, but they reached Kulfû or Kulfî, which is not above ten or twelve miles off, on the same day. This is the principal trading place in Nifê, and a central mart for that part of Africa. It is on the north bank of the Mè-yarrô, (not some miles to the south, as placed in the map,) has daily markets, and before the civil war broke out, was frequented by traders from Benin and Jabô as well as Bornû and Haûsâ. Cloths and salt are brought from the west; pepper, of different kinds, (one of them called kinba, probably the kumbah of Dâr-fur, (*Browne's Travels*, p. 355;) and red wood from Benin and the sea coast of Yuribâ. Natron, Venice beads and unwrought silk are carried back in return. But from Haûsâ and Bornû, European manufactures find their way to Kulfî, and Gurû or Kôla-nuts, from Gonjah and the South and West. The slaves for sale who are brought principally from Kabî, Yâurî, and Zamfarâ, are kept so closely confined, that "a stranger may remain a long time in the town without seeing any of them," (p. 138,) unless when exposed to sale. Of such, Captain Clapperton says, "I have seen the aged, infirm, and the idiot, also children at the breast, whose mothers had either fled, died, or been put to death." The domestic slaves, however, are well treated, and considered as members of the family. The greater part of the inhabitants of Kulfî, whose numbers are upwards of 12,000, call themselves Mohammedans, the rest are Pagans, apparently of the same faith as those in Yuribâ, a dialect of whose language they speak. All that could be learnt respecting their religion, was, that they meet once a year on a high hill in one of the southern provinces, and sacrifice there

a bull, sheep, and dog, all black, (p. 142.) They are civil and cleanly; fond of painting and sculpture, but loose and drunken; good-natured, however, and apparently susceptible of great improvement. The surrounding country is a level plain, well cultivated and studded with little walled towns, and villages along the banks of the Mè-yarrô, and its tributary streams.

Clapperton having been detained more than six weeks at Kulfû, by his own and his servant Richard's illness, left it on the 19th of June, and at Wazo, about forty miles further, began to ascend the hills which form a part of the south-western extremity of that great chain running through Ya'kûbâ and Adâmâwâ, and forming, to all appearance, a continuation of the Jebel-el-cumrî or Mountains of the Moon; for Dâr-cullah, placed by Mr. Browne in lat. 9° N. and long. 18° E., is evidently at the foot of the northern declivity of that range, and the hills of Musgow seen by Colonel Denham are in 8° N. and 16° E., barely two degrees west of Dar-cullah, which, from information lately obtained, appears to have been placed too much to the north and east by Mr. Browne. If this conjecture prove correct, each extremity of that great chain, stretching from the shores of the Red Sea to the banks of the Niger, has been already determined. But to return to the travellers:—on the 28th of June they passed through Womba, in $10^{\circ} 35'$ N. and $7^{\circ} 22'$ E., a town containing 10,000 inhabitants, and a halting place for the caravans from the east and west. This tract was a part of Kashnah, when, at the time of Bello's conquest, but after his death, it, and some of the neighbouring provinces, formed a confederacy and threw off the yoke. When attacked by the common enemy they are united; but at other times continually quarrelling among themselves; and more than one town was passed in this journey, the natives of which are always at war with their nearest neighbours. At Guari, the capital of a territory bearing that name, and adjoining to Zegzeg, the southernmost of Bellô's provinces, the chief, though at war with the Fellâtahs, received the strangers most hospitably, and gave them an escort to Fatika, the first town beyond his boundaries. Zamfarah, Gubir, the northern part of Kashnah, Guari, and Kotongkora, were the states which confederated to recover their independence. They were afterwards joined by Kabî, Yaûrî, Daûrâ, and the southern part of Zegzeg. Guari, the capital of which is in $10^{\circ} 54'$ N. and $8^{\circ} 1'$ E., owes its strength to its hills and woods rather than to its cavalry; though it boasts that it can bring a thousand horse into the field. On the day after he left that place, Captain Clapperton reached Fatika, and had the happiness to find himself in Bellô's territory, and in two days more entered Zaria, the capital of

Zegzeg.* It is in $10^{\circ} 59' N.$ and $8^{\circ} 42' E.$, and was taken by the Fellâtahs in 1800, or about that time. Its inhabitants are all Fellâtahs, and famed for their rapacity; they are Muselmâns, and can boast of a mosque with a minaret upwards of forty feet high. The population of the place may amount to 40,000, and many of them come from Fûtah Tòrrah and Fûtah Bundah, the country containing the sources of the Senegal and Gambia. "They are not improved," says Clapperton, (p. 159,) "by their acquaintance with the French and English, but rattle over the names of the towns between Sierra Leone or the Senegal and Timbuctoo, like A, B, C, then sit down, and will not start until they get something." The surrounding country is beautiful and productive; and is separated to the south, from the sea by mountains inhabited by Pagans.

On the 17th July, he again entered the province of Kanô, stopped at Dunchow, (the courtier-like governor of which made fine promises with no intention of keeping them, and apologized with the utmost ease and politeness,) travelled through a well-cultivated and populous country; and at Bêbêgî, within sight of Kanô, got some wheat, the first he had seen since he left England. This town is in $11^{\circ} 34' N.$ and $9^{\circ} 13' E.$, standing, as it were, in the midst of a large plain, having in sight, from a granite mount, about a musket-shot outside of the southern gate, the hills of Nora,* about ten miles East; to the South, the mountains of Surem, distant about twenty-five miles; to the West, one or two of the hills of Aushin in Zegzeg; to the North, a plain bounded only by the horizon; and the two mounts within the walls of Kanô were just distinguishable, bearing North-East by North. The population is upwards of 20,000; and here there are houses of three stories, numerous mosques, beside the jâmi' or cathedral, and, in short, the elements of civilized life. Most of the inhabitants are refugees from Bornû and Wâdâi, engaged in trade, and cleanly, civil and industrious. On the 20th of July he quitted that town, and in the evening again entered Kanô.

There he found his former agent, Hâjî Hat-salah, a native of Aûjilah, who appears, from information here given, to have been a great rogue, with the rest of the Moors, much dispirited on account of the war between Bornû and the Fellâtahs; but impatient to advance, he set off on the 24th of August for Sakatû, leaving Richard Lander, still labouring under a dysentery, and Pascoe (or Abû Bekr, *Quarterly Review* for April, 1829, xxix.

* Or, Ziczic, as it is written in the MS. maps brought by Clapperton from Sûdân; but though so spelt, it is pronounced Zegzeg.

† Naroo in the map attached to the account of Clapperton's first Expedition.

597,) to take charge of his baggage. "I left them," he says, (p.173,) "with much regret, as I was in very bad health myself." The rains were now completely set in: it is therefore the more to be regretted, that Captain Clapperton did not allow himself some respite, and wait for Bellô's orders to advance. On the second day he had a severe fit of ague; and on the third, travelled through a complete swamp, "the men sometimes up to their middles in water for half an hour at a time," he himself being wet to the skin, tormented by a burning thirst, and hardly able to sit on his horse, till relieved by vomiting. On the following day he was joined by the Gadado, or Grand Vizir of Bellô, from whom he learnt that the letter sent by the route of Bornû, appointing the place on the coast, where Bellô's messengers were to meet him, had never been received. The Gadado advised his return to Kanô, on account of the state of the roads to the westward; and he answered, that, on account of his ill health, he would follow his advice.

On the 11th of October his pocket journal was stolen, and it appears never to have been recovered, so that nothing occurs respecting the month of September. This is the more extraordinary, as Clapperton was probably during that interval at Kanô; and Lander's memory (even if he kept no journal) would have supplied several of the leading circumstances, and served, in some degree, to fill up the gap:—but this is only one of the many proofs of the extreme negligence with which the book was prepared for the press, notwithstanding so long a time elapsed before it was published. On the day last mentioned, we find him on his old route between Zirmî and Kwâri, or Kwâlî, accompanying, as it appears, the Fellâtah army on an expedition against Gûbir. On the following evening he reached the Gadado's camp on the borders of a string of lakes and swamps, which extend almost all the way between Zirmî and Sakatû. These are the lakes of Gondamie, mentioned in his former narrative: their borders were, at that season, very beautiful; the acacias in full blossom, and their yellow and white flowers, contrasted with their dusky foliage, hung like gold and silver tassels on a robe of dark-green velvet. It is probable, also, that some perfumed the air with their fragrance. The sun near the horizon, throwing their images over the surface of the lakes, then as smooth as glass, spangled it with gold and silver, while fishes leaping out of the water; soldiers bathing or watering their cattle; fires smoking on the banks; huts of grass or boughs, rising as if by magic; sounds of horns, gongs, and trumpets, horses snorting, and asses braying, mingled with the shouts of Mohammed, Omar, Mustafâ, Ali, on all sides "gave a cheering animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its

sloping, green, and woody banks." (101.) The 15th of August, after a difficult and fatiguing journey through the swamps, at length brought him to the court of Bellô:—the loss of his books and papers seems at that period—and, no doubt, his illness, though he perhaps was not aware of it—to have preyed much on his spirits, and for the first time he says, (p. 182,) "I cannot but feel a disposition to despond; but I trust things are now at the worst." Bellô's reception was most kind and courteous: he said he had not received any of the letters sent by Clapperton from Bornû, by the way of Ghadâmis, or from England; but, on hearing of his arrival at Katungâ, had sent a messenger thither, and another to Kulfû, to meet him. On the 16th Clapperton accompanied the army in an attack upon Kûnia, the capital of the Gûbir rebels.

"It was," he says, (p. 189,) "as poor a fight as can possibly be imagined; and, though the doctrine of predestination is professed by Mahomedans, in no one instance have I seen them act as men believing such a doctrine. The feudal forces are most contemptible; ever more ready to fight with one another than they are with the enemy of their king and country, and rarely acting in concert."

During the night they were cut off from water by the inhabitants of Kûnia, and the troops from Zirmî, together with all the foot, having taken a sudden panic, deserted pell-mell, so that the whole army was obliged to retreat with the greatest haste and confusion, and on the afternoon of the 20th Clapperton once more took possession of the house in Sakatû, which he had occupied during his former visit.

On the 26th, as Bellô was remaining at Magaria, in the province of Ader, or Tadelâ, a few miles south-east of Sakatû, on account of the war, Clapperton went thither; but an enlargement of the spleen, increased by cold and fatigue, prevented him from having an interview immediately after his arrival. On the following day, however, he delivered his presents; and, what is odd enough, says nothing about the manner in which they were received. But, the next day, Bellô's doctor and private secretary came and informed him, as from the Sultân, that he would be sent home by any road he chose, even by Bornû, if he wished it, but that he would do well to consider whether that would be advisable, as the Sheikh el Kânemî had written to recommend his being put to death, adding, that the English, if encouraged, would dispossess the Sultâns in Africa, as they had those in India. To this Clapperton answered, that this was so contrary to the Sheikh's conduct to himself and the Englishmen he left in Bornû, that he must beg to see this extraordinary letter, the more so, as he had a letter and presents from the King of England for the Sheikh. The

letter, he was told, had been sent to Gondo: and the route proposed was through Borgû, along the northern borders of the desert, to the boundaries of Fûtâ Tôrâ; and thence southwards through a country belonging to Bellô (Bondû or Fûtâ Jâllô?) inhabited by Fellâtahs, and not far from one of the English settlements. The Gadado, next day, denied that any such letter, as that mentioned by Sîdî Sheikh, had been received: the Sultân, however, entered upon the subject, of his own accord, at a subsequent audience, and alleged that the letter, though not signed by the Sheikh, was written with his sanction. Nothing of importance seems to have occurred till the 18th of December, when a messenger from Kanô brought intelligence that Richard Lander, with Hâjî Hat-salah, were at the Sanson, or border town of Zam-farah, having been sent for by the Sultân's order. This at first surprised Clapperton; but hearing that Pascoe, the Haûsâ negro, who came with him from the coast, had repeatedly run off with some of his property and been retaken, he concluded that this order had been given for the purpose of placing his baggage under his own eyes. A day or two afterwards, however, the Sultân sent two of his confidential servants to ask whether he had really come as a messenger from the King of England to Bellô, or merely to seek a road; and that he might return either by Timbuktu, Morzûk, or by the way he came. He answered that, after such a message, he could have no further communication with them. On the following day he was informed, that all they wanted, was to see the letter to the Sheikh of Bornû, not to open it, but merely to see it. In the meantime the baggage arrived, and Pascoe a prisoner, in consequence of his having repeatedly absconded after robbing his master: notwithstanding which no punishment was inflicted upon him. At an interview the next day, the Sultân told Clapperton, "that between himself and the Sheikh of Bornû there was war, and that therefore, though he had come from the King of England, he would not allow him to go on; but that he must choose one of the three roads which were open, and return by it." He answered, that the war between the Fellâtahs and Yuribâ rendered it unsafe for him to try that road; that nothing could be more hazardous than to attempt returning by Fûtâ Tôra, where a Fellâtah, with nothing but a staff and a shirt, could scarcely pass without being murdered; that he had not the means of purchasing the camels requisite for crossing the desert; but that, if he would allow him to go by Bagermeh, Dâr-fûr, and Egypt, he would go at all risks." Bellô replied, "that was just going by the way of Bornû." The letter to the Sheikh was then asked for, and Clapperton was invited to open and read it. He answered, "it was as much as his head was worth to do such a

thing ; and that he hoped Bello would not break his promises and his word for the sake of seeing the contents of that letter, which he had lying beside him." He was then dismissed, (the Sultân keeping the letter to the Sheikh,) and found his worthy servant, Pascoe, at the door, waiting for an audience. A few days afterwards the Gadado, or Vezir, came and claimed the arms and ammunition, " which," he said, " according to the letter to the Sheikh, Clapperton was carrying to him." The latter declared that the letter could contain no such account, as he had no arms but what belonged to himself and his servants. He then showed the presents intended to be delivered at Bornû. The Gadado answered, " They wanted nothing of his, but would take whatever belonged to the Sheikh, as he was making a very unjust war upon them, and they would not allow any one to carry arms or warlike stores to him." Clapperton replied, " That they were acting like robbers, in defiance of all good faith ; that no people in the world would act so ; that they had far better have cut off his head, than do such an act ; and that he supposed they would do that, when they had taken everything from him." The Gadado moved off in a great passion, not forgetting, however, to take the present for the Sheikh with him. A message was soon afterwards sent from the Sultân to say, that he did not wish to do or say anything unpleasant to him ; all that he wanted to know was, whether he had any arms or warlike stores for the Sheikh ; and that, if he had, that they should be given up. He answered, " That all that he had for the Sheikh, they had already taken."

Poor Clapperton was all this time continually tormented by the swelling in his spleen, which, no doubt, accelerated the crisis then approaching. On the 29th of December he says,—“ I applied a large blister to my side, as, from the enlargement of the spleen, it gave me great pain, having increased to such a size that I was unable to eat, and had little or no rest.” On the 16th of January, 1827, he had an audience of the Sultân at Magaria, and was told that, as soon as the roads were secure from the rebels, he should be sent with a Fellâtah by the way of Azben to Tripoli, and should, in the meantime, be allowed to make an excursion into the country of Ya'côbah. On the following day a small câfilah (caravan) of Arabs arrived from Timbuktû, one of whom had seen Major Laing, and said he had lost his hand in an attack made on him in the night by the Tawâric. (p. 241.) Clapperton had previously heard that Timbuktû is now in the possession of those ferocious Berbers. (p. 202.) He seems to have remained unmolested, and, in fact, to have been civilly treated as soon as Bellô was satisfied that he had nothing to carry to Bornû. In February, 1827, he went on a shooting excursion to Magaria, and, in an

interview with the Sultân soon after his return, had a promise of the skins of some wild hogs, which he could not procure himself without being exposed to inconvenience and obloquy on the part of the rigid Muselmâns. Bellô asked him whether the English eat pork : he answered that they did, but sparingly, and that it was very good when well fed ; much better than dog's flesh, which is sold publicly in the market at Tripoli. This account Sidî Sheikh, who had just come in, confirmed. The Sultân said, " It was strange what people would eat ; in the district of Umburm, belonging to Yacoba, they eat human flesh." (p. 250). He added, " That he could hardly believe it himself ; but that, on a Tawarick's being hanged for theft, he saw five of these people eat a part, with which he was so disgusted, that he sent them back to Yacoba soon after." They will not eat those who die of a natural death, and therefore kill all who have the least indisposition, that their carcases may not be lost. " They are Kâfirs," he said, " and go stark naked, but are cleanly, and, in other respects, very good kind of people. In short, he would send some of them to the King of England, to prove that such was the fact." Clapperton very naturally said, " He would rather be excused taking them, as the king and people of England would be too much disgusted at seeing such a sight." " You will see them yourself," said Bellô, " when you go to Ya'côbâ, and I will write to the governor to show them to you." He then promised to send him through that country, Zanfarah, Adâmâwâ, and Kanô, a territory south of Zegzeg, and bordering on the sea, to the coast. " The sooner the better," said Clapperton, who now supposed himself much recovered from his liver complaint. In a week's time some Pagan negroes came with the wild-boar skins according to Bellô's promise. Things appear to have continued in this state till the middle of March. On the 12th day of which month Clapperton's journal terminates by the mention of an interview with Bellô, who was in high spirits, on having completely defeated the Sheikh, and just about to reply to his request to be sent home by Adâmâwâ and Kanô, near the coast, when a number of the principal people came in to offer their congratulations on the Sultân's success, and broke off the conference.

The sequel of this melancholy tale would not have been known but for the journal of Clapperton's faithful and intelligent attendant, Lander. From it we learn, that, on the very day last mentioned, his master was attacked with dysentery. A most violent and incessant perspiration contributed greatly to debilitate him, and, as it was in the month of Ramadân, the native servants would give no assistance. The heat was insufferable—the mercury in the thermometer mounting to 109 degrees at three P.M. in the coolest

place about the house. On the sixth day he was too weak to bear being moved from his bed. He once only attempted to sit up for the purpose of writing, but sunk back, completely exhausted, before paper and ink could be brought. At first he fancied he might have been poisoned; but on further reflection, recollected that having, in one of his shooting excursions in the early part of February, lain down on the ground, which was soft and wet, after walking all day exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, he had never from that moment been free from cold. "This," he added, and no doubt too truly, "has brought on my present disorder, from which, I believe, I shall never recover." (p. 272.) For twenty days he gradually wasted away, till he became a mere skeleton; saying that he felt no pain, but concealing his sufferings, as Lander supposes, in order to comfort him. "I read to him daily," he continues (p. 273), "some portion of the New Testament and the 95th Psalm, which he was never weary of listening to, and on Sundays added the Church Service, to which he invariably paid the profoundest attention." This constant fatigue, anxiety and watching, soon threw poor Lander into a fever; and finding himself unequal to give the necessary attention, he solicited and obtained his master's consent to call in old Pascoe to his assistance. On entering, the latter fell on his knees and prayed to be forgiven, promising to be faithful in future. Clapperton immediately granted his pardon, and promised to forget what had passed, if he conducted himself well. On the 1st of April, aggravated symptoms appeared: the little rest he could obtain was still more broken—small doses of laudanum were taken without effect, but, in truth, he had scarcely any recourse to medicine during the whole of this illness. On the 9th he, contrary to his usual caution, allowed one of his attendants, a native of Bornû, to give him a decoction of the green bark of the butter-tree. On the following morning he found himself much worse, and about noon said to Lander, "Richard, I shall shortly be no more, I feel myself dying." "God forbid! my dear master," replied Lander, almost choked with grief, "you will live many years yet." "Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you," said Clapperton, "it is the will of the Almighty; it cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my death." He then gave very precise directions as to what should be done after his decease, directions strongly marking his natural good sense, kindness of heart, and perfect calmness at that trying moment. "I said," continues Lander, "as well as my agitation would permit me, if it be the will of God to take you, you may rely on my faithfully performing, as far as I am able, all that you have desired; but I trust the Almighty will spare you, and you

will yet live to see your country." "I thought I should at one time, Richard," he replied, "but all is now over; I shall not be long for this world: but God's will be done!" "He then," says his faithful servant, "took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago; I can only thank you, with my latest breath, for your kindness and attachment to me, and, if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want, but God will reward you.'"

This conversation occupied nearly two hours, in the course of which Clapperton fainted several times, and was distressed beyond measure. At six o'clock, on the following morning, he said he was much better, and desired to be shaved, but had not sufficient strength to lift his head from the pillow. On looking at his face in the glass he observed, that he had recovered from as severe an illness at Bornû, and even on the next day had a return of appetite, which revived Lander's hopes: but, on the morning of the 13th, the latter was alarmed, on waking, by hearing a peculiar rattling noise in his master's throat, and at the same instant he called out "Richard!" in a low and hurried tone.

"I was immediately at his side," continues Lander, "and was astonished at seeing him sitting upright in his bed, and staring wildly around. I held him in my arms, and, placing his head gently on my left shoulder, gazed a moment on his pale and altered features: some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips: he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh."

The distress of poor Lander may be more easily conceived than expressed; and most applicable to his case are the unaffected and feeling observations by which Clapperton concludes his account of the death of his friend Oudney. (*Discoveries in Central Asia*, part ii. p. 33.)

"At any time and in any place to be bereaved of such a friend had proved a severe trial; but to me, his friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also under disease, and now left alone amid a strange people, and proceeding through a country which had hitherto never been trod by European foot, the loss was severe and afflicting in the extreme."

Captain Clapperton, as we learn from a Memoir of his Life prefixed to this work, was born in 1788, the youngest of six sons, and one of a family of one-and-twenty children. His father, a medical man established in Annan, on the Solway Frith, had little leisure to attend to the education of his children, and that of Hugh, the youngest by his first marriage, seems to have been much neglected. Reading, writing, and such a knowledge of the elements of mathematics as fitted him for the sea, was all that he

had been taught before he was bound apprentice, at the age of thirteen, to a trader between Liverpool and North America. In 1805 or 1806, he either entered or was pressed into the Royal Navy, and having been draughted on board the *Renommée*, at Gibraltar, had the good fortune to meet with one of his uncles, an officer in the marines, through whose interest he was placed by his captain, Sir Thomas Livingston, on the quarter-deck as a midshipman. In 1808, he was sent to the East Indies, and having been injudiciously ordered out in so high a sea "that a boat," to use a nautical phrase, "could not possibly live," he was in the most imminent peril, all hands having perished, except two, of whom he was one. He was nearly six feet high, and proportionably strong; and it is reasonable to suppose, that under Providence, his life was saved on this occasion by his superior strength. In 1815, while employed on the Lakes in Canada, he lost one joint of his thumb, from humanely carrying a poor boy for eight or nine miles on his back over the ice, to save him, as he hoped, from being frozen to death. The block-house, in which he was stationed, had been destroyed by a superior force, and his party had their alternative of being made prisoners, or travelling on foot sixty miles across the ice to the nearest British station. They chose the latter. The lad was unable to proceed, when they had gone only ten or twelve miles, but Clapperton's kindness was of no avail; on finding that the boy lost his hold, he apprehended what was actually the case, that he was in a dying state. The sufferings of the party were extreme; as independently of the season, they had only one bag of meal for their support. In 1816, he was made lieutenant, and from 1817, when the vessels on the Lakes were paid off, he remained in Scotland, occupied with the ordinary amusements of his age, till 1820, when he became acquainted with Dr. Oudney, then going out on a Mission into the Interior of Africa. Clapperton immediately entreated to be received as one of the party; his request was granted, and the result of his journey into that country is too well known to require any further notice. Such are the outlines of the life of one, whose undaunted spirit, love of truth, active benevolence, and truly British generosity of soul, will ever endear him to his countrymen, and render it doubly lamentable that he should have fallen a victim to that pestiferous climate, which has so often proved fatal to Europeans. It would be wrong, however, to allow our regard for Clapperton to close our eyes as to his errors; and when we are speaking of the climate of tropical Africa, we should not forget that a part of his sufferings was probably occasioned by imprudence.

As soon as the necessary attention to the remains of his master had been paid, Lander sent to the sultan to ask for permission to

bury him "after the manner of his own country:" and four slaves were sent at noon of the same day, to dig the grave. Jungavie, a small village, five miles south-east of Sakatû, was the place fixed upon.

"The body," says Lander, (p. 277,) "was taken from the camel's back and placed in a shed, whilst the slaves were digging the grave; which being quickly done, it was conveyed close to it. I then opened a Prayer Book, and amid showers of tears, read the funeral service over the remains of my valued master. Not a single person listened to this peculiarly distressing ceremony, the slaves being at some distance, quarrelling and making a most indecent noise the whole of the time it lasted. This being done, the union jack was taken off and the body slowly lowered into the earth, and I wept bitterly as I gazed for the last time upon all that remained of my generous and intrepid master. The pit was speedily filled up, and I returned to the village, about thirty yards to the east of the grave, and giving the most respectable inhabitants, both male and female, a few trifling presents, entreated them to let no one disturb its sacred contents. I also gave them 2000 cowries to build a house four feet high over the spot, which they promised to do."

But the promise was no sooner made than forgotten. Finding nothing done when he visited the spot next day, Lander hired two slaves who immediately set to work, and finished the shed on the 15th. In two days he was himself unable to rise from his bed, but Pascoe then redeemed his former misconduct by kindness and attention. The Arabs too made frequent visits; but apparently with mercenary views. The sultan also made many inquiries after his health, which seemed constantly declining till the 26th, when he began to recover with surprising rapidity. On the following day, the principal members of the sultan's cabinet came to search his boxes, which they expected to find filled with gold and silver; but to their great amazement, discovered that he had not money enough to defray his expenses to the sea coast. The watches he had prudently concealed about his person; but an inventory of all his remaining property was taken, and the ministers soon afterwards returned with an order for him to deliver all that the sultan wished to have, promising to pay in return whatever sum he should ask for them. In consequence of this, an order was given to him on Hâjî Hat-sallah, at Kanô, for 245,000 cowries,* the sum demanded. On the 28th, he was well enough to think of returning—and he judiciously conciliated the old câdî, Ibn Gumsô, by a present, in order through his influence, to obtain leave to depart. He also, with equal judgment, determined to take the road through Yuribâ, notwithstanding Clapperton had desired him to go across the desert. He

* Equal to about 50*l.* sterling, according to Clapperton's valuation.—p. 222.

wisely distrusted the Arabs, of whose double dealing he had seen but too much. The sultan said that the rains had made the country to the south impassable, and that he would send him under a secure guide across the desert. Lander, with his usual prudence, said, "Very well, sultan." Bellô then asked, "Whether Abdallah had in his book forgiven Pascoe," to which Lander replied, that "Abdallah was too ill to write." "Then the King of England will cut off his head," said Bellô. "No," replied Lander, "nothing will be done to him, if he behaves well in future." Bellô, who seemed in no haste to believe this, said, "I cannot suffer him to go with you: he shall stay here to clean and repair my guns." At length, on condition that he had a horse to return, and received 15,000 kaûris for wages, Bellô reluctantly consented to his going as far as Kanô. Lander, of course, agreed to this proposition, and having made a low bow, withdrew; nor did he ever see Bellô again.

On the 3d of May, he received an order to prepare for his departure the next day, with a promise of a camel and provisions—a promise which was never performed. On the following day he joined a large caravan of Kilgris silk merchants, pilgrims going to Mecca, gorô sellers returning to Kanô, and the King of Ya'côbâ with fifty slaves, all on their way to Kashnah, the great rendezvous of such caravans. On the road he was nearly overcome by heat and fatigue, when a young Fellâtah revived him by a small calabash-full of water. When reproached by his bigoted countrymen for giving water to a Christian—the young man pointed to his double-barrelled gun, and said, he obtained it from the Christian's countrymen, who would do no man any harm. It proved, on inspection, to have "Arnold maker, London," on its lock. Pascoe, instead of assisting Lander, was resting himself under a tree. The King of Ya'côbâ's slaves, unable from the loads they carried to keep up with the camels, had been left behind and were found dead on the road, having perished for want of water. That king afterwards became very familiar with Lander, and told him, that his neighbours and allies the Yamyams, after an engagement with the Sheikh of Bornû, repaired to the field of battle, carried off the dead bodies, roasted and ate them. (p. 285.)

At Kanô, no money was to be got from Hat-Sallah, but goods and a slave were given as an equivalent; and by a timely douceur, permission was obtained to take Pascoe on to Kulfî, notwithstanding Bellô's order to send him back "to clean his guns." The old rogue wished to go back, for he had left a young wife of whom he was very fond, because she was a good cook, but on receiving another wife from Lander, his alarms and scruples va-

nished. Not having the means of paying his way across the desert, Lander determined to return by Fundah or the Kwarâ—in the hope of tracing its progress to the sea. He hired guides for that purpose at Kanô, and set out on the 29th of May. He actually got, without any serious accident, as far as Dunrora, supposed to be in $8^{\circ} 30' N.$ and $8^{\circ} 40' E.$ and not above 100 miles from Fundah, which he so much wished to reach; but just as he was about to set off for that place on the 19th of June, four armed men came galloping up from the Sultân of Zegzeg, saying, that the said august personage much wished to see him. All resistance he found would be vain; he was therefore obliged to retrace his steps. Some Fellâtahs belonging to that great king had unluckily met him on the road to Dunrora, inquired whither he was going, and hurried back to Zegzeg, with a report that he was carrying two asses laden with riches and a beautiful horse as a present to the King of Fundah.

On the way back he was seized with dysentery, and stopped on the road much against the will of his companions. When they reached the Kûdûniâ, a large river flowing from the north-east into the Niger above Fundah, it was so swollen that Lander found it could not be crossed without hazard, and therefore refused to proceed. His escort left him in great wrath and he remained for the next twelve days very ill, in a miserable village, the natives of which were stark naked and very civil; but could give him nothing to eat, except boiled corn, for he had no inclination to taste “their roasted dogs.” (p. 300.) On the 11th of July the messengers returned with a very civil message from the King of Zegzeg, and Lander therefore set out with them on that day, and on the 22d entered Zegzeg at noon, and was again lodged in the house of Abdu’l karîm, his former host. A present to the king (for Bellô had not carried off all Lander’s European goods,) was acknowledged by two fine bullocks, and the traveller was informed that it was a regard for his safety which had occasioned his recall. “Bellô being at war with the Sultân of Fundah, the latter,” said his Majesty of Zegzeg, “would have certainly murdered you, as soon as you were in his power, because you had carried presents to his enemy.” This friendly king was absent when the white men passed through his capital before, and that was probably the real cause of Lander’s being brought back from Dunrora.

At Guari, he was offered a recommendation to Fundah, the king of which was on very friendly terms with the chief of that place, but as his funds were nearly exhausted he was obliged to keep to his former path, where fewer presents would be expected, and where experience taught him to look for kind usage. Sub-

sequent events proved the justness of this determination; by carefully husbanding his needles, which served as a convenient article of barter, he raised kaûris for his support when requisite, and by judiciously distributing the few remaining yards of silk, caps, beads, &c. he had always some trifle to secure the good wishes of the chief through whose territory he passed.

At Kulfô, which he reached on the 15th of August, he was met at the gates by the woman in whose house he had lodged on his journey out, accompanied by the most respectable of her sex in the town. They expressed the most lively joy on seeing him; but when he told them that his father (so Clapperton was called by the natives,) was dead, they were deeply affected and made loud lamentations. Although she had a house full of strangers, the old woman turned out her lodgers to make room for Lander.—(p. 311.) There he remained five days, nor would his hostess part with him till he had promised to return again in two years time. On the 22d he reached the Kwarâ, (Niger,) now full one hundred yards wider than when he crossed it before. The 24th, after a fatiguing journey through swamps with heavy rain, again brought him to Wâwâ. The king was overjoyed on seeing him, much distressed by the news of Clapperton's death, and astonished that either of them escaped alive from the hands of such barbarians as the Fellâtahs. This was much the same strain as that in which Bello described the people of Yuribâ; and so throughout Africa will every tribe be found to speak of its neighbours. They know each other more as enemies than friends, and make themselves as odious by rapacity in time of peace as by barbarity in time of war. This worthy man was very unwilling to part with Lander, but had a still greater affection for his arms, so that his guest thought it best to let him have his gun and one of his pistols—reserving the other for his own defence. The king generously gave him 4000 kaûris, (a little more than a dollar,) in return for this present. Before they parted, he said to the stranger, “your countrymen may come here and build a town, and trade up and down the Niger: we know now that they are good men, but we did not think so when the white men who were drowned at Busâ, were in the country.” On the 9th of September Lander reached Kiama, where he received the kindest treatment, with a promise of a safe conduct to Bornû for any one whom the King of England might send through that country. At Môsâ, he found the river bearing that name so much swollen as to be impassable for five days, and was near being starved by the niggardliness of the chiefs. Pascoe's dexterity, however, in stealing yams provided them with a scanty supply.

On the 25th he again entered Katungâ; was hospitably re-

ceived, but closely questioned as to the object of his journey into the interior, and lost his ass which was killed by poisoned arrows, and then served up as a feast for the court, a goat and 1000 kaûrîs being sent to him as a recompense. On the 22d of October he was dismissed with an escort and 4000 kaûrîs for his expenses on the road. On the 9th of November he visited Captain Pearce's grave at Engwa, and commissioned the chief to replace the railing round it, which had been washed away by the rains; and on the 12th he found Dr. Morrison's at Jannah, in a perfect condition. Here the horses given to him on the road died; but he arrived himself in safety at Badaghî on the 21st, and the king insisted upon giving up his own horses to him. Will it be believed—and yet there is unhappily no reason for doubting it—that this traveller who had passed unhurt through so many barbarous tribes, in the lowest state of civilization, should be exposed to the greatest risk by men who call themselves Christians, and have at least some tincture of European blood? But the account of this nefarious transaction shall be given in his own words.—(p. 325.)

“ Three of the Portuguese slave-merchants residing at Badagry went to the king one day, and told him and his principal men, that I was a spy sent by the English Government, and if suffered to leave, would soon return with an army and conquer their country. This the credulous people believed, and I was treated with coldness and distrust by the king and his subjects, who seldom came to see me. All the chief men at length assembled at the fetich hut, and having come to a resolution that I was to drink a fetich, [*i. e.* a poisonous infusion like the red-water of Sierra Leone,] sent for me to appear before them. On my way five or six hundred people gathered round me, and I could proceed with difficulty. A great number of them were armed with hatchets, bows and arrows, and spears; and waited outside the hut till I came out. On entering, one of the men, presenting me with a bowl in which was about a quart of a liquid much resembling water, commanded me to drink it, saying, ‘ if you come to do bad, it will kill you; but if not, it cannot hurt you.’ There being no resource, I immediately and without hesitation, swallowed the contents of the bowl, and walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men, to my own lodgings, took powerful medicine and plenty of warm water, which instantly ejected the whole from my stomach, and I felt no ill effects from the fetich. It had a bitter and disagreeable taste, and, I was told, almost always proved fatal.”

His judgment here again stood him in good stead. The natives looked upon him as innocent and invulnerable; but as the wretches who had plotted his destruction took no pains to conceal their inveterate rancour, the king advised him never to go out unarmed. His enemies, however, succeeded in prevent-

ing him from making his arrival known at Cape Coast; and he would perhaps have been at last the victim of their machinations, had not the captain of a merchant brig lying at Whydah heard of his return, and kindly gone to Badagry in order to give him a passage to Cape Coast. From that place he sailed in the *Esk*, sloop of war, on the 3d of February, and arrived in England on the 30th of April, 1828.

Diffuse as this abstract will perhaps be deemed the reader must not suppose that every trait in the original is here brought, on a reduced scale, before him. Some amusing occurrences, some singular customs, and a rather detailed account of the government, institutions, history, and condition of the Fellâtahs, have been left unnoticed, that the thread of the narrative might not be broken. Clapperton, though no naturalist, was not wholly unobservant of nature, and there are hints in his journal of which the geologist, botanist, and zoologist will know the value. But there are some points which, as deserving of reprehension, should not pass unnoticed. The singular negligence with which the book was got up is manifest in almost every page. Clapperton appears to have written carelessly and in haste, and his hand was probably not very legible; hence continual blunders in the names of places occur, which might easily have been corrected by attention on the part of the reviser, but are not the less embarrassing to the reader. What, however, is much more reprehensible is, the publication of some passages which ought to have been struck out. In one place (p. 248) a sentence is made downright nonsense by want of a transposition, which any corrector of common sense might have discovered. All this does little credit to Mr. Barrow, under whose inspection the book was professedly printed;—the more so, as so long a time elapsed before it made its appearance. Its price also is more considerable than, considering its size and decorations, it ought to be. But how comes it to pass that these works, published by order of government, are made so costly as to be beyond the means of those who most want them? Not, we understand, for the pecuniary advantage of the bookseller, nor for that of the author—and surely it cannot be for any profit which the government itself derives from these publications? To whom, then, does the emolument go? This is a question the more pertinent, as it is said that the publication of the present work was delayed for nearly a year by the difficulty which the bookseller experienced in obtaining it on any reasonable terms.

Another subject of just criticism in many of these works is the style and execution of the maps accompanying them. In the book before us, the map is continually at variance with the text,

and between the names in the one and the other there is a perpetual discordance. But have we no scientific geographers capable of giving an account of the materials they use, that these maps must be constructed by mere mechanics? Why are there no memoirs, however short, to point out the principle on which the construction has been made, and distinguish what is well authenticated from that which is dubious? As Englishmen, it is with regret that we are compelled to contrast the useful but inexpensive style in which Cailliaud's *Journey to Meroë* was published by the French government, with the needless decorations and the defects which characterise most works of that kind printed by order of our own.

On the long-contested subject of the exit of the Niger, a few words will be expected before the conclusion of this paper. That the Kwârâ is the Niger or Jâlibâ which Park explored can no longer be denied; that it passes by Fundah appears equally indisputable; that it proceeds from thence through Benin, to the sea, will scarcely be doubted by any one who considers that Fundah, which cannot be far from $8^{\circ} 15' N.$, is very little more than sixty miles from the capital of Benin, which is very near one branch of the Rio Férmoso; more especially when he learns that the King of Yuribâ told Clapperton (p. 46) that the Kwârâ ran into the sea between Benin and Jabû; that the Sultan of Yâûrî "had heard people say that it went to Binî," (p. 103,) which Clapperton strangely mistook for Birni, and supposed to mean Bornû; and that Lander was informed, when in sight of Ya'côbâ, that the Kwârâ joins the salt water after passing Cuttum, Currije, Gattoo, and Jabboo (p. 247). At Guârî he saw an eunuch, who was born not far from Fundah, and from him he learnt (p. 307) that his native country, named Gibboo, was on the banks of the Niger, four or five days' journey from Fundah. "He had gone by water from Gibboo to Fundah in eight days, the river running five knots an hour against him." Now whoever will look into Norris's map of the Slave Coast (one of the best we have of that part of Guinea), will see Jaboo Creek just opposite to Gato—both on an affluent of the Férmoso. "Jaboo," says Robertson (*Notes on Africa*, p. 301), "a viceroyalty of Benin, is situated between Lagos and the Formossa;" and in the preceding pages he mentions Gatto as "a town near the source of one of the tributary streams which fall into the Formossa, twenty miles from the shore." Yet, with such an accumulation of evidence before him, Mr. Barrow says, in his preface, "the question is still open to conjecture"! One is almost tempted to suspect that his mind must have been cast in the same mould as that of a certain contributor to the *Quarterly*

Review, who, in 1821, thought "all conjecture as to the Atlantic termination of the Niger perfectly nugatory" (Q. R. xxvi. p. 56); in 1822, called M. Jomard a fool for endeavouring to show that the Niger could not fall into the Nile; in 1823, did "not scruple to call the Yaou the Niger" (Q. R. xxix. p. 522); said, in 1824, "there could no longer be any question that the waters which rise out of the Kong Mountains, on the western side of Africa, empty themselves into the great lake of Bornou" (Q. R. xxxi. p. 469); observed, in 1825, that "the information obtained by Clapperton has entangled the question more than before," and, though the Yaou was no longer the Niger, declared "the junction of the waters of the lake Chad with those of the Nile," to be "not only possible but extremely probable"—notwithstanding there is a small interval of thirteen degrees of longitude between them. Now the basis of the opinion thus resolutely maintained, in spite of all substantial evidence, is nothing more than the report of most ignorant men, none of whom had traced the rivers in question, and many of whom were but half understood by the persons who consulted them;—and on such authorities were the tracings which disfigure the map in Denham's book marked, while the rational, well-supported, and, as it turns out, in part at least, correct theory of Reichard was scouted as ridiculous and utterly inadmissible, because certain chains of mountains stood in the way—which existed only in the brain of his opponent!

The papers in the Appendix are principally Itineraries, furnished by the natives to Captain Clapperton and translated from the Arabic by Mr. Abraham Salamé. They are some of the best documents of this kind yet brought from the interior, but would have been more serviceable had the proper names been given in the original character or spelt according to some invariable system of orthography—a defect which renders the vocabularies collected by our travellers of comparatively little value. A cursory inspection of these papers has suggested one or two observations which may not be useless. "Darwadar," mentioned in No. II. p. 333, is probably the French settlement on the Senegal called *Ndar* by the Wolofs and other natives. The Sarankali (p. 337) are doubtless the Serawoolies of Park, whose name is properly Sarahhwuli, changed into Saragolé (Çaragole) by the early Portuguese writers. Some persons will be much astonished to hear that they were "presumed to be Persians;" but the truth is that the presumption arises solely from a small mistake of Mr. Salamé's, who is not aware, it seems, that 'ajemî, the word used no doubt in the original, signifies "foreigner," "non-Arabian," and is only used in a special sense when applied to the Persians, the strangers with whom the Arabs, in early times,

had most intercourse:—‘ajemî, in Arabia, is used just as *barbaric* was by the Greeks and Romans. Mr. Salamé is not, we believe, the only Orientalist who has fallen into this error; nor should his general accuracy be doubted on account of such a trifling oversight.

The vocabulary of the Yuribâ or Ayô language is, with one exception, the first ever published; of the Fellâtab, or Fulâ, more copious ones may be found in Barbot, Mollien, and particularly in Seetzen's Collections, published by Vater in the Königsberg Philosophical and Geographical Archives, (Königsberger Archiv für Philosophie, Theologie, Sprachkunde und Geschichte, 1811, I. p. 43). It is remarkable, that of the Houssâ or Kashnah tongue, which Clapperton had such ample opportunities of studying, no vocabularies have yet been published, except the short ones in the Annals of Oriental Literature and Captain Lyon's Travels in Africa; and it may be observed, that the language, at least, of the Fellâtahs gives no support to the tradition (p. 337) by which they are represented as a colony of Copts.

ART. III.—*An Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles, from the First Promulgation of them in 1553 to their Final Establishment in 1571; with Exact Copies of the Latin and English Manuscripts, and Fac-similes of the Signatures of the Archbishops and Bishops, &c.* By John Lamb, D.D. Master of Corpus Christi College. Cambridge, Deightons; London, Rivingtons. 4to. 1l. 5s.

AFTER the secession of the realm of England from the communion of the Church of Rome in the reign of Henry VIII., very little time was suffered to elapse before a substitute for the authority of the Pope and Councils in matters of religion was provided in a “Book of Articles devysed by the Kinges Highnes Majestie to stablyshe Christen Quietnes and Unitie, and to avoyde contentious Opinions,” touching matters of faith and discipline. These Articles were set forth in 1536, and in the year following were succeeded by the “Institution of a Christian Man;” and which “Institution” came out in 1543 in a remodelled form, under the title “The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of every Christian Man.” The publication of these formularies of faith doubtless tended to advance the doctrines of the Reformation, yet, had Henry lived a few more years, it may be doubted whether he would not have readopted many of those doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of Rome which he had temporarily abandoned.

On the accession, however, of Edward VI. to the crown of

England, his attention was steadily directed toward the completion of that reformation of religion which his father had begun. Besides superseding the Popish ritual by an English Book of Common Prayer, the king and council directed Cranmer, in 1551, to compose a book of Articles of Religion, in order to promote an unity of doctrine, and with the intention of having it published by the constituted authorities. This prelate having accomplished his task, the Articles he drew up appear to have been submitted to the judgment of some other of the bishops, and to have remained in their possession until the beginning of the year 1552. In the May of that year the council addressed a letter to the archbishop directing him to "send the Articles that were last year delivered to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority." In obedience to this direction, the Articles were transmitted to the council; but in the September following we find that they were again in the possession of the archbishop; and that, after undergoing some alterations and revisions, they were soon afterwards presented by Cranmer to the king. It appears, further, that the Book of Articles was after this revised by some divines attached to the king's household—then again reviewed by the archbishop—and finally by him forwarded to the council with a letter requesting that speedy measures should be taken to authorise the bishops to require their respective clergy to subscribe to the Articles. So far the history of these Articles has not, we believe, been disputed. At this point, however, a question occurs, "Did the Articles of Edward VI. ever receive the sanction of Convocation? On the negative side of the question it is to be observed,

That there is no evidence that the Convocation in which these Articles are said to have been agreed upon, had any royal commission "to meddle with Church business," as Fuller has it. This fact is considered as amounting to a proof that no Articles were ever submitted to the Synod of 1552, since had that been the case, a circumstance so important in the history of the reformed religion could hardly have taken place without being noticed in some record or other. And this opinion seems next to be strongly corroborated by the very title prefixed to the Articles. Whilst the Articles of Religion, published in 1562, were set forth as "agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the *whole clergy*, &c.," of those set forth in 1552 it is merely asserted that they were "agreed upon by the bishops and *other learned and godly men*, &c." This difference in the titles of the two books of Articles has induced the learned editor of the work before us, to range himself on the side of those who have maintained that the Articles of 1552 "were drawn up by

individuals appointed by the king totally independent of convocation:" And it is not to be denied, that the difference between the expressions employed in the two cases appears to be material. Indeed, Dr. Heylin, a great stickler for the authority of the Articles of 1552, was so puzzled by the difference in question, that he seems to have thought to rid himself of the difficulty at once, by maintaining that "the Convocation had deputed their power to some grand committee sufficiently authorised to debate and publish in the name of the rest; and that, therefore, the Articles by them agreed upon ought, in all strictness of speech, to be held to be the act of Convocation:" but what authority for this theory the Doctor had, we have not yet been able to ascertain.

Another circumstance, which, in Dr. Lamb's opinion, goes to prove that Convocation did not sanction the Articles of 1552, is the answer to an objection which Weston, the prolocutor of the Lower House, made in the Convocation of the following year against a book called "The Catechism." The objection was, "that although the book bore the name of that honourable Synod, yet it was put forth without their consent." In reply to which, Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, observed, "that although many in that House might not have been made privy to the setting forth thereof, yet since it was drawn up by persons authorised by convocation to make ecclesiastical laws under a statute in that behalf provided, it might well be said to be done by the Synod of London."—*Historical Account*, &c. pp. 7, 8. Hence Dr. Lamb (having assumed, in a note p. 7, that Weston must have had his eye upon the title-page of the Articles,) argues, that the admission of Philpot, that the Catechism was drawn up by individuals and not by Convocation, coupled with the fact that the statute to which allusion was made, had expired before the obnoxious book was put forth, makes it clear that the Articles were "neither submitted to convocation or [nor] confirmed by act of parliament."

Let us now, therefore, consider those circumstances which bear a contrary aspect.

And, in the first instance, although it be admitted that the records of the Convocation of 1552 "are but one degree above blanks," yet it cannot, therefore, be concluded as a necessary consequence, that no business connected with religion was transacted in that assembly. For if evidence of this nature were conclusive as it regards the question in dispute, a strong presumption would obtain against the regular enactment of the statute of Elizabeth, by which hitherto we have supposed the Articles of 1562 to have been confirmed. The proceedings of the Lower House of Parliament, during the session in which the statute in

question is supposed to have passed into a law, "are so confusedly or briefly set down, that it is not possible to trace the bill through its second and third readings with any accuracy;" (*Historical Account*, &c. p. 25.) or rather it should have been said, it is impossible to trace those readings at all. But shall we argue, that since there is no record to show that this important bill ever passed one branch of the legislature, it, therefore, cannot be considered as having passed the House of Commons at all? We apprehend that our readers would not be disposed to regard an argument of this nature as very conclusive.

Nor, in the second place, do we lay so much stress on what Doctor Lamb calls the "ambiguous wording" of the title of the Articles of 1552, as on that account to conclude that they were agreed upon by individuals only of the bishops and clergy. By a reference to the Preface to the Articles put forth by Henry VIII. in 1536, it will be found that the members of both Houses of Convocation are designated by a phrase apparently as limited as the one employed in the title which is the subject of dispute. Thus, for instance, "We have caused our *Bishops and other the most discreet and best learned men* of our Clergy of this our whole realm to be assembled in Convocation, &c.:" and again, "We have caused, by the like assent and agreement of our said *Bishops and other learned men*, the said Articles, &c." In like manner we find (*For, Acts and Mon.* vol. iii. p. 16.) the Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation on the first meeting of that assembly in Queen Mary's reign, informing them that "it was the Queen's pleasure that the company of the same House, being *learned men*, assembled, should debate of matters of religion, &c." Nor must we omit to notice the manifest difference between the manner of describing the persons by whom the Articles of 1552 were agreed upon, and those by whom the Catechism of Edw. VI. was revised; whilst the first are said to be "*The Bishops and other learned and godly men*:" the other are described as "*Certain Bishops and other learned men*." Now, to our judgments, as the latter phrase confessedly limits the persons employed to selected individuals, the former is as comprehensive as those made use of in the Preface already referred to; and which we have seen applied to the members of both Houses of Convocation. In this conclusion we find ourselves coinciding with Fuller, who, though he would not admit that King Edward's Articles were sanctioned by Convocation, yet, when speaking of the Catechism, understands the phrase, "the Bishops and other learned men," to designate the members of that assembly. If, therefore, our conclusions on this matter be correct, the title to the Articles of 1552 instead of being "ambiguously worded," is expressed as, in

the language of that period, it naturally would be on the supposition that it had been intended to affirm that the Articles had been agreed upon by the whole Synod of London.

The argument against the synodal authority of the articles of 1552, which comes next to be examined, is that which has been deduced from the answer of Philpot, in the first convocation under Queen Mary, to Weston's objection against "a book called 'The Catechism'." And here we might, *in limine*, protest against the assumption, that Weston, whilst his cavils are expressly directed against the *Catechism*, yet "evidently alludes to the latter part of the title-page respecting the ARTICLES." (Hist. Acct. p. 7, note.) The drawing up of the Catechism in question was made matter of accusation against the Reformers on three several occasions; viz. in the convocation just mentioned, and in the disputations of Cranmer and of Ridley with the Papists at Oxford; yet on all these occasions, although the Book is charged as having been "so set forth as though the whole Convocation House had agreed to it," not the slightest allusion is made to the articles, from the title of which alone (according to Dr. Lamb) the Catechism derived its pretensions to a synodal authority. We are of opinion, therefore, that if the Book alluded to by Weston be that commonly known as the Catechism of Edw. VI. his objections must have been levelled against an expression in the royal injunction prefixed to the Catechism, which purports it to have received the sanction of "certain bishops and other learned men." There seems to be reason for supposing, however, that the Catechism alluded to by Weston and defended by Philpot, may *not* be that usually called the Catechism of Edw. VI. but some other book with which we are at the present day unacquainted. We find that when Cranmer was charged with setting forth the Book under consideration "in the name of convocation," his reply was, that he "was ignorant of the setting forth of that title; and that as soon as he had knowledge thereof he did not like it: that when he, therefore, complained thereof to the Council, it was answered to him, 'that the Book was so entitled because it was set forth in the time of Convocation'." (Fox, Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 50.) Now from this reply we collect, first, that the obnoxious Catechism WAS *set forth in the name of Convocation*; and, secondly, that it was *published whilst Convocation was sitting*: but as neither the one nor the other of these particulars attended the setting forth of that which is usually called King Edw. VI. Catechism,* we conclude that it must be some other Book to which Weston alluded. This conclusion seems also to derive confirmation from the manner in which Philpot defended

* The Convocation broke up April 1, 1553.

the Book. He speaks of it, as we have seen, as the performance of persons empowered by act of parliament to "make ecclesiastical laws;" which act expired at the end of January, 1553; whilst the Catechism of Edw. VI. was not set forth till May of that year. We think it manifest, therefore, that Philpot's observation must have had reference to a Book published before the latter period, otherwise he would have exposed himself to the charge of singular infelicity in appealing to the authority of a statute which himself, and everybody hearing him, must have been well aware had expired months before the Book it was intended to sanction had appeared. In connection with this question it may also be noted, that a licence bearing date September, 1552, was granted to John Day, "to print a Catechism both in Latin and English, which the king's majesty had caused to be set forth;" and another licence in March, 1553, "to print a Catechism in English:" of these the latter is usually considered to refer to the Catechism of Edw. VI., and might not the former be for the printing of the Catechism objected to by the Papists? If this supposition were admitted, there would be a propriety in the argument of Philpot in favour of the authority of the book, since the act of parliament to which he alluded would be at that time in force.

But to return to the Articles of 1552. We observe, in the last place, that whenever these Articles are referred to, their synodal authority seems constantly to be assumed. Thus they are described in Edw. VI. warrant book as having been "agreed upon in the synod of London:" they are similarly described in the letter of the same king to the University of Cambridge: they were received and acted upon in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign as being Articles legally authorised: and, finally, on the revision of these articles in 1562, they are recited as having been agreed upon by the synod to which that title refers. It must be borne in mind, too, that this continual ascription of authority to the Articles was made by persons who must have been well acquainted with the circumstances under which they were set forth, and in the face of Puritans and others disaffected to the church; yet amid all the unwillingness which many of the latter displayed to subscribe to the doctrines which the Articles contained, we are not aware that it was ever objected that their title claimed for them any authority which they did not possess.

We have ventured to dwell so long on this subject, because it relates to an interesting though obscure portion of ecclesiastical antiquity; and we propose now to give what we conceive to be the probable history of these famous Articles. It has been seen that they were drawn up by Cranmer in 1551, and submitted to

the other bishops, with whom they remained till May, 1552; and we think that the fact of the Council's writing to Cranmer immediately after the breaking up of, what according to the computation of the Church of England would be, the Convocation of 1551, to inquire whether the Articles had been set forth by any public authority, makes it probable that they had been discussed in that assembly. But be this as it may, we know that, after passing through various revisions and corrections, they were, in November, 1552, finally presented to the Council, with whom they seem to have remained till the following year. In the beginning of March, 1553, the Convocation met, and we conjecture that the Articles were again submitted to that body to receive its sanction in their revised form; having obtained which, they received the royal assent, and were published immediately after Convocation was dissolved. We again remark, however, that we offer this merely as conjectural history; and yet we confess that we can account in no other manner so naturally as well as satisfactorily for the delay which apparently took place between the first drawing up of the Articles and their ultimate publication. On the hypothesis, however, that they were submitted to the Convocation of 1551, and were afterwards revised by private individuals, it would be necessary to submit the revised Articles, to the next Convocation, which though it assembled in March, 1553, was yet, according to the computation of the Church of England, the synod of 1552.* Moreover, as this synod was dissolved in the beginning of April, and the Articles were set forth on the 20th of May, they were published, according to our conjecture, as soon after their first draft as due forms could possibly be gone through. But whether our conjectures be probable or otherwise, this we may venture to predicate, that if it be ever proved that the Articles in question were "drawn up by individuals appointed by the king, independent of Convocation," that circumstance must be established on other grounds than those on which Dr. Lamb has proceeded. By his reasoning in a note, p. 8, *Hist. Acct.* (if we have not misunderstood him,) the Doctor seems to consider that an act of parliament was necessary to authorise Cranmer and others to draw up Articles of Religion; and he consequently decides against the public authority of the Articles of 1552, on the ground that the statute which authorised persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws had expired before these Articles made their appearance. Now we have hitherto been

* This consideration, by the bye, clears up what appears to be a confusion of dates. In the title prefixed to the Articles they are said to have been agreed upon in the synod of 1552; whereas the king's letter, reckoning according to the civil year, has "in Synodo Londiniensi, a^o Dni 1553."

accustomed to understand, that to authorise members of Convocation to discuss matters purely religious, the royal licence is a sufficient warrant; and consequently, that the act of parliament which Dr. Lamb lays such stress upon, was not intended to authorise the drawing up of Articles of Religion, but simply to accomplish a revision of the Canon Law; or the compiling of such laws as should be judged by the king and council "*convenient to be practised in all Spiritual Courts.*" Two acts had been passed in the reign of Henry VIII. to further this same object, in consequence of a complaint from the Commons, that though the nation was nominally delivered from the tyranny of Rome, the people yet suffered from the vexatious processes instituted against them in the Spiritual Courts, which still enforced the enactments of the old canon law. Hence we have always considered the statute enacted in the reign of Edward, with reference to making ecclesiastical laws, to have nothing more in view than the redress of this grievance. But be that as it may, this appears certain, that the royal licence was all the authority which the Convocation of 1562 possessed for debating upon and setting forth the Articles agreed upon in that synod; and we have heard of no other authority for exacting subscription to those Articles during the nine following years. When, however, in addition to ecclesiastical censures for refusing subscription to Articles of Religion, it was judged expedient to inflict civil penalties, we can see a necessity for confirming those Articles by an act of the legislature; and we accordingly find such confirmation to have been extended to what are usually called the "bloody Articles" of Henry VIII. and the present Articles of the Church of England. In any other case we apprehend that the authority to set forth Articles of Religion was, at the period we speak of, altogether independent of acts of parliament: and that with regard to the statute of Edward VI. in particular, to which reference has so frequently been made, the fact, that when it passed the House of Lords the Archbishop and several of the Bishops were among the dissentients, would lead to the conclusion that they did not require its authority in matters relating to faith.

Before taking leave of this note we will endeavour to rescue Strype from the charge of confounding things which differ: having done which we will leave the Articles of 1552 in the hands of our readers. Dr. Lamb observes, that Strype seems to confound a set of Articles respecting uniformity in Rites, with the Articles of Religion, respecting which we have been treating: a reference to Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, (vol. ii. part 2, p. 25, Oxford edit.) will show that he was well aware that the two were essentially different. He states expressly that Articles

respecting Rites were taken in hand, though he confesses himself to be unacquainted with their ultimate fate.

On the progress of religion, from the setting forth of the Articles of Edward VI. until the confirmation of them in a revised form in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, it would be unnecessary to dwell. In tracing this progress, however, the ecclesiastical student may derive considerable assistance from the publication before us. The printing of the MSS. has brought to light the particular modification which the Articles of Edward VI. underwent in the hands of Archbishop Parker previously to their being submitted to the Convocation of 1562, and also the alterations produced by the discussions in the Upper House. For the particulars of these matters we must refer the reader to Dr. Lamb's Historical Account, observing only, that the alterations made by the archbishop and the corrections supplied in Convocation appear to have in view the more marked separation of the Church of England from the errors of Popery, and a desire to abstain from decreeing any thing to be an Article of Faith which could by possibility be considered a matter of "doubtful disputation." In things "hard to be understood," the proceedings of these venerable fathers are marked by a strict adherence to the letter of Scripture; presenting thus a singular contrast to the contemporary deliberations of the great Council of the Romish Church. Whether the Latin MS. be the very autograph which the postscript subjoined to it and to Wolfe's edition of those Articles states to be *in the custody of the archbishop*, has, as our readers may be aware, been questioned. The learned author of the work before us is of opinion that the MS. is the autograph itself, although he does not, so far as we can collect, give his reasons for adopting that opinion. We may hereafter, perhaps, have occasion to touch on this question, and therefore we shall pass on to notice a curious circumstance connected with the subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation which are attached to the Latin MS.

"The subscriptions of the Lower House," observes Dr. Lamb, "are on one folio of paper contained within another; on the third page of the outer sheet or envelope are twelve names," [Johannes Ebden, William Evance, Andreas Peerson, John Price, Thomas Powell, Edmund Mevri, Nicholas Robynson, per me Robert Pownde, per me Hugonem Morgan, Richardus Barbar nomine Procuratoris mri. Francisii Mallet decani Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Lincoln. præmissa subscribo, et etiam meo nomine præmissa subscribo, Robert Evance.] "and at the bottom the following sentence: *Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, quod nihil statuunt in prejudicium cujusque Senatus consulti sed tantum supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt.*

This outer folio is no part of the inclosed document, but has been improperly placed here, either before or at the binding together of this volume."—*Historical Account*, p. 21.

And afterwards it is added, that several peculiarities in the appearance of the MS. make it next to certain that the outer folio has been used merely as an envelope. This circumstance, coupled with the saving clause contained in the foregoing sentence, and the fact that all the signatures except two are found in a preceding page, induces Dr. Lamb to consider the twelve signatures to have been those attached to some other document, presented by the subscribers alone to the archbishop, and altogether unconnected with subscription to the Articles. It appears material to this supposition to remark also, that on the folio in which the main body of the subscriptions are found, "the verb is used in the past tense, *subscripsi* or *subscripsit*," whilst the verb connected with the twelve questionable signatures occurs "in the present tense, *subscribo*." The difference between the appearance of the outer and inner folios had been previously noted by Bennet in his *Essay on the Articles*, and the peculiarity of the sentence "*Ista subscriptio*," &c. has before time been the occasion of conjecture to writers on this subject; as has also been the fact, that the subscriptions of those whose names appear on the outer folio are found, for the greater part, in a foregoing page. On the difference in appearance between the folios we are not disposed to lay much stress, because we see no reason whatever for supposing that the members of Convocation used only one kind of paper, or that they would make a point of folding their documents in a particular way. In the wording of the sentence appended to the subscribers' names, however, there is some difficulty; for since their having agreed upon Articles of Religion, unconnected with the putting forth of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions, did not bring the subscribers within the statute of Hen. VIII., usually known as the "Act of Submission," we are at a loss to determine what could render it necessary for them to disclaim all intention of doing any thing which might be to the prejudice of the law. Then, again, if it had been found that the persons whose names occur twice had in each instance subscribed first in a procuratorial, and then in their individual capacity, that circumstance might have accounted for the double subscriptions; but such does not appear to have been the case. Still, against the hypothesis that the sentence and subscriptions in question are the remains of a document *distinct* from the Articles, it may be urged that, according to Bennet, the words "*Ista subscriptio*," &c. are written by the *same hand* which wrote the notice "*Illi quorum nomina sequuntur propriis manibus subscripserunt*," &c.

which is prefixed to the subscriptions on the inner folio; and that as the name of Todd, Archdeacon of Bedford, occurs *twice* among those subscriptions which are admitted to belong to the Articles, there will be as much difficulty remaining to account for his double subscription as for that of those of the twelve whose names are found on the outer folio.* We will now lay before our readers the conjecture which Dr. Lamb is disposed to make respecting this outer folio, considering it as he does merely as an envelope to the interior sheet which contains the veritable subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Articles of 1562. Quoting Fuller's Church History, the Doctor observes that—

“The only remarkable thing which passed in the Convocation of 1558 was certain Articles of Religion, which they tendered to the parliament, *i. e.* to the bishops that they might present them to parliament. These were the last of the kind that were ever presented in England by a legal corporation in defence of the Popish religion. They (the Articles) were five in number; the three first respecting the sacrament.”

After quoting two of the Articles, and the concluding clause of the petition in which they are found, Dr. Lamb proceeds:—

“May we not have in this stray document part of the signatures of the clergy to this very petition? As far as I can make out, the twelve names that appear were of the Popish party.”—*Hist. Account*, pp. 22, 23.

Now, though we admit most freely, with Dr. Lamb, that “we cannot at this distance of time say decidedly to what document” these signatures belonged, if they belong not to the Articles, yet when we lay before our readers a few particulars respecting some of the individuals whose names are subscribed, we are disposed to think that they will agree with us in conjecturing that this document was not connected with a petition *in favour of Popery*. We find, for instance, John Ebdon recommended to Lord Burghley as a very fit person (amongst others) to be commissioned to examine Recusants; which circumstance, taken in connection with his having voted in 1562 for altering some of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, would indicate that he had a leaning toward the Puritans. Then comes Andrew Peerson, one of Archbishop Parker's chaplains, who, from being so often employed in various offices of trust, seems to have enjoyed much of the archbishop's confidence, and was at length one of the executors of his will. As for Thomas Powell and Edmund Merri-
rick, they appear to have been selected as proper persons to be appointed commissioners (the one under Parker and the other

* Among the subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Articles, in 1571, the name of more than one individual occurs twice.

under Whitgift) for performing archiepiscopal visitations. Nicholas Robynson we find to have been one of Archbishop Parker's chaplains, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, and is mentioned as one of those who *suffered from the Popish party in Queen Mary's reign*.* Of Robert Pounce, and two or three of the other persons, scarcely any thing is known, except that Pownde has been considered as identical with Robert Pownal, *one of the exiles for religion during the Marian persecution*. So that, with the exception of Mallet, and perhaps Barbar, the presumption is that most of the other subscribers were decidedly Protestants. Indeed, if we were acquainted with no other circumstance than that Robynson is known to have been obnoxious to the Papists, that would be, to our apprehension, in itself sufficient to render his joining in a petition in favour of Popery a thing altogether incredible. In fairness to Dr. Lamb, we will now give the substance of his reasoning in support of a contrary possibility. After showing that Mallet, one of the subscribers, was notoriously a Papist, he observes, that as the petition above mentioned in favour of Popery went far to deny the supremacy of the Queen and to recognise that of the Pope, the saving clause, "*Ista subscriptio, &c.* would as a matter of prudence be subjoined to the signatures;" and adds, moreover, that his conjecture receives countenance from the fact that

"The petition is in the present tense, *exhibemus*, agreeably with *subscribo* in Mallet's signature. '*Supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt*,' [in the saving clause] exactly corresponds with '*humiliter supplicantes*,' &c. in the petition."—*Hist. Account*, p. 23.

Since, however, after all we adhere to old notions, and consider these apparently stray signatures as having been originally intended for subscription to the Articles of Religion, we regard further conjectures respecting them as useless, and will pass on with Dr. Lamb "to ascertain the identical edition of the Articles to which the act of 13 Elizabeth refers."—(*Hist. Acc.* p. 26.)

Our readers will recollect that the parliament of 1566 took upon themselves to legislate on "the great matter touching religion and church government;" that the following record of the first step they took in this matter is found in Sir Simon D'Ewes Journal of the House of Commons, under the date of Dec. 5. "The bill, with a *Little Book* printed in the year 1562, (which

* Robynson appears to have been a famous preacher, and was on that account a likely person to become obnoxious to the Papists. Strype gives a specimen of a sermon of his, which appears to be among the papers of Archbishop Parker in the MS. library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

was the fourth or fifth year of her majesty's reign,) for the sound Christian religion, was read the first time;" but that the maiden queen, misliking this unbidden meddling of her "faithful Commons" in church business, contrived to have the bill stopped in the House of Lords. Thus the subject rested till the 13th of Elizabeth, when the *same bill* for sound religion was again introduced into parliament and passed into a law. The question then is, to what edition of the Articles does this act of 13 Elizabeth refer? Dr. Lamb is of opinion that it is to the English edition of Jugg and Cawood printed in 1563. Now whilst we fully agree with him that this is the edition referred to in the act of 1566 under the designation of "*The Little Book*," yet we think there are considerations which would lead to the conclusion that the "*Little Book*," and the one referred to by the 13th of Elizabeth as "*a book unprinted*," are not the same editions of the Articles. That our readers may, in the first place, have an opportunity of judging how far a contrary opinion is borne out by a comparison of titles, we will subjoin the titles (as they are found in the reprints by Dr. Lamb) of the "*Little Book*," and also of the English edition of the Articles printed under the direction of Bishop Jewel in 1571, placing between the two the title of the "*book unprinted*," as recited in the act of Elizabeth, and given in the Statutes of the Realm lately published by government from the original records. This we shall do, not because we think the question at issue can be determined by the titles, but because Dr. Lamb seems to consider it worthy of observation that the title of "*The Little Book*," as recited in the act, agrees word for word with the title of the edition which he has reprinted.—(Hist. Acct. p. 26.)

Title of the " <i>Little Book</i> ."	Title of the " <i>Book unprinted</i> " as recited in the Statute.	Title of the English Edition printed in 1571.
<p>"Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbyssshops and bisshops of both the provinces and the whole clergie in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lord God 1562 according to the computation of the Church of England, for thavoydyng of the diversities of opinions and for the stablyshyng of consent touchyng true religion. Put forth by the queenes authoritie."</p>	<p>"Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbisshops and bisshops of both provinces and the whole cleargie in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God 1562 according to the computation of the Church of Englande, for the avoydyng of the diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. Put forth by the queenes authoritie."</p>	<p>"Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishoppes and bishoppes of both provinces and the whole cleargie in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God 1562 according to the computation of the Church of Englande, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions and for the stablyshyng of consent touching true religion. Put forth by the queenes authoritie."</p>

Now so far as the *wording* of these titles bears on the question the statute may, for what we can see, be considered to have re-

ference as much to the edition of 1571 as to that of 1563, or *vice versa*, although there are minute variations which seem to favour the claims of the former. Thus, in the orthography of the words "cleargie," "lorde," "Englande," "according" and the omission of "the" before "provinces;" in all which particulars the act and edition of 1571 agree with each other, but differ from the edition of 1563, would favour the supposition that the act recited the title of the former edition. So also the elision of the *e* which takes place in the title of the "Little Book"—"thavoydyng"—taken in connexion with the fact that similar elisions of a vowel occur almost without variation throughout the statute itself, would naturally dispose us to conclude, that if the title recited had been copied from that of a book in which "thavoydyng" had been found, the same elision would have been transferred to the act of parliament as being most consonant with the manner of writing at that time practised. Still, as we before observed, we do not lay any stress on circumstances like these. The considerations which seem to us to have most weight in this question are, the wording of the "ratification" subjoined to the revised Articles of 1571, and the difference which exists between them, and the Articles as contained in the "Little Book." With regard to the "ratification," it states that the "Articles before rehearsed were again approved, and allowed to be holden and executed within the realm, &c.;" and the Articles, as contained in the "Little Book," materially differ from those ratified in 1571, by the omission of the 29th Article,—“Of the wicked which do not eat the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.” If, therefore, it be supposed that the statute of Elizabeth intended to refer to "The Little Book," as that which contained the Articles to which subscription was in future to be enacted, the hypothesis involves the admission that parliament referred to a book which they must have been well aware would not be allowed "to be holden and executed within the realm" at the time when their act should come into operation; but that the book which would be "allowed" contained an additional, and hitherto disputed Article, connected with the doctrine of the Sacraments, on subscription to which doctrine parliament was intending especially to insist. The articles set forth in 1571 would, on this supposition, have been rendered utterly nugatory; and every deprivation which afterwards took place in the case of persons refusing to read and subscribe these Articles on induction to a benefice would have been illegal and oppressive. We find accordingly that although the parliament of Elizabeth do not expressly name the edition of the articles to which their act refers, yet the legislature in the time of Charles II. took it for granted that the reference was to the edi-

tion of 1571, since the subscription enjoined by the Act of Uniformity passed in that reign is to the “Nine and Thirty Articles of Religion mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth.” In confirmation, too, of this opinion, it may be stated that Burges, the non-conformist who maintained that “the act of 13 Elizabeth did not enforce subscription to the Articles as they stood in the time of Charles I. because they had in some things been altered from those contained in the book to which that act referred, is thus answered by Bishop Pearson: “I do absolutely deny that there is any substantial alteration of, or addition to, *those Articles mentioned in the act of 13 Elizabeth*; and do assert that the Articles to which the late king’s (Charles I.) declaration was affixed, are the same in number, nature, substance, words; as I am assured, having myself diligently collated them with an *edition of the Articles printed by Richard Jugg and John Cawood*, printers to the queen’s majesty, in anno Domini 1571.”—(*Letter to Dr. Burges.*)

It remains only to notice that part of the work before us which is devoted to the consideration of the disputed clause of the twentieth article; and in doing which it will scarcely be necessary to remind our readers that in most of the editions of the Articles printed previously to the reign of Charles I. the clause “*Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem.*” “*The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith*,” is wanting. To account for this omission may not, at this distance of time, be an easy matter, yet we fancy that since the publication of Bennet’s Essay on the Articles, and the “*Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*” in answer to Collins, few have been disposed to maintain that the clause in question was omitted by the Convocation. Since, however, Dr. Lamb is of opinion that the clause was not in the twentieth Article as passed by that assembly, but that it was added by Queen Elizabeth or Cecil, we will briefly state what may be said on this subject, and leave our readers to judge for themselves. As the original registers of the Convocation, in which the Articles of 1562 were passed, unfortunately perished in the great fire of London, no evidence can be directly produced from them. It so happens, however, that an attested copy of that part of the registers which related to this question survived the originals, and seems to us to have decided the matter in dispute. The occasion of this copy being taken was the following: Archbishop Laud and the other prelates of his time were accused by the Puritanical faction of having *forged* the contested clause, it being confidently alleged that the clause in question was not to be found in any edition of the Articles previous to that of 1628. In answer to

that charge, the archbishop having exposed the falsehood of the allegation in the first instance, by appealing to four several editions of the Articles in his own possession all printed before the year 1628, (one of them as early as 1563,) and all containing the disputed clause, thus proceeded: "I shall make it yet plainer; for it is not fit concerning an Article of Religion, and an Article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies be they never so many or never so ancient. Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned me the twentieth Article with this affirmative clause in it and there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen. By this your lordships see, how free the prelates are from forging this part of the Article." After making some observations on the probable reason why the clause was omitted in the edition of 1571, the archbishop continues, "And yet it is plain that after the stir about subscription in the year 1571, the Articles were settled and subscribed unto at last as in the year 1562, with this clause in them for the Church: for looking further into the records which are in my own hands, I have found the book of 1563 subscribed by all the Lower House of Convocation in this very year of contradiction 1571."—(*Speech in the Star-Chamber*).

From these extracts it is plain that Laud maintained that the contested clause was both in the original records of the Convocation of 1562, and also in the Articles subscribed to by the Lower House in 1571; and although the records to which he appealed were soon afterward in the possession of his most implacable enemies, not one of them ever ventured to question the truth of his assertions or attempted to invalidate the proofs by which his defence was supported. And when again, at a later period, Heylin appealed to the same record for proof of the same facts, his antagonist Fuller evaded the appeal, admitting thus that it could not be answered. Against this negative, but conclusive evidence, that the disputed clause of the twentieth Article was to be found in the records of the Convocation, there is nothing to be opposed but the authority of Archbishop Parker's MSS.; for since there seem to be as many early editions of the Articles which contain the clause as there are of those in which the clause is omitted, we may fairly leave the *printed* evidence to neutralize itself. With regard to the MSS. then, we admit that if they were the authentic records of the Articles as they were finally passed in Convocation, their authority would go to set aside the direct testimony of Laud and of Heylin to the question in dispute, as well as that which is so indisputably implied in the evasion of Fuller and in the silence of the Puritans; but we can scarcely imagine that

any person will dignify these MSS. with the title of *authoritative records*, who will take the trouble to consider that Archbishop Parker had no more right or power to dispose by will of the authentic records of Convocation than the lord chancellor has similarly to give away the records of parliament. This single consideration, independently of many others which might be adduced, (and which are fully pointed out in the books referred to above,) we deem sufficient to warrant the assertion, that how precious so ever these MSS. may be, they can be considered in no other light than that of *private documents*; and that their authority, therefore, on this question, cannot for one moment be admitted to invalidate the undisputed testimony of a public record.

Before we quit this subject we must point out one of the most remarkable oversights we remember to have met with. In enumerating the editions of the Articles in which the disputed clause is found, Dr. Lamb remarks that it occurs :

- “ 1. In the Latin edition of Wolfe of 1563.
2. In one [two?] of the later editions of Jugg and Cawood of 1551.
3. Occasionally, &c.

And in a note on the editions of Jugg and Cawood mentioned in 2, he observes—

“ Bennet, in his account of the Thirty-nine Articles, states that there are four editions of the Articles printed in English by Jugg and Cawood in 1571, containing the disputed clause : three of these editions, which he calls C, D, and E, agree, excepting their title-pages, in every page, line, word, letter, and stop; they all three have the same typographical error in the ratification—“*ascent*” for “*assent* :” and Bennet himself must at least have suspected that they were one and the same edition, although with different title-pages.”—*Historical Account*, p. 37.

After having read this note, we could scarcely believe our eyes when on turning to Bennet we found, in his chapter on the English editions of 1571, the following sentence;—“ In the first place, I observe (and this observation is of greater importance than the reader perhaps will readily believe) that the copies C, D, E, ARE OF THE VERY SAME IMPRESSION. This is evident from the workmanship, even to demonstration.”—(*Essay on the Articles*, ch. xxiii.) And what is also singular, after a minute examination of the typography of these three copies by which he incontestibly establishes the truth of his observation, he points out, among other things, the identical error in the ratification which Dr. Lamb has commented upon. How this oversight, therefore, on the part of Dr. Lamb occurred, we cannot divine; but we venture to say, that if he candidly weighs the evidence which Bennet adduced in the chapter referred to, to show that there were four editions of the Articles in 1571 containing the

disputed clause, he will be convinced that Bennet had some reason for his opinion.

We will now take leave of the "Historical Account of the Articles," but not without expressing our obligations to Dr. Lamb for the publication before us, which, in many points of view, must be considered as a great acquisition to ecclesiastical literature.

ART. IV.—*History of the Commonwealth, from its Commencement to the Restoration of Charles the Second.* By William Godwin. Vol. IV. Colburn. London. 1828. 8vo. 16s.

IN this volume, Mr. Godwin brings his History down to the end of the first protectorate, but not to the conclusion of his original undertaking. In the course of his progress, the materials of his work, as usually happens, have exceeded his first calculation; and he now seems to hesitate whether he shall, in his own person, carry on the narrative to the Restoration, or leave the task to be performed by some younger and more popular writer.

On various accounts we applaud this abstinence on the part of Mr. Godwin; and more especially because we are satisfied that, from his strong political bias, he is altogether disqualified for giving a candid account of the transactions which paved the way for Charles, when he returned to occupy the throne of his father. It is well known, indeed, that almost every writer who has published lately on this interesting portion of our annals, has endeavoured to add a deeper tint to the dark colours in which the character of General Monk has usually been described by republican authors. Hence it has arisen that the reader who has no other object but to be informed, has the mortification to find the materials of history converted into subjects of declamation, and the most praiseworthy actions twisted into evidence of treachery, of cunning, and even of the most despicable selfishness. In this instance, candour has been cruelly sacrificed to party-feeling; and the very same persons who are ready to urge an apology for all Cromwell's tergiversations, and to ascribe the most questionable of the deeds which marked the latter portion of his government to political necessity, or even to the purest patriotism, avow a determination to make no allowance for Lord Albemarle, and not to afford to him the credit of one national feeling, or of a single generous sentiment towards his companions in arms. For these reasons we cannot conceal our satisfaction that the history of the Restoration is not likely to be written by the historian of the Commonwealth.

With every disposition to praise the industry and political

sagacity of Mr. Godwin, we dare not assert that this volume will increase his reputation either for research or for the wisdom of the practical maxims which he occasionally derives from the events which pass before him. He has not brought forward any facts which were not already known to the most ordinary reader of our national annals: he has not stated any new views of character; nor has he illustrated any occurrences which were formerly obscure. He has merely enlarged in some parts, and abridged in others, the common Histories of England which are in everybody's hands. Instead, therefore, of following his footsteps over ground so repeatedly beaten, we shall restrict the object of this Article to an outline of the life and government of Oliver Cromwell, and examine at some length into the basis of his reputation as a soldier, a statesman, and a religionist; making no farther allusion to the historical incidents recorded by Mr. Godwin than as they may serve to throw light on the several points just stated in the biography of the Protector.

It has often been remarked, that most men who have risen to eminence, in science, literature, or government, have owed more to the particular circumstances in which they found themselves placed than to transcendant ability or even to intense application. The tide in the affairs of the human being which carries him on to fortune, frequently arises from an influence as little connected with his own genius or intentions as the tide which moves the great ocean: and never did the history of any man illustrate the statement now made, in a manner so striking and instructive, as the early life of Cromwell compared with the power to which he actually attained, and the objects which he might have accomplished. His origin which was by no means splendid, and his talents, which were certainly not of the first order, furnish us, while we review his biography, with the materials for forming a contrast between what he was and what he achieved, rather than with the means of explaining how such a man should have risen to the height of supreme authority, in a nation peculiarly jealous of individual controul, and, at that period especially, distinguished by an unusual degree of vigour and independence in all classes of the community. By taking the lead in the wildest excesses of anarchy, he at length obtained the direction of the most daring minds. By trampling on the ancient laws of his country, he acquired the credit and reverence of a lawgiver. By opposing his sovereign as the most uncompromising of rebels, he raised himself to the rank of a king: and, in a word, although he commenced his career by the most frantic outrages, he had the good luck to terminate it in the repose of a settled government.

But thus it ever is in most things wherein one man chances to

find a name and a memorial above his fellows. The genius and labours of many generations have been employed in collecting the materials, and in constructing the machine, which some happy mechanist is destined to put in motion and apply to the most valuable purposes; and when the time has arrived, and all the conditions are fulfilled, he has only to put forth his hand, when, behold! the wheels begin to revolve as it were of their own accord, and to realize all the hopes which were ever entertained by the most sanguine projector. To the philosopher, to the statesman, and even sometimes to the warrior, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years are as one day; and nothing is more certain than that, in regard to the most splendid prizes which crown the ambition of man in this lower world, the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

The great art of attaining success, in all commotions excited by political or religious change, is founded on the knowledge of character, and on the talent of directing to a particular object the passions of the multitude, and the ambition of their more active leaders. By this mastery over the feelings and designs of his contemporaries, Cromwell, there is no doubt, acquired the means of accomplishing the most arduous parts of his undertaking. He thereby broke the power of the parliament from whom he first derived his authority; wielded the mighty influence arising from religious sentiment; and, finally, induced the majority of a democratical government to accede to his desire of ascending the throne, as the avowed monarch of three kingdoms which he had in effect subdued.

It is now extremely difficult to ascertain what were the precise views with which he entered into public life, but it is manifest that his conduct at that period was marked with a deep impression of gloom and of restlessness, and, above all, by a rankling disaffection towards every person who moved in a sphere higher than his own, or who adopted measures which had not received his approbation. When admitted into parliament, he kept his eyes constantly fixed on subjects of complaint and matters of grievance; and, without having devised any particular scheme of reformation in church or state, he made no scruple to condemn all who had the management of political and ecclesiastical affairs. When asked, on one occasion, to express his sentiments in regard to these important points, and to declare openly what changes he might deem expedient, he replied:—"I can tell what I would *not* have, though I cannot tell what I *would* have."

"The first time that ever I took notice of him," says Sir Philip Warwick, "was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a

gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily appalled, for it was a plain cloth-suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council Table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great Council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real but usurped power, (having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company,) in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely presence."—*Memoirs*, p. 273.

The earnestness of manner and resolution of purpose which from the very commencement of his public life distinguished Cromwell, would of themselves, it is probable, have raised him to a political eminence sufficiently high to afford him the means of influencing very materially the fortunes of Charles, and at length of determining the issue of the contest between the parliament and the prerogative. But, it was in the field of battle, and as the commander of a gallant army, that he acquired his first power, and thereby opened up a path for his future progress towards military despotism. His success at Marston-moor seems to have expanded in his heart the prolific seeds of ambition, and to have spread before his eyes the seducing picture of regal honours, or at least of supreme authority; for, from that period, he pursued a uniform system of aggression both upon the parliament and the chief officers of the army, and at the same time exerted himself to render abortive every attempt to effect a peace between the king and his subjects. The conduct of the principal leaders in the battle just mentioned, showed, indeed, so little talent, and betrayed so much the want of concert and mutual confidence, that an adventurer less aspiring than Cromwell might have been tempted to plot for their removal, and to grasp at the command which they were not worthy to retain. It is true that his own personal courage was called in question on this memorable occasion, and that the credit usually attributed to him, of turning the tide of victory, was claimed for a rival. Lord Hollis, who, it

must be admitted, was no friend to the reputation of Cromwell, maintains, on the authority of Skeldon Crawford, that the future Protector, towards the close of the combat, was very shy indeed.

"Those who did the principal service that day were Major-General Lesley, who commanded the Scots horse, Major-General Crawford, who was Major-General to the Earl of Manchester's brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the northern brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business; for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth, (and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say that Cromwell himself has heard it from him, for he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall when Cromwell passed by with a design he might hear him,) that when the whole army at Marston-Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them in a great passion, reviling them with the names of poltroons and cowards, and asked them, if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell showed himself, and in a pitiful voice said, 'Major-General, what shall I do?' He (begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his superiour officer,) told him, Sir, if you charge not, all is lost. Cromwell answered, he was wounded and was not able to charge; (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldier's pistols;) then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and (sending one away with him, who very readily followed wholesome advice,) led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of him and his party's pernicious designs."—*Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Hollis*, p. 15.

We should place very little confidence in this accusation, urged as it is by one who was animated with the most violent personal dislike to Cromwell, did we not find the same charge recorded by Baillie, in a letter written about a month after the action.

"The men (Sectaries) are exceeding active in their own way. They strive to advance Cromwell for their head. They ascribe to him the victory of York, but most unjustly; for Humble assures us that Prince Rupert's first charge falling upon him did humble him so, that if David Lesley had not supported them, he had fled. Skeldon Crawford, who had a regiment of dragoons in that wing, upon his oath assured me, that at the beginning of the fight, Cromwell got a little wound on the neck, which made him retire, so that he was not so much as present at the service; but his troopers were led on by David Lesley."

At a still earlier period, that is, fourteen days after the battle, Baillie writes to a friend, who appears to have accompanied the Scottish auxiliaries into Yorkshire, in the following terms:—

"We were both grieved and angry that your Independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpet over all the city their own

praises to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all that service ; that the most of us fled ; and that (those) who staid fought so and so as it might be. We were much vexed with these reports, against which you were not pleased, any of you, to instruct us with any answer, till Lindsay's letters came at last, and Captain Stewart with his colours. Then we sent abroad our printed relations, and could lift up our face. But within three days Mr. Ash's relation was also printed, who gives us many good words, *but gives much more to Cromwell than we are informed is his due.*"

In truth it appears that the Independents were determined to ascribe the merit of victory to their favourite champion ; while the Presbyterians, on the other hand, were equally resolved to bestow the laurels of the day upon General Lesley. Both these officers, at the head of their respective cavalry, repulsed the royalists under Prince Rupert ; in the course of which service it is probable that Cromwell received a wound which disabled him from leading on his troops in the final charge, when their antagonists attempted to rally. We are the rather confirmed in this opinion by the remarkable circumstance, that the rumour of Cromwell's absence in the last attack was circulated at London within a few days after the engagement—a space of time which did not afford to his enemies an opportunity for fabricating a story altogether without foundation. The same fact is repeated by Salmonet (*Hist.* p. 160), and hence, as Mr. Laing observes, it is probable that Cromwell retired from the second conflict to have his wound dressed, while his brigade was led by Crawford or Lesley to the charge.

The world has been so much accustomed to hear insinuations against the personal bravery of the most distinguished commanders, that surmises similar to those circulated in regard to Cromwell no longer make any impression. But as we are at present reviewing the military character of the Protector, we may be permitted to remind the reader, that Lord Hollis endeavours to establish the charge, made on the authority of Crawford, by adducing corroborative facts from other quarters.

"I have heard a parallel story of his valour from another person, (Colonel Dalbier,) not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me that when Basing House was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood a good distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge. And something I can deliver of him upon my own knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these relations, and assures me that that man is as arrant a coward as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he with his troop of horse came not, impudently and ridiculously affirming the day after, that

he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; so that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for."

That Cromwell did sometimes think for himself when he ought to have obeyed the commands of his superior officers, and even keep back his troops when they were expected in the field, is proved by the charge which the Earl of Manchester brought against him in the House of Peers. The latter had been accused by the former, in the lower house of parliament, of a reluctance to fight, lest a succession of victories against the royal cause should reduce the affairs of the king too low, and thereby put it out of his power to negotiate such a treaty with his people as might replace the constitution upon its proper basis. The earl presented a narrative in his own defence, in which he ascribes some slowness in his operations to the jealousies and misunderstandings which prevailed among his officers; but confining himself almost exclusively to his conduct at Dennington Castle, on which the imputation of remissness was principally founded, he asserts that Cromwell himself was partly the cause of their small success on that occasion, by failing to bring up his cavalry in time for the attack. "Manchester," to use the language of Lord Hollis, "returns the bill, charging Cromwell that it was his not obeying orders, who being commanded, as lieutenant-general of the horse, to be ready at such a place by such an hour, early in the morning, came not till the afternoon, and by many particulars makes it clear to have been only his fault."

But such instances, it is evident, imply disaffection towards a particular leader, or indifference to the cause in which that leader was engaged, rather than want of personal courage in the presence of an enemy—a defect with which it does not appear that Cromwell was at any time fairly chargeable. Lord Hollis entertained against the party which afterwards rose into power the most violent feelings of hatred and resentment; and hence his remarks on the military character of the Protector are not to be received as unquestionable evidence. Besides, when minutely examined, it will be found that the main article in the impeachment now alluded to rests almost solely on the credit of Skeldon Crawford—a friend, and in some degree a dependant of the Earl of Manchester; for it admits not of doubt that the statements of Baillie, Salmonet, and the noble author of the *Memoirs*, may be all resolved into the assertions of the said major-general. But it deserves notice at the same time, that the insinuations relative to Cromwell's exploit at Marston Moor, were circulated in London

within ten days after the battle, and that the letter in which Bailie has recorded the imputation of cowardice, was written not more than a month subsequently to the same occurrence.

Were we to form a judgment of Cromwell's qualities as a soldier from his actual conduct in war, we should say that he was a brave man rather than a great general. He was usually found charging at the head of his cavalry, both when he led a single troop, and also when he had risen to the rank of commander-in-chief. In point of discipline and spirit, he had brought his horsemen to a degree of excellence which could not be surpassed; and the confidence which they felt in their captain, and in one another, rendered an onset of the *ironsides* in most cases synonymous with victory. From the first skirmish, indeed, in which he was engaged, down to his "crowning" success at Worcester, he appears to have trusted more to strength of hand, than to skilful movements or deep-laid stratagems. In proof of this remark we may observe, that wherever he was opposed to experienced commanders, his inferiority in the art of moving large bodies of men, to secure an advantage without fighting, was strikingly manifested. For example, when he invaded Scotland, in the year 1650, he was completely checked by David Lesley, who, at the head of an army in no respect equal to the veterans with whom he had to contend, successfully defended the metropolis against the hero of Naseby, and at length, by the resources of mere generalship, compelled him to retreat towards the borders. At Dunbar, it is true, the fanatical preachers forced the Scottish leader, in opposition to his judgment and intentions, to attack the invader, and by that means afforded to the superior soldiers of the latter an opportunity of gaining a most decided advantage over the raw levies of the northern host. But it is manifest notwithstanding, that, so far as we can estimate the professional talents of the two commanders, Cromwell was not equal to his antagonist, who had spent many years in foreign service, and studied the tactics of the finest armies in Europe.

The same conclusion will be drawn from an examination of the campaign which terminated in the sanguinary conflict at Worcester. So far from being able to bring the war to a close in Scotland, Cromwell allowed the royal army to pass him, and even to gain two marches in advance towards the frontier, before he was aware of Charles's intention to carry the scene of hostilities beyond the Tweed. In ordinary circumstances such an oversight would have proved fatal to his character and to his cause; but his activity and good fortune again saved him. After a pursuit of four hundred miles he overtook the royalists, and in a battle remarkable only for its confusion and bloodshed, he once more

proved the superiority of his arms. It is clear, however, that it was only in the rush of the fight that Cromwell excelled; and that in every case where knowledge of ground, position, movement, and in short the whole art of strategy, are concerned, his reputation does not rest upon a solid basis. His conduct in the retreat to Dunbar, in particular, betrayed much ignorance of the country through which he was passing, and hence he found himself so completely hemmed in, unable either to proceed further or to bring the enemy to action, that he had resolved to sacrifice his baggage and artillery, send his infantry round to Berwick by sea, and then, at the head of his cavalry, attempt to cut a passage through the Scottish lines. The impatient enthusiasm of the preachers was of more avail to Cromwell than a reinforcement of 10,000 men. They blamed their general as being slow to strike, and notwithstanding his remonstrances that all was sure where they remained, but that all might be lost when they engaged in action, they ordered their army to quit the hills, and to attack the sectaries in the plain. The parliamentary chief, aware of his approaching advantage, and certain that the discipline of his troops would compensate for his false tactics, exclaimed, when he saw Lesley's brigades descending towards the pass, "the Lord hath delivered them into our hands!"

It must not be denied that Cromwell possessed a quality in the highest degree valuable in a military leader, the power of influencing the minds of his soldiers, of kindling their ardour, and above all, of directing their most impetuous feelings to the accomplishment of his own purposes. He knew full well the bent of their prejudices, and the deep hold which religious sentiment had taken of their minds; and accordingly, in all his addresses, prayers, and ejaculations, he never failed to rouse the emotions which were most suitable to the cause which he had in hand. For instance, at Dunbar, when he had just gained the heights, on which the issue of the day mainly depended, the sun, which had been concealed by a fog all the morning, burst forth with unusual brightness and threw a flood of light on the wide expanse of the German ocean, at which moment Old Noll lifted up his arm and exclaimed, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" This happy quotation operated on the spirits of his followers as if they had heard a voice from heaven. The "sun of Austerlitz"! the well-known expression with which Buonaparte hailed the first appearance of the solar orb on the morning of a decisive engagement, wanted the magnificent and soul-stirring associations which were awakened in the enthusiastic bosoms of Cromwell's veterans.

No man, in short, ever surpassed the latter chief in the art by which the most powerful energies of the human mind are drawn

forth, and directed like a whirlwind for the accomplishment of good or of evil. These two commanders have, indeed, been compared in several points, and a parallel has been attempted between their characters and histories; but in respect of military qualities, there is unquestionably no resemblance whatever. The Corsican excelled in the arrangement and combinations of a campaign, where more than 100,000 men were to be marshalled on either side, in the midst of garrisons, posts and fortified cities; and where ultimate success depended more upon the calculations by which scattered bodies of troops could be concentrated at a given point in the moment of attack and before the enemy could assemble his several corps, than upon mere physical strength in the combatants or personal exertions in their leader. The Englishman, on the other hand, had no inducement, and indeed no opportunity, to study war on so grand a scale, or in reference to the same means of securing victory. His plans never seem to have extended beyond the field where he encountered his foe, and whom he usually defeated, not by a movement to endanger his position or to cut off his retreat, not by a demonstration which might disconcert his designs or compel him to change his ground, but by a furious charge in the name of the Lord of Hosts, or by an obstinate courage which no difficulties could subdue. In truth there was very little generalship displayed on either side during the whole course of the civil war, and if we except the movement made by the king at Dennington Castle, there was no attempt hazarded to aid valour by skilful manœuvring. Suffice it to mention, as a proof of this statement, that at Marston Moor there were three generals in each of the contending armies; but so careless were they of any plan for meeting the contingencies of battle, that in half an hour they were all six in full retreat, leaving their men to keep their ground or to join in the rout, as chance or inclination might dictate. The torrent, it is true, which swept them off the field, carried them back again to it; upon which they renewed the fight with the same impetuosity which had marked its commencement, but with the same want of concert and co-operation.

The Irish campaign exhibits Cromwell in a very unfavourable point of view. As the enemy did not long keep the open field, the war was chiefly confined to the reduction of strong places, many of which were taken by storm, and the garrisons put indiscriminately to the sword. In this barbarity he, perhaps, gratified the religious hatred of his soldiers, who were not less incensed against the natives as members of the Romish Church than as rebels against the authority of parliament. He professed, indeed, to avenge the cruelties of the massacre perpetrated seven or eight years before upon the Protestants of Ireland; but his real object,

there can be no doubt, was to terrify all the fortified towns into submission, and to accelerate the conquest of the whole country during the season most convenient for military operations. In this respect he exemplified a policy similar to that of the late Russian general Suwarow, who, after putting 30,000 men and women to death because they dared to defend their walls, proclaimed everywhere the humanity of his proceeding. But we have done with the military character of Cromwell, and proceed, in the next place, to consider his merits as a statesman and ruler.

II. The origin of the Protector's power as a civilian is to be traced to the masterly scheme which first excited against Essex and the Earl of Manchester the suspicions of the republican party in the lower house, and afterwards paved the way for the self-denying Ordinance. The aristocratical commanders had already begun to perceive that the influence of their order was gradually diminishing in parliament as well as in the army, and hence to discover the expediency of listening to terms of peace with the king, from whose dignity their titles and privileges derived their sole support. The partizans of democracy, at the same time, saw the danger to which their favourite plan of government and even their personal safety, must be exposed, were the sovereign to be re-instated without sufficient restrictions on his prerogative; for which reason they determined to withstand every proposal for negotiation with Charles except on such a footing as they knew he would not admit as the basis of any permanent arrangement. They were sensible, moreover, that their plan could not be effected as long as the army should continue under the command of noblemen, whose interests, they imagined, were incompatible with those of the great body of the people. No expedient, therefore, was so likely to realize their views as a law prohibiting all members of parliament from holding offices under government; because such a measure necessarily excluded all the peers from appointments in the public service, while it left to the representatives of counties and boroughs the option of resigning their seats, should they prefer a command in the army to a vote in the house.

Some authors have been so simple as to imagine that Cromwell, when he suggested the self-denying ordinance, meant himself to submit to its requisitions and to retire from the army. Nothing could be more inconsistent with such a supposition than the conduct which he actually pursued. He was sent out of the way when the other officers, holding seats, were called upon to resign; and one pretence after another was urged for his continuance with the forces until he acquired the command both of the soldiers and of the parliament, and could when he pleased set the au-

thority of the latter at defiance. From this period, it is very obvious, he kept steadily in view the great objects which he afterwards accomplished, namely, the ascendancy of the Independents, the extinction of royalty, and the establishment of a military despotism. Hence his scheme of new-modelling the army which placed the power of the sword in the hands of his religious friends; and hence, too, his determination to seize the person of the king, in order to prevent any amicable arrangement with the parliament or the presbyterians. All his measures bore on those leading points; and to bring them to a favourable issue, he hesitated not to deceive the general under whom he served; to make protestations at irreconcilable variance with his most fixed intentions; and even to disguise the truth from his own family and most intimate friends.

The author of the *Life of Lord Orrery* informs us, that Cromwell, at one period, was disposed to close with the King and make terms for himself and the Independents. Lord Broghill, who was finally gained over to the cause of the Commonwealth, is represented as declaring on the authority of the Protector himself, that the latter would have entered into a treaty with his Majesty and obtained for him the support of the army, but that his eyes were opened by intercepting a letter from Windsor which indicated a bias in favour of the Presbyterians. It is clear, however, that Cromwell intended nothing more than to create delay and to prevent a pacification between Charles and his Parliament. Thus we find that when Commissioners were sent to the king at Newcastle with certain propositions from the two houses, Cromwell and Ireton found means to address the royal ear, dissuading him with the greatest earnestness from listening to the overtures of either Lords or Commons. The instrument which they are said to have employed for this purpose was a clergyman whose escape from imprisonment in the Tower they contrived to effect, and whom they commissioned as their agent to the unfortunate monarch. This clergyman is conjectured to have been Hudson, the same person who had assisted Charles in his flight from Oxford a few months before, and who, two years afterwards, lost his life fighting for the king in the second civil war. He was well adapted for their purpose, as being a devoted royalist, and particularly hostile to the Presbyterian party. His instructions were to advise Charles by all means to reject the propositions and to throw himself upon the army, the leaders of which, his Majesty was told, were in that case resolved to re-place him in the full exercise of his authority, upon the simple conditions of liberty of conscience, and such a security for the military power of the state in their favour, as they should think it necessary to

require. They likewise succeeded in bringing over the Marquess of Hertford, who was then in London, and several other of the king's most distinguished friends, to trust them, and to entertain the same views which they had infused into their agent. These persons, accordingly, furnished Hudson with letters recommending Charles to listen to the suggestions which he had to offer.

On this occasion Mr. Godwin remarks that—

“ It is interesting to observe when men of high talents and energies have determined to engage in any enterprise, how fully they perform the task they have chalked out for themselves. Ireton, a firm and rigid disciple of the republican school, Cromwell, the undaunted, of whom it was notorious that whatever he dared to think that also he dared to speak, had no sooner taken their part and determined to fight their adversaries with their own weapons, than they completely threw into the shade the pigmy efforts of the Presbyterians. Having once sworn to deceive, the dimensions of their minds enabled them immediately to stand forth accomplished and entire adepts in the school of Machiavel. They were satisfied that the system they adopted was just, and they felt no jot of humiliation or self-abasement in the systematical pursuit of it. Hypocrisy was of the very essence of every thing they could effect. Yet Ireton was a man of stern integrity, and Cromwell had hitherto been remarked for his extraordinary frankness. But both had persuaded themselves that, on the present occasion, a certain degree of reserve and even of deception was necessary to accomplish a people's safety and effect the noblest ends. They had fought for political and religious liberty. They abhorred the views and they despised the persons of their antagonists. They believed that if the Presbyterians succeeded, a worse species of tyranny and a more unmitigated and intolerable subjection would follow than that which the leaders of the Long Parliament had conspired to prevent. They placed themselves in the gap, and resolved, by whatever means, to save the character and the fortune of their country.”—Vol. ii. p. 202.

But our object here is not to unfold the means by which he arrived at power, it is rather to describe the manner in which he exercised it, when there was no longer any one to dispute his pretensions. It may be said then of Cromwell, on general grounds, that he was a man of expedients and not of principles; that, in every case, he acted according to his views of immediate advantage, and without anticipating the remoter effects of any particular measure, however closely connected with the usual policy and permanent interests of the nation; and, moreover, that he sometimes yielded to the impulse of personal feelings when he ought to have sacrificed every thing to the public welfare. It has been said of him by a professed panegyrist, that, “ though well versed in ancient and modern history, he was not well qualified as a statesman to speculate profoundly on human affairs, nor to predict the distant

consequences of passing events; but he possessed a ready perspicacious judgment, with a perfect confidence in his powers, a knowledge of character almost intuitive, and a capacity of the first order for the practical business of life, heightened by an enthusiastic ardour that upon any emergency roused up all the energies of his mind with concentrated force. Thus he saw conjunctures in their native simplicity, and judged with an original rectitude and clearness as to what was to be instantly transacted, far beyond what was attainable by such as brought pre-conceived opinions and dull generalities to the aid of their understandings. Bending all his resources to the accomplishment of his immediate object, undismayed either by present fears or the dread of distant consequences; and latterly, at least, seldom startling at a sacrifice of principle which might have appalled a better head as well as a better heart, he had ever the prompt decision which is of such importance in life."—*Brodie's History of Great Britain*.

It cannot be denied that his administration was vigorous, and that he compelled the most powerful nations of the continent to respect his government and even to court his alliance. But the strength with which he was armed was created almost entirely by the Long Parliament, more especially the efficient marine which enabled him to wrest from the Dutch the empire of the sea, and to inspire awe into the courts of France and Spain. The apprehensions, so naturally entertained by the founders of the commonwealth, of a descent upon their shores from the opposite coast, guided them to the wise policy of forming a navy; and so fortunate were they in the appointment of officers, that the exploits performed, during the war with Holland, were of so brilliant a character as hardly to have been surpassed by the more decisive victories gained on the same element in our own days.

The policy of the contest, however, was not as creditable to the reputation of Cromwell as the success with which it was conducted. Surrounded by strong and ambitious monarchies, the United Provinces were in danger of being overrun, and of thereby being rendered subordinate to those very countries from which England has ever had the most to fear. Hence it had usually appeared to the more enlightened of our rulers a matter of expediency, to preserve the independence of Holland, and more especially from the period at which the acquisition of so rich a territory either by Louis or Philip must have destroyed the balance of power in the south of Europe. The Protector was further blamed by the economists of his own age, for not deriving from his success over the Dutch the commercial advantages to which they maintained he had a just right in virtue of his conquests. But in this particular we can see no ground for blame. He re-

solved to limit the mercantile transactions of that active people, so far at least as to prevent them from interfering with the prosperity of the shipping interest in his own dominions. For this purpose he procured the enactment of the celebrated Navigation Laws; by which it was provided that no goods should be imported into Great Britain except in ships belonging to British subjects, or in the vessels of the country where the commodities were produced. By this measure he at once withdrew from the Dutch the lucrative employment of carrying by sea the mercantile property of the richest nations of Europe, while he secured for the ship-owners of his native land a considerable addition to their gains both at home and abroad.

The French alliance and the war with Spain were very unpopular in his own days, and the experience of more recent times has contributed not a little to establish the impolicy of those measures. Both countries flattered him, and each was willing to give a high price for his co-operation. His choice has been pronounced wrong, on the ground not less of principle than of advantage.

"In this dishonest war with Spain," says a contemporary writer, "he pretended and endeavoured to impose a belief upon the world that he had nothing in his eye but the advancement of the *protestant cause* and the *honour* of this nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs. For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish prelacy and the French court politics, could not but see that the way to increase or preserve the *reformed* interest in France was by rendering the Protestants of necessary use to their king; for that longer than they were so they could not be free from persecution: and that the way to render them so was to keep the balance between Spain and France even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their king. But by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain and joining with France, he freed the French king from the fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation, against the Reformed there: so that Oliver, instead of advancing the Reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politics, been the author of destroying it."—*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 281.

He was on the point of committing a similar solecism in his negotiation with Sweden and Denmark. From an inexplicable partiality towards the former country he had resolved upon its aggrandisement at the expense of the latter; intending, as it was supposed, to bestow on the successor of Christina, the whole of Norway as well as the Danish territory southward of the Baltic, and to reserve for himself the castle of Elsinour and a few of the adjacent islands. This arrangement would, in those days, have

rendered Sweden extremely formidable, and placed in her hands the navigation of the Baltic, both shores of which must have acknowledged her sovereignty in peace and in war.

“And whereas,” says the author just quoted, “it had in all ages been the policy of the northern states to keep the dominion of the Baltic divided among several petty princes, that no one might be sole master of it; because otherwise most of the necessary commodities for shipping coming from thence and Norway, any one lord of the whole might lay up the shipping of Europe, by the walls, in shutting only of his ports and denying the commodities of his country to other states. Cromwell, contrary to this wise maxim, endeavoured to put the whole Baltic sea into the hands of the Swedes, and undoubtedly would have done it, if his death had not given them who succeeded him an opportunity of prudently preventing it.”

Still there is no doubt that the character of England, for strength and a vigorous administration, stood very high during the government of the Protector; on which account, if we cannot praise the wisdom of his policy, we are at least bound to admire the commanding attitude which he assumed in the face of the proudest and most powerful nations of Europe. He insisted upon Louis calling him *brother*, and thereby recognizing his authority as a sovereign prince. He intimidated Spain into concessions favourable to the trade of Britain; maintained against the Dutch the superiority of the English flag; and procured from the French the relinquishment of Dunkirk and the banishment of the royal exiles, as the price of his alliance in a continental war. It is true that he thereby raised the power of the last-named people to a height which soon afterwards threatened the independence of several European states, and occasioned even to this country the loss of much blood and treasure; but so far as we consider the effect of his counsels upon the reputation of his personal government, there can be no question that he created for himself a degree of influence and glory, among surrounding kingdoms, much greater than had been possessed by any British monarch since the reign of Henry the Eighth.

“Some modern politicians,” says Bishop Warburton in his *Notes on Clarendon's History*, “have affected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain; or as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a lawful hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. But true policy required that the usurper should first take care of himself, before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England. So that,

though Cromwell gave out that which of the two states would give most for his friendship should have it, in order to raise the price, he was certainly determined in himself that France should have it."

The statement of the learned Bishop only goes to confirm the opinion which we have all along entertained, that Cromwell, in his foreign policy, pursued temporary expedients rather than general principles, and valued a present advantage more highly than a lasting benefit.

But his domestic administration was not so creditable, either to his wisdom or to his honesty, as even his transactions with foreign potentates. He had indeed a difficult part to act, being surrounded by men who regarded his elevation as the overthrow of their own fond schemes of government, and as the proof of his deceit and selfishness; but he added not a little to the embarrassment of his situation by making professions on which he never intended to act, and by exciting hopes which from the first he meant to disappoint. When he assumed the direction of affairs he had to sustain the opposition of three great parties, all of whom hated and feared him—the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Republicans. These last, by means of whom he had risen to power, were his most inveterate enemies, because he had not only deceived them in the matter nearest their hearts, but was now menacing them with the very evil which they had suffered so much to remove—namely, the government of a single person. Even the army, upon which he had his chief reliance, was become very unmanageable. The enthusiasm which pervaded the lower classes of the soldiery had fitted them for the greatest extravagances; while the officers, whom he had found it necessary to dismiss, were ready to engage in any plot for his destruction. The Presbyterians, again, who were determined to establish their covenant and church polity in the south as well as in the north, were incensed against Cromwell for giving his countenance to the Independents, and for rejecting the scheme of discipline recommended by the Westminster Assembly. The Churchmen, finally, who were in general royalists, were opposed to him on the ground of his usurpation and intolerance, and eagerly watched for an opportunity to precipitate him from the eminence which, in their opinion, he had so unworthily ascended.

From these elements of danger, however, he had the talent to evoke a spirit which, for a certain time at least, proved the main guardian of his throne. By the various arts of flattery and intimidation, he continued to subdue the more violent individuals in the three great parties opposed to him, while he excited their jealousy of one another to such a pitch, that their suspicions of his ultimate designs were lost amid the deeper mistrust created

by their own rival pretensions. He acted successfully on the Machiavellian principle of ruling by fomenting mutual fears and hatred;—knowing well that the great body of the nation was against him, and, hence, that the union of any two factions must have instantly led to his ruin. Towards the close of his days he even condescended to court the Roman Catholics, and to hold out to them the prospect of a relaxation in some of the more oppressive statutes which had been enacted against their communion. In short, to use the words of Bishop Burnet,

“ he with great dissimulation carried things with all sorts of people farther than was thought possible, considering the difficulties he met with in all his parliaments; but it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.”

The vigilance of Cromwell was so great that he never long remained a stranger to the designs of his enemies, whether at home or abroad. He spared no expense to obtain intelligence, while he found men of all ranks ready to act as his instruments in communicating the intentions of those individuals from he had most to dread. At his death an account for secret services was produced, amounting to sixty thousand pounds—a part only of the sum which had been expended in the employment of spies and informers. Every reader remembers the cases of Sir Richard Willis and Captain Manning, royalists and servants of the king, who nevertheless degraded themselves by accepting the hire of the usurper and betraying the interests of their master. The detection, too, of Lord Broghill's intended journey to visit Charles the Second, and his subsequent conversion to the cause of the Protector, is a striking instance of the jealous and watchful superintendence which Cromwell exercised in every department of state, as well, perhaps, as of the lax fidelity which civil dissension had produced even among the better educated classes of English society. No degree of retirement was sufficiently private to escape the inquest of his emissaries. Servants were bribed, and even godly chaplains accepted remuneration as secret agents of the government in the bosom of unsuspecting families; and, in one word, all confidence and honesty were put to flight by the malign influence which arose from the Protector's fears, suspicions, and jealousies.

It is a remarkable fact, that he himself admitted in parliament that the great majority of the country was opposed to his government; founding upon this acknowledgment the necessity of keeping up a standing army, and of restricting the freedom of election in the different counties and boroughs where he had not friends to secure proper returns. In Goddard's Journal for the year

1654, Cromwell is represented as declaring, that in England, Scotland, and Ireland the people were extremely disaffected, and could only be kept down by force of arms.

"In general, said he, speaking of the northern division of the island, the country was wholly very much disaffected to the present government. The Presbyterian and Cavalier interests were so complicated, as he did not see how any forces there could be lessened with safety until these two interests could be satisfied, and which way to do that he did not find, they being constantly blown up by the enemies beyond seas; and the distempers there were so great as the commanders there did call for more forces, so far was it from abating any. As to the forces in England, the numbers were but few, the condition of the people such as the *major part a great deal are persons disaffected and engaged against us.*"

Lambert, too, at a somewhat later period, while attempting to defend the violence which had been put upon parliament, when about a hundred members were turned out of it for not signing the *Recognition*, remarks—

"For that of keeping out the members, if such course had not been taken, consider what a parliament you might have had. If a parliament should be chosen *according to the general spirit and temper of the nation*, and if there should not be a check upon such election, those may creep into this house who may come to sit as our judges for all that we have done in this parliament, or at any other time or place. Having no rules to circumscribe parliaments, the power must be trusted in some person, and fittest in the supreme magistrate."—*Burton's Diary.*

It was indeed a miserable plight into which the people of England had fallen, when they were not allowed to choose representatives but according to the pleasure of an usurper, and when the persons whom they sent to parliament were not permitted to express their sentiments on the business of the nation without incurring the hazard of expulsion or of imprisonment! They had fought for liberty and for the independence of the legislature, and in return they found themselves subjected to the caprice of a despot, who, in virtue of his military exploits, had assumed the reins of government.

In pursuance of his plans, and to depress the opposers of his authority, he resolved to weaken their influence by seizing upon a part of their estates. With this view he divided England into twelve districts, in each of which he placed a major-general, who was to act as president of a committee appointed for sequestering a tenth of the annual revenue arising from all the goods and lands belonging to royalists or to such as had served under the banners of the king. They were, says Ludlow, "to have the inspection and government of inferior commissions in every county, with orders to seize the persons and distrain the estates of such

as should be refractory, and to put in execution such further directions as they should receive from him." They ruled, observes another author, "according to their wills—by no law but what seemed good in their own eyes; imprisoning men, obstructing the course of justice between man and man, perverting right through partiality, acquitting some that were guilty and punishing some that were innocent as if guilty." This process of *decimation*, as it was called, gave great offence, and excited an universal feeling of abhorrence. Cromwell accordingly found it necessary to revoke the appointment of his generals, and even to deny the authority upon which they had acted.

Mr. Godwin, who does not hesitate to condemn the cruelty and impolicy of this scheme, remarks, that the individuals, against whom it was directed, were

"a majority of the people of England in rank, in property, and numbers. Cromwell's measure was intended exclusively against the old royalists, the Episcopalians."

The instructions given to the major-generals contained the least unpalatable and offensive part of the business. Among other things—

"every master of a family, or householder, who was considered as disaffected, was to be required to give security by his bond for the good behaviour of all his menial servants, the servants being liable to be called to appear before the general or his deputy at such time and place as either should appoint. An office of register was to be set up in London, where the names of all persons thus giving security were to be entered, together with their residence; and as often as they changed their abode, this also was to be punctually recorded, and notice communicated to the major-general of each district, as the case might require. Again, the said major-generals were to take an account of what had been done in execution of the ordinance against insufficient and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, to the end that no disaffected person might be allowed in public teaching or in the education of youth."

"The royalists, terrified at the extensive arrests and imprisonments that had taken place of their brethren, and awed by the military preparations that had been made in case of resistance, promptly obeyed the summons of the major-generals, and for the most part yielded without a murmur to the assessment that was made upon them. There was indeed little hope in resistance;—there was no reference allowed to the courts of law in this case; the only appeal was to the Protector in council."—"The proceedings of the major-generals were in the highest degree arbitrary. They summoned whoever they pleased before them as delinquents. It was dangerous to slight their commands. They inquired into every man's estate and income; and if any one endeavoured to clear himself of delinquency, they pronounced upon the validity of his defence, or otherwise. They sent whom they pleased to prison, and confined him where they pleased. It was one of the cha-

characteristics of Cromwell's government, that those who were judged to be disaffected never succeeded in their endeavours to be set at large in due course of law. It is true that these rigours were never applied but to such as had acted for the Stuart family, or whose affections were engaged to that cause; but this was a numerous class. It is true that the major-generals in most instances conducted themselves with moderation and equity; but this military government had not less the substance of a tyranny."

The despotism of the major-generals has been rendered memorable by the oppression which they inflicted on two distinguished individuals, John Cleveland, the poet, and the still more celebrated Jeremy Taylor. The only crime alleged against the future bishop consisted in his attachment to Episcopacy and to the unfortunate House of Stuart, for which he was thrown as a prisoner into Chepstow Castle, in the county of Monmouth. The Satirist was arrested at Haynes, and sent to a place of confinement at Yarmouth; the reasons for which arbitrary measure were as follows:—the first was, that he lived in utter obscurity in the house of a royalist, very few persons of the neighbourhood knowing that there was such a man resident amongst them; the second was, that he possessed great abilities and was able to do considerable disservice; and a third reason for his imprisonment was, that he wore good clothes, though, as he confessed, he had no estate but £20 *per annum*, allowed him by two gentlemen, and £30 by the person in whose house he resided, and whom he assisted in his studies. He would, it is said, have been released had he possessed any property upon which the commissioners could have fixed an assessment.

But the most unjustifiable part of Cromwell's conduct was his interference with the courts of law, and his repeated endeavours to convert the judgments of the bench into an instrument of personal revenge or of political intimidation. The case of Colonel Lilburn is well known to every reader of history. Charged with sedition, he was tried by a London jury, from whom he obtained an honourable acquittal; and no sooner was the verdict announced to the crowd at the door than the air rang with the acclamations of thousands. The parliament, deeming his proceedings injurious to their plans, banished him by ordinance; but, partly out of confidence in the professions of Cromwell to perform his engagement to the people and partly out of his native intrepidity, he returned after the dissolution of the legislature. Cromwell, however, dreaded him no less than the parliament had done, and therefore had him arraigned for returning contrary to the ordinance by which his punishment was awarded. But Lilburn pleaded his cause with so much ability, that a jury

again acquitted him, in spite of all the usurper's influence; and once more the popular voice was raised in favour of the accused. The shouts of the people on this occasion did not, however, subdue the resentment of the Protector, nor induce him to imitate the moderation which had been displayed by the parliament; on the contrary, he detained the colonel in prison till he was so far gone in a consumption that he only turned him out to die.—*Harleian Miscellany*, i. p. 285.

The prosecution of Vane is another instance of unblushing tyranny. The publication of the "Healing Question" gave great offence to Cromwell, although, as the author asserted, it had been given in manuscript to one of the members of the council for inspection, remained in their hands nearly a month, after which it was returned to him without any comment, when it was sent to the press in the usual way, and published with the customary permission. A warrant was issued to apprehend Vane and conduct him to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where the governor was instructed to receive him as a prisoner and not to suffer any one to speak to him but in the presence of an officer. "What," exclaims Mr. Godwin, "must be the government of a country when the first men in it are liable to such treatment!" In reality Cromwell and his council had made such abundant use of this power of arbitrary imprisonment, that they became utterly insensible to the execration to which such a proceeding is justly exposed. They imprisoned men on suspicion or without suspicion, often by way of precaution only, and set them at liberty when they pleased, or retained them as long as they pleased, without once recollecting that they committed an offence for which they owed a severe account to the community.

Upon the death of the Protector, certain prisoners in the Tower, as well as some who had been sent to Jersey and other places beyond the sea, lodged a complaint against the Lieutenant for false imprisonment. The jailor was sent for to be examined by a committee of parliament, when, being asked by what authority he kept those persons in hold, he produced a paper, written by Oliver's own hand, to this effect:—"Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others whom you may judge dangerous men; do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant after you have done."

Never were the lives of British subjects held so cheap as in the days of the Commonwealth. After the battle of Worcester several thousands of the unfortunate captives were sent to Barbadoes, where they were sold for slaves in the public market. In like manner, when the insurrection of Penruddock was subdued, a great number of persons, seized either upon suspicion or with

arms in their hands, were shipped to the West Indies. Burton's Diary contains a petition on the part of seventy individuals who had undergone that punishment without any legal conviction, and who entreated parliament to redress their grievances. They state, that being arrived at Barbadoes on the 7th of May, 1656, "the master of the ship sold your miserable petitioners and the others; the generality of them to most inhuman and barbarous persons, for one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds weight of sugar a-piece, as the goods and chattels of Marten Noell and Major Thomas, aldermen of London, and Captain H. Hatsell of Plymouth; neither sparing the aged of seventy-six years old, nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men, but rendering all alike in this inseparable captivity: they now generally grinding at the mills and attending at the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nought to feed on, notwithstanding their hard labour, but potatoe roots, nor to drink but water, with such roots washed in it, besides the bread and tears of their own afflictions; being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses and beasts for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-posts for their masters' pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England, and many other ways made miserable beyond expression or Christian imagination. Humbly your petitioners do remonstrate, on behalf of themselves and others, their most deplorable, and (as to Englishmen) their unparalleled condition; and earnestly beg that this high court, since they are not under any pretended conviction of law, will be pleased to examine this arbitrary power, and to question by what authority so great a breach is made upon the free people of England, they having never seen the faces of these their pretended owners, merchants that deal in slaves and souls of men, nor ever heard of their names before Mr. Cole made affidavit in the office of Barbadoes that he sold them as their goods; but whence they derived their authority for the sale and slavery of your poor petitioners and the rest, they are wholly ignorant to this very day. A thing not known amongst the cruel Turks, to sell and enslave those of their own country and religion, much less the innocent."

This moving petition excited the ridicule of some and the resentment of others, and it was finally moved that both petitioners and witnesses should be sent to prison for their affrontery. One member, Mr. Starkey, said, "I am an Englishman and an inheritor of the laws, but I came hither with a resolution not to retrospect. The breaking of laws has preserved your being. If extraordinary methods had not sometimes been taken we had not

been here at this day. It is enough that the petitioners have their lives assigned in any place."

No sooner did Cromwell find that the ordinary laws of the country could not support his tyranny than he established high courts of justice for the trial of state delinquents. In the year 1654 the rumour of a conspiracy to take away his life by assassination afforded a pretext for taking into custody several eminent persons whom he believed to be disaffected to his government. Among these were Colonel Gerard, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Richard Willis, and two gentlemen of the name of Ashburnham. The prisoners were forty in all, but the Protector thought proper to bring only three of them to trial. An ordinance was framed for constituting a high court of justice, of which Commissioner Lisle was president. The other judges were Aske and Nicholas of the upper bench, Atkins of the Exchequer, Steele recorder, seven aldermen, and twenty other persons. Glyn, Prideaux, and Ellis were counsel for the Commonwealth. The three individuals tried were Gerard, Peter Vowel a schoolmaster, and Somerset Fox. This last pleaded guilty; but Vowel demanded a trial in the ordinary form and a jury of his peers, founding his claim on the sixth article of the republican constitution. The court answered that they were his peers, and that he might see that the individuals on the bench exceeded twelve in number. Glyn, moreover, affirmed that the ordinance establishing the commission, though made only by the Protector and council, was undoubtedly in force until the parliament should repeal it; adding, that in the old law of treason, king signified merely supreme governor, that it had been so construed in the case of a queen, and that it applied equally to a lord protector. Gerard and Vowel were both found guilty and executed; the former denying, with his last breath, that he was aware of any conspiracy against the life of Cromwell.

At a somewhat later period Dr. Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby were condemned by a similar tribunal; the Protector having refused to submit his charges against them to an impartial jury. Whitelocke and some other of his counsellors entreated him to rest satisfied with the ordinary administration of justice, and to confide the interests of the government to the patriotism of the people; but, convinced as he was that the great majority of the nation were opposed to his usurpation, he declared his determination to support his power by using the very instruments which had given the only just cause of offence in former reigns. Nay, he far exceeded the arbitrary spirit which animated the declamations of James, and which alienated the lovers of freedom in the earlier years of his son. For example, the oppression attempted by Cromwell in the case of Cony, the London merchant, surpasses

the most illegal stretches of prerogative in the days of Elizabeth or of her immediate successors. The trader now named had refused to pay certain duties on the goods which he imported, on the ground that they were not approved by a competent authority. For this offence he was brought before the commissioners of customs and condemned in a fine of five hundred pounds. Refusing to pay this penalty he was committed to prison for contempt. In the prospect of a trial he retained three of the most eminent counsel at the bar,—Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham, to plead for him; and the question came to be heard on the 17th of May, 1655.

“This was an affair of vital importance to the government of Cromwell. An ordinance had been passed by the Lord Protector and council on the 20th of March, 1654, for the continuation of the duty of customs for the four succeeding years; and it was under the authority of this ordinance that the duties of customs were at present collected. But the question was, whether those who issued this ordinance had power to make a law. It was a maxim among the professional men, that the written laws of England were statutes, acts, or edicts, enacted by the people assembled in parliament; and no maxim seemed more essential to the existence of national freedom. The power of the council to make laws hinged upon the authority of the record called the Government of the Commonwealth. But if brought into a court of justice what was this record? It was a document prepared by the council of the army, and sanctioned by the principal officers of state. This could not for a moment stand the scrutiny of men bred in the technical habits of the courts, as being of force to change the essential *dicta* of the English constitution.”—“It was a terrible dilemma into which Cromwell was driven by this case of Cony; and it required equal prudence and firmness to extricate himself from it without mortal injury. If he gave way, if Cony came off victorious in the contest, his government was at an end; or, to speak more accurately, it would from that time forward have been a government of violence and of military force only. Every one excited by example of Cony would have resisted every tax, and would have defended their resistance on the same grounds that he did.”

Cony's counsel appear to have done full justice to the case of their client: and Maynard in particular used such arguments, and enforced them with such vigour, as, if attended to, would have shaken the government to its basis. The cause was argued on the 17th of May; and on the morrow the lawyer just named and his fellow-pleaders were sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government. Nor did the case end here. The day following, Cony, unsupported by counsel, presented himself at the bar of the upper bench, and did such justice to the situation in which he was placed, that Rolle, who presided in the court, felt utterly at a loss what to determine.

Owing to a slight grammatical inaccuracy in Cony's answer addressed to the Protector the decision was postponed, and his next appearance being on the last day of the term *the affair was ordered to stand over till the following one*. In the meantime Rolle represented the difficulties under which he laboured to Cromwell in such a manner that he received his writ of ease on the 7th of June, and in the following week Glyn was appointed to succeed him as lord Chief Justice of England. Maynard, Twisden and Windham had previously, on their submission, been discharged from confinement; and by some means, employed it was thought at the instance of the new judge, Cony was induced to withdraw his cause from court altogether.

The liberties of Englishmen were certainly reduced to a very low ebb when lawyers were dragged from the bar to prison, for no other offence than a professional exposition of the principles of the constitution, and a faithful discharge of their duty to a client whose property and life were at stake. But Cromwell did not think it enough to intimidate counsel and dismiss judges, when they showed that their regard for law and honour was superior to their love for his service: he even attempted to poison the very source of equity, by interposing the weight of his authority in the nomination of juries. The firmness of Sir Matthew Hale on one memorable occasion stands on record as a proof of that judge's integrity, and of the baseness which already stained the character of the Protector. He understood that Cromwell had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial in which he was more than ordinarily concerned; and upon this information he examined the sheriff, who said he knew nothing about it, for that it was his practice to refer all such things to the under-sheriff. Having next asked the latter concerning it, he found that the jury had actually been returned by order of the Protector, upon which he showed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer; and this not having been done according to law, he dismissed the jury and would not try the cause. Cromwell was highly incensed at him for this decided step, and on his return from the circuit, told him, in anger, that he was not fit to be a judge; to which all the answer made by the latter was, "it is very true."

We therefore agree with Mr. Hallam when he says, that he cannot echo the praises which have been showered upon Cromwell for the just administration of the laws under his dominion. That between party and party the ordinary civil rights of men were fairly dealt with, is no extraordinary encomium; and it may be admitted that he filled the benches of justice with able lawyers, though not so considerable as those of the reign of Charles the

Second; "but it is manifest that, so far as his own authority was concerned, no hereditary despot proud in the crimes of a hundred ancestors could more have spurned at every limitation than this soldier of a commonwealth."—*Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 343.

All illusion was now gone as to the pretended benefits of the civil war. It had ended in a despotism, compared to which all the illegal practices of former kings, all that cost Charles his life and crown, appeared as dust in the balance. For what was ship-money, a general burthen, when set by the side of the Cromwellian decimation of a single class, the Royalists, whose offence had long been expiated by a composition and effaced by an act of indemnity? Or were the excessive punishments of the star-chamber so odious as the capital executions inflicted without trial by peers, whenever it suited the usurper to erect his high courts of justice? Hence we find that the government of the Protector was universally unpopular; and the sense of present evils not only excited a burning desire to live again under the ancient monarchy, but obliterated, especially in the new generation that had no distinct remembrance of them, the apprehension of its former abuses. The tyranny of Cromwell, and his contempt of law, contributed more than the army of General Monk to place Charles the Second on the throne of his father.

III. We have left very little space for a description of Cromwell's policy as a religionist, the most obscure and unintelligible part of of his extraordinary character. His conduct, particularly towards the end of his career, was so utterly inconsistent with correct views of Christian obligation and even with common honesty, that he has been very generally charged with profound dissimulation in all matters connected with doctrinal tenet and spiritual influences. Richard Baxter himself did not hesitate to pronounce the Lord Protector a *traitorous hypocrite*. That he had at no period of his life a sincere feeling towards religion, it would be uncandid and perhaps unjust to assert; but that he finally employed his knowledge of religious terms and the reputation which he had acquired as a saint, to deceive weaker men than himself and thereby to promote his secular interests, there cannot, among reasonable persons, be the smallest room for doubt. It was the opinion of Bishop Burnet, supported by the judgment of Wilkins and Tillotson, that the enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his conduct, that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character. He thought, too, that moral laws were only binding upon ordinary occasions, but that upon extraordinary ones they might be superseded; and hence his enthusiasm easily led him into all the practices both of falsehood and of cruelty.

After he resolved to raise himself to supreme power, he was a good deal hampered with the professions which he had made to his friends among the Independents. Goodwin and others had long regarded the office of a king in England as the great Antichrist, which prevented the Redeemer from being set upon his earthly throne. "To these persons, therefore, he thought proper to declare, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a show of greatness; but, he added, he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy. With this view, he assured them, that he only stepped in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle; and he entreated them to believe that he would then surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that show of dignity. To men of this stamp he was wont to enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that, for form's sake, he was bound to keep up with others. These discourses commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus, with much ado, he managed the republican enthusiasts; the other republicans, the mere lovers of civil liberty, he called the heathen, and professed he could not so easily work upon them."—*Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 135.

Had he succeeded in placing the crown upon his head, he would, it is probable, have founded a church establishment on the general principles of Episcopacy. Dr. Wilkins relates that he had begun to perceive that no civil government could have a secure support without a national church which adhered to it; and, moreover, that the people of England had a decided preference for the Episcopal regimen. At all events he was avowedly hostile to Presbyterianism. He even declared on one occasion to the Earl of Manchester, that, as the Scots had come into England to impose their form of ecclesiastical polity on their brethren south of the Tweed, he would as soon draw his sword against them as against the royalists; and that he considered their pretensions as quite inconsistent with an amicable adjustment of things, whether religious or political.

There was, at the same time, great inconsistency in the conduct of Cromwell in regard to religious toleration, and we cannot help suspecting that his principles on this point, for which he has obtained the greatest praises, were always modified in their application by a regard to his ambitious designs, as the head of the

government. The sectaries were his chief supporters in parliament, in the pulpit, and even in the field of battle; for which reason he granted the utmost liberty to them, and to all classes of Dissenters indeed, except Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and the more rigid Presbyterians; all of whom he knew were, more or less, attached to the House of Stuart, but who, nevertheless, constituted the great body of the English people. On the fourth day of October, 1655, he issued a proclamation prohibiting all clergymen of the late establishment who had been ejected for delinquency or scandal, or, in other words, for royalist principles, from preaching in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of their own families. They were likewise forbidden to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, or to marry any person, or to use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, "upon pain that every person so offending in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against, as by the said orders is provided and directed."

It is therefore difficult to acquit Cromwell of illiberality as well as of studied dissimulation. He professed principles of toleration on which he did not act, and he claimed for the party to which himself belonged, a degree of freedom in the exercise of religious worship which he would not concede to others. But as to his personal religion, his faith, and his hopes, it is still impossible to pronounce with confidence, whether he was more inclined to deceive or to become a dupe. It is true that, in many instances, he despised the individuals whose doctrines he appeared to hold, and laughed in secret at the practices which he found it expedient to pursue in public. Yet there is reason to suspect, that although he treated Goodwin and his fraternity as artful nurses treat children, or as certain idolaters demean themselves towards the images of their gods in the hour of danger, he, nevertheless, occasionally opened his mind to their most pernicious errors, and even sunk under the superstitious fears which they thought it their duty to excite. Were we to limit our judgment of his piety to the conduct which he displayed on his death-bed, we should not rate it very high; for, on the supposition that his intellect was still unimpaired, we must pronounce that his notions of intercession were fanatical in the extreme. When one of his physicians came to visit him, he asked him why he looked so sad. And when he answered, that so it became any one who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him, "Ye physicians," said he, "think I shall die." Then, the company being removed, and holding his wife by the hand, he exclaimed, "I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it." And observing his medical attendant to look more earnestly upon him at these

words, "Dont think," said he, "that I am mad; I speak the words of truth upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, as 'twas not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater intimacy with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would do with a serving man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far above all nature." But as the physician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another of his particular acquaintance, to whom said he, "I am afraid our patient will be light-headed." The other replied, "you are certainly a stranger to what is going on in this house: Don't you know what was done last night? The chaplains and all who are dear to God, being dispersed into several parts of the palace, prayed to God for his health, and all brought this answer — '*He shall recover.*'" — *Bates' Elenchus.*

"Still," says Echard, "he was not altogether without reflexion, and seemed above all concerned for the reproaches which men would cast upon his name, in trampling upon his ashes when he was dead. Nor did he seem to be totally without religious apprehensions; and one great inquiry he had to make was, as we are told from Dr. Goodwin, whether a man could fall from grace? a question very common in those days. And when the Doctor answered in the negative, according to the prevailing notion, he replied, 'Then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace.'"

From the extravagance of Cromwell's chaplains we may at once form an estimate of the kind of devotion which was usually practised within the walls of the palace, and arrive at a fair conclusion respecting the doctrine which was most acceptable to its inmates. A certain Ultra-Calvinism afforded to the divines of those unhappy days an opportunity for exercising their metaphysics on the most sacred subjects; in the course of which discussions they generally contrived to dissolve all connection between the conduct and the hopes of the human being, and to rest his character and destination on the secret decrees of his Maker. The Protector, it is true, did not form the theological system of his age, nor perhaps understand it in its full import and bearing; but he unquestionably gave encouragement to the most dangerous speculations on all points of doctrine, and countenanced the greatest abuses in external worship. Christianity sustained a violent attack from the heroes of the Commonwealth; and, in reviewing their conduct, every candid reader must acknowledge that the sincerity of their intentions makes but a small compensation for the absurdity of their opinions, and the coarse buffoonery of their

manner, in the exercise of its most solemn duties. The profaneness of Charles the Second's reign proceeded not more from the loose principles of the monarch, and the example of the foreign courts in which he and many of his nobles had passed their exile, than from the recent grimace of Puritanism, and the revolting combination of a sanctimonious exterior with inward ambition, licentiousness and hypocrisy.

But no one knew better than Cromwell when to check religious pretensions in others, and how to determine the boundaries between civil and ecclesiastical authority. The Presbyterian ministers in Scotland had been long accustomed to dictate to the government, to rail at their king, and even to treat him with defiance and scorn. They dared not use the same freedoms with the Protector. When he entered Edinburgh, after his victory at Dunbar, the preachers, who had poured upon his character the most scurrilous abuse, thought proper to retire into the castle for protection. The Lieutenant-General invited them to return to their duty; but, as they persisted in their refusal to reoccupy their churches, he found it necessary to write to the Governor the following letter; which, not having appeared in any history of the period, may prove acceptable to the curious reader.

“Sir,—The kindness offered to the ministers was without any fraudulent reserve. If their Master's service was their principal concern, they would not be so excessively afraid of suffering for it. These ministers have misreported the conduct of our party, in charging us with persecuting the ministers of Christ in England. For the ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail at their superiours at discretion; nor under a pretended privilege of character to overstep the civil powers or debase them as they please. No man has been disturbed in England for preaching the Gospel, nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the army came there. Speaking the truth becomes the minister of Christ: but where ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, they must know that the Sion promised is not to be built of such untempered mortar. We have said in our papers with what hearts and upon what account we came, and the Lord hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel. I have nothing to say to you, but that I am, Sir, your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.”

The oratory of Cromwell has often been the subject of ridicule among critics and historians, and every one has remarked the striking contrast which subsisted between his sagacious actions and his foolish speeches. It ought to be observed, at the same time, that Oliver did not enjoy the advantages of modern speech-makers, who frequently get their involved conceptions expanded

into elegant and luminous phrases, through the medium of the periodical press. But the following extract from an address, delivered by the Protector at the opening of parliament in the year 1656, would, we think, have puzzled the most expert redacteur that ever attempted to give sense to a tissue of unmeaning words.

“ Gentlemen,—When I came hither I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself, because (this being a very extraordinary occasion) I thought I had very many things to say unto you; but truly now seeing you in such a condition as you are, I think I must turn off in this, as I hope I shall in every thing else, and reflect upon, as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat you are in. Rhetoricians to whom I do not pretend; neither to them, nor to the things they use to speak, words. Truly our business is to speak things. The dispensations of God that are upon us do require it, and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse, is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both the glory of God, and with reference to his interest in the world. I mean his peculiar, most peculiar interest, and that will not leave any of us to exclude his general interest, which is the concernment of the living people within these three nations with all the dependencies thereupon. I told you I should speak to things, things that concern these interests, the glory of God and his peculiar interests in the world, which is more extensive, I say more extensive than all the people of all these three nations, with the appurtenances, or the countries and places belonging unto them. The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to, is, that that is the first lesson of nature, which is being and preservation. As to being I do think I do not ill style it the first consideration that nature teacheth the sons of Adam, and then I hope we shall enter into a large field enough when we come to consider that well-being; and if that first be not well laid, I think the rest will hardly follow. Now in order to this, to the being and subsistence of these nations with all the dependencies; the conservation of that as either with a respect to be had to them that seek to undo it, and so make it not to be, and then with a very natural consideration to what will make it to be, will keep its being and subsistence. Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so, he is naturally so throughout, through that enmity that is in him against all that is of God, that is in you, or that which may be in you, contrary to that that his blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith (in submitting to the See of Rome) acts him unto.

“ Know assuredly that if I have interest, I am, by the voice of the people, the supreme magistrate, and, it may be, know somewhat, that may satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt. But it is an union, really it is an union, between you and me, and both of us united in faith, and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to his peculiar interest in the world that must ground this work, and in that if I have any peculiar interest that is personal to myself, that is not subservient to the public end, it were no extravagant thing for me to curse myself,

because I know God will curse me, if I have. And I have learned too much of God, not to dally with him, and to be bold with him in these things; and I never was and I hope I never shall be bold with him, though I can be bold with him, if Christ be pleased to assist."—*Burton's Diary*, vol. i.

We have thus endeavoured, by a selection of the main facts which distinguished the administration of Oliver Cromwell, to supply the reader with the means of forming some estimate of the character of that most extraordinary man. But there were so many opposing principles, so many contrarieties, in his composition, that the real qualities of his mind, as well as the motives which determined the most important of his actions, cannot be brought into a satisfactory light. Lord Clarendon called him a "brave wicked man;" Cardinal Mazarin described him as a "fortunate madman;" and Father Orleans sums up the review of his life by pronouncing him a "judicious villain." It is clear, at all events, that he owed much to circumstances which he knew well how to turn to advantage; more to his knowledge of human nature and to the choice of fit instruments to accomplish his purposes; and, most of all, to an invincible resolution to maintain his ground at all hazards, and even at the expense of law, religion, and humanity.

ART.V.—*Testimonies in Proof of the Separate Existence of the Soul in a State of Self-consciousness between Death and the Resurrection.* Small 8vo. 10s. 6d. By the Reverend Thomas Huntingford, M. A. Vicar of Kempsford, Gloucestershire.

MR. HUNTINGFORD has been at the pains of making this collection of tracts, in proof of the separate existence of the soul in an intermediate state, for the purpose of counteracting the tendency of certain propositions, advanced by Dr. Whately, in his "*Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*;" propositions, which seem to Mr. Huntingford, unscriptural and dangerous, and to labour under the suspicion of secretly inclining towards materialism. A mere recital of the names of those distinguished writers, who have expressly maintained, that the doctrine of an intermediate state is clearly revealed in Scripture, will dispose the generality of readers to question the correctness of Dr. Whately's positive assertion, that "with respect to an intermediate state *nothing* is revealed to us." On this ground Mr. Huntingford has arrayed against him the authority of Sherlock, Addison, Calvin, Grotius, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Sir Matthew Hale, Pearson, Beveridge, Jortin, Secker, Butler, Bull, and Watts: we give their names in the order in which Mr. Huntingford has thought fit to class them, though we

cannot perceive the reason of it; neither, indeed, do we understand why some of them have found a place in this publication. But if some, as Addison, and Jortin, whose arguments are directed to establish the correlative doctrines of the soul's immortality, and a future state of reward and punishment, are claimed with little reason as maintainers of the soul's existence in an intermediate state of consciousness; others of equal reputation, who have maintained it with great ability and candour, have been designedly omitted,—or overlooked. Dr. Campbell's dissertation on the word *Hades*, in which this doctrine is established on Scriptural grounds, with great research and perspicuity, might have been advantageously substituted for the slight essays of Addison, (whose only proof, that the soul, immediately after death, passes at once into another state of conscious existence, is borrowed from a familiar passage in Cicero's treatise *De Senectute*;) and would have served Mr. Huntingford's purpose far better than the more elaborate discourses of Jortin, which are almost exclusively directed to a collection of the testimonies in support of a future life, as it is asserted, or implied in the Jewish Scriptures.

Mr. Huntingford cannot but know that those Christian writers who have denied the doctrine of an intermediate state, have been the most strenuous assertors of man's immortality; yet he seems to think, that the proof of the soul's existence in a future life, and the doctrine of a future state of retribution, or of a resurrection, implies by necessary consequence, that the soul still subsists after death, in a state of separate consciousness; and that to deny this consequence implies a denial of that "life and immortality, which are brought to light by the Gospel." He plainly says, that the notion that the souls of men sink at death into a state of unconsciousness, in which they may continue for an indefinite period, is almost subversive of the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Dr. Whately's essay ought, however, to have convinced him, that it is very possible for a Christian to maintain the latter tenet, on the authority of Scripture, with the fullest assurance of faith; and, at the same time, to reject the former, or, at best, to regard it as a doubtful question, on the ground, that it is not sufficiently revealed. What Dr. Whately's opinions on this subject are, we have no means of knowing, beyond what his book affords. To us it appears, that he has intentionally left the question exactly where he found it. He has not denied, on the contrary, he has expressly affirmed, that the natures of the soul and body are essentially distinct; for on any other hypothesis, the assertion, that "in one and the same *person* (of Christ) we believe the divine and human natures to have been united, though we cannot com-

prehend that union, any more than indeed we can that of the human soul and body," would be deceptive, or unintelligible. Of the *state* in which the soul exists, supposing it to exist at all, with its uninterrupted consciousness, apart from the body, he has said, and truly said, that nothing is revealed to us; and he is much too cautious, and too sound a reasoner to substitute his own conjectures, on this difficult subject, in the place of revelation. Dr. Whately, therefore has reason to complain, that his opinions are represented as tending towards materialism. This way of speaking is no less incorrect than invidious. The materialist, according to Mr. Huntingford, maintains, that the soul perishes with the body, and holds with the Sadducees, that there is "neither spirit, nor resurrection." We have looked in vain through Dr. Whately's essays for any support of these Sadducean tenets; and we know not where to find amongst all the writings of Christian theologians, a more masterly statement of the scriptural doctrine of a future state, than his first essay supplies.

But even the materialist has reason to complain, that Mr. Huntingford has misrepresented his opinions; for no materialist—certainly none who holds the truth of the Christian revelation, and expects the resurrection of the body—believes that either the soul or body are *annihilated* by death. Who, indeed, supposes, that a single particle of created matter is ever annihilated? yet Mr. Huntingford argues thus: "Is it probable that the Almighty, when he taught men the true religion, would have suffered them to remain in the belief of annihilation after death? yet they must necessarily have believed, either that their souls should survive their bodies, or that both body and soul were to perish together in the grave:" and again; "Unless we are to suppose, the soul annihilated, we must suppose, that the body when raised will be joined by the soul, which in the mean time has been placed in some separate abode." All this is very inconsiderately said. Every one may see, on a moment's reflection, that Mr. Huntingford's necessary consequence is a palpable *non sequitur*. If, indeed, the body were annihilated by death, there could be no resurrection, even of the body. But if the doctrine of the resurrection be sufficiently revealed, those who hold that the body will be raised again from the grave to an immortal life, and that the soul, the intellectual principle in man, is the result of a certain modification of matter in the organic structure of the brain, must needs believe, that when the entire body is restored to life, the soul will revive with it. And, surely, there is no greater difficulty in conceiving, that the same Almighty Power, which shall raise the body from the grave, may, if it so please him, restore the same *person* to a state of conscious existence; whether we suppose,

that the soul is identified with the body, or that it is a peculiar substance, which, though essentially distinct from the body, cannot exert its faculties, except through the medium of some bodily organs? It is easy to excite a prejudice, which may render the generality of readers indisposed to a calm and impartial examination of the question, by representing that the denial of the soul's separate consciousness after death, necessarily involves a denial of its immortality. But the two questions are perfectly distinct; and any one who pleases, may perceive that they are so.

We should suspect, that Mr. Huntingford has never taken the pains to make himself acquainted with the arguments of Christian writers, whose views on this subject are opposed to his own, if we did not see how strangely he has perverted Dr. Whately's arguments, and has contrived, by partial extracts, to make him seem to render doubtful the doctrine of a future state, which it is the great business of his essay to illustrate and enforce. The worst that can be said of Dr. Whately—and it is no great reproach—is, that he has not thought fit to dogmatize on points, which *seem to him* not clearly revealed. “As for the *state* of the soul in the interval between death and the general resurrection, the discussion,” he says, “is unnecessary, and perhaps unprofitable; had knowledge on this point been expedient for us, it would doubtless have been clearly revealed; as it is, we are lost in conjecture. For ought we know, the soul may remain combined with a portion of matter less than the ten-thousandth part of the minutest particle that ever was perceived by our senses; since ‘great’ and ‘small’ are only relative. All we can be sure of is, that if the soul *be* wholly disengaged from matter, and yet shall enjoy consciousness and activity, it must be in some quite different manner from that in which we now enjoy them; if, on the other hand, the soul remains inert and unconscious (as it does with respect to the seeing faculty, for instance, when the eyes are closed, or blinded) till its reunion with matter, the moment of our sinking into this state of unconsciousness, will appear to us to be instantly succeeded by that of our awaking from it, even though twenty centuries may have intervened, of which any one may convince himself by a few moments’ reflection.” From opinions so cautiously expressed, it is not easy to imagine how any one could be so perverse as to infer the probability, that if the faculties of the soul are suspended by death, they will never be awakened again; and if the danger that may possibly result from this abuse of the doctrine, be a sufficient ground for rejecting it, the much greater danger that the Romish doctrine of purgatory may be superinduced on the tenet of an intermediate

state, would warrant our pronouncing it, without examination, to be unscriptural and mischievous.

But if Mr. Huntingford is unfair in charging with consequences which they utterly disclaim the opinions of his opponents, he is no less unhappy in stating his own. When he maintains that the soul is immaterial, and in its own nature essentially immortal, he not only quits the secure ground of Scripture, and launches abroad into the ocean of conjecture, without rudder or compass to direct him, but, what is worse, he assumes that his *guess*, respecting the nature of the soul, is as certain and indubitable as if it were a matter expressly revealed in the oracles of God; and as such he proceeds to argue from it. In his anxiety to prove that the soul never sleeps—a position which every one who has ever slept soundly knows to be erroneous—he goes the length of maintaining, that the body itself does not sleep in the grave. He will not, we are sure, endeavour to shelter himself under the equivocal and figurative meaning of the phrase; but we should like to know what the Scriptures, in his judgment, mean, when they so repeatedly represent death under the image of *sleep*. If neither the body nor the soul, separately considered, sleep in death—and he plainly denies both—what alternative remains but either to admit that the whole man sleeps, or that the Scriptures speak in vain?

There is no question that can be propounded of such universal and absorbing interest as this: What is the change that death makes in our condition? Compared with this all other inquiries sink into absolute insignificance. But it is evident, that to this question no satisfactory answer can be given, except from revelation. Philosophy will not help, though it may fatally mislead us. Since, then, nothing can be *known* on this most awful subject, but so far forth as it is clearly revealed, we should be, proportionably to its vast importance, careful in confining ourselves to the plain declarations of Scripture, and in separating that which is certain from that which is obscure or doubtful. But the misfortune is, that those who have discussed this difficult question, have generally contrived to mix it up with subtle metaphysical inquiries respecting the nature of spiritual and material substance; and have been as solicitous to maintain the conjectures of the academy, or the rash definitions of the schools, on this inscrutable subject, as if the truth of God's revelation were concerned in upholding them. It is perfectly astonishing with what complacency some persons appear to have persuaded themselves, that they have clear and adequate notions of the different natures of matter and spirit. It may be useful, therefore,

to clear the ground a little in this quarter, and to inquire to what our knowledge on these subjects really amounts.

Matter is commonly supposed to be extended, solid, impenetrable, divisible, perfectly inert, and destitute of all active powers: spirit, on the contrary, is said to be immaterial, that is, to have no properties in common with matter; to have, for instance, no relation to space, and to possess the powers of self-motion, perception, and intelligence. Nothing can well be conceived more confused and arbitrary, more fallacious and unintelligible, than these, or any other definitions which have been given of matter and spirit, abstractedly considered as distinct substances. The powers of gravitation, magnetism, electricity, &c., which are active powers, seem to pervade all matter, and prove that it is by no means that inert substance which it is commonly supposed to be. The powers of perception and volition are, indeed, totally distinct from these; but if they are found constantly united to a certain system of organized matter, and never found except in such union, we must of necessity conclude that the intellectual powers are the result of a certain modification of matter, (such as the organic structure of the brain,) unless it can be proved that it is impossible even to Almighty Power to impart such properties to matter, or that revelation has plainly declared that the soul has its own separate and independent existence. The last is confidently denied by the materialist; and, with respect to the first, it has been asserted with equal confidence by the immaterialist, that it is in the nature of the thing impossible for matter to be endowed with those powers of perception, volition, consciousness, &c., which are commonly said to inhere in spiritual substance. Thus Dr. Clarke, for instance, argues as the metaphysicians of the garden had argued before him, and fifty others have argued after him, that the property of perception, which is indivisible, is absolutely incompatible with matter, which, as all philosophers agree, is divisible *ad infinitum*. "That the soul," he says in his *Letter to Dodwell*, "cannot possibly be material, is demonstrable from the single consideration of bare sense or consciousness. For matter being a divisible substance, consisting always of separable, nay, of actually separate and distinct parts, it is plain that unless it were essentially conscious, in which case every particle of matter must consist of innumerable separate and distinct consciousnesses, no system of it, in any possible composition or division, can be an individual conscious being. For suppose three or three hundred particles of matter, at a mile or any given distance one from another, is it possible that all these separate parts should in that state be one individual conscious being? Suppose then all these particles brought toge-

ther into one system, so as to touch one another, will they thereby, or by any motion or composition whatsoever, become one whit less truly distinct beings than they were when at the greatest distance? How then can their being disposed in any possible system make them one individual conscious being? If you will suppose God, by his infinite power, superadding consciousness to the united particles, yet still these particles being really and necessarily as distinct beings as ever, cannot be *themselves* the *subject* in which that individual consciousness inheres; but the consciousness can only be superadded by the addition of something, which in all the particles must still itself be but one individual being. The soul, therefore, whose power of thinking is undeniably one individual consciousness, cannot possibly be a material substance."

This ingenious argument seems, however, to prove too much; for it proves that brutes, who are possessed of perception, volition, and consciousness, must have spiritual souls as well as we. Some persons, we are aware, would escape from this difficulty, by denying to brutes the powers of reason; and others, by admitting that they have rational and immortal souls. But the objection to the foregoing mode of demonstrating that the soul cannot *possibly* be a material substance, may be carried still farther. For if it be demonstrable that the soul cannot possibly be material, from the consideration that matter consists of parts actually distinct and separate, and consequently that no system of matter, in any possible combination, can be an individual conscious being, since, if matter were essentially conscious, every particle of it must have its own distinct and separate consciousness; then it should seem to follow that no irrational *animal* can possibly be material: for unless matter be essentially animate, no combination of its particles could ever constitute a living being; but if matter be endowed with life, then every particle of it must have its own distinct living principle in itself, and no imaginable composition or division of it could form one individual animal. But if it be admitted—and it can hardly be denied—that certain systems of organized matter may constitute an individual sentient being, (as in the case of even the lowest classes of animals,) there will be little difficulty in admitting, that the power of thinking, as it exists in man, *may* be the result of his organic structure. And if this be *possible*, we shall tremble at the boldness of those metaphysicians who have not hesitated to assert that it is beyond the power of Omnipotence itself to effect it. That the great, eternal, self-existing Mind must of necessity be immaterial, has been demonstrated by Locke in his celebrated chapter "*Of our knowledge of the existence of a God;*"

but that all other cogitative beings *must* likewise be immaterial, he admits that it is impossible to prove.

“ We have the ideas,” he says—and it is pleasing to contrast the modesty and caution of his sentiments with the temerity of those who presume to pronounce dogmatically on a question which, perhaps, the very Angels of God desire to look into—“ we have the ideas of Matter and Thinking, but possibly shall never be able to know whether any mere material being thinks, or no; it being impossible for us, by the contemplation of our own ideas, without revelation, to discover whether Omnipotency has not given to some systems of matter fitly disposed, a power to perceive and think, or else joined and fixed to matter so disposed, a thinking immaterial substance. It being, in respect of our notions, not much more remote from our comprehensions to conceive that God can, if he pleases, superadd to our idea of matter a faculty of thinking; than that he should superadd to it another substance, with a faculty of thinking; since we know not wherein thinking consists, nor to what sort of substances the Almighty has been pleased to give that power, which cannot be in any created being, but merely by the good pleasure and bounty of the Creator. For I see no contradiction in it, that the first eternal thinking Being, or omnipotent Spirit, should, if he pleased, give to certain systems of created senseless matter, put together as he thinks fit, some degrees of sense, perception, and thought: though, as I think I have proved, *lib. iv. cap. 10*, it is no less than a contradiction to suppose matter (which is evidently in its own nature void of sense and thought) should be that eternal first-thinking Being. What certainty of knowledge can any one have, that some perception, such as, *v. g.* pleasure and pain, should not be in some bodies themselves, after a certain manner modified and moved, as well as that they should be in an immaterial substance, upon the motion of the parts of the body? Body, as far as we can conceive, being able only to strike and affect body; and motion, according to the utmost reach of our ideas, being able to produce nothing but motion; so that when we allow it to produce pleasure or pain, or the idea of a colour, or sound, we are fain to quit our reason, go beyond our own ideas, and attribute it wholly to the good pleasure of our Maker. For since we must allow he has annexed effects to motion, which we can no way conceive motion able to produce, what reason have we to conclude that he could not order them as well to be produced in a subject we cannot conceive capable of them, as well as in a subject we cannot conceive the motion of matter can any way operate upon? I say not this, that I would any way lessen the belief of the soul’s immateriality: I am not here speaking of probability, but knowledge; and I think not only that it becomes the modesty of philosophy not to pronounce magisterially, where we want that evidence that can produce knowledge; but also that it is of use to us to discern how far our knowledge does reach; for the state we are at present in, not being that of vision, we must, in many things, content ourselves with faith and probability. And in the present question, about the immateriality of the soul, if our faculties cannot arrive at demonstrative certainty, we need not think it strange. All the great ends of morality and religion are well enough secured, without philosophical proofs of

the soul's immateriality; since it is evident that He who made us first begin to subsist here, sensible, intelligent beings, and for several years continued us in such a state, can and will restore us to the like state of sensibility in another world, and make us capable there to receive the retribution he has designed to men, according to their doings in this life."

The hypothesis of the strict immaterialists is indeed attended with insurmountable difficulties. It is perhaps easier to conceive that the power of perception may be imparted to matter, than to conceive how matter can act upon a subject that has no property whatever in common with itself. At all events it appears impossible, by any effort of abstraction, to conceive that the soul is absolutely without extension, and has no relation to space. Whenever we think of it, we are forced to consider it in its connection with a system of organized matter, and to assign it a local habitation. And this is true with respect to our conceptions even of the highest orders of spiritual existences. We divest them in our imaginations of all connexion with the grosser properties of matter, and clothe them in spiritual and celestial bodies, and we seem to have the authority of Scripture for so doing. Even the infinite eternal Mind, which operates with undiminished power through all the regions of illimitable space, is represented—whether it be in condescension to human weakness, or that the truth is strictly so—even GOD himself is constantly represented in Scripture as residing in "heaven his dwelling-place." To speculate on the mode in which the Eternal Spirit exists and operates, becomes neither the modesty of the philosopher, nor the reverence of the Christian; but with respect to the human soul we may be permitted to say, that the doctrine of the materialist is, perhaps, attended with less danger than the opinion of those who maintain that the soul has no property in common with matter. For though it may be true, that if the soul be material, if thought depends on organic structure, it must be dissolved by death together with the body, it is not true that death must be its destruction. The suspension of the powers of the soul by death affords not the lowest degree of presumption that death is the destruction of them. "Whatever thought be," says Paley, "or whatever it depend upon, the regular experience of *sleep* makes one thing certain, that it can be completely suspended and completely restored;" and as the materialists maintain with great earnestness the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, it must inevitably follow, on their principles, that when the body is raised again the soul must be restored with it to immortality—in other words, the whole man will revive with all his former consciousness, and will awake with all his mental powers unimpaired, or perhaps invigorated, from the sleep of death. But, on the other

hand, the doctrine of the strict immaterialist is attended with considerable danger; for if the soul have no property in common with matter, if it have no extension or relation to space, if it exist, according to the unintelligible jargon of the schools, not *in loco*, but *ubi*, whatever a practised metaphysician may be able to conceive, the generality of persons will be apt to conclude, that that which exists *no where* has really no existence; and thus, in our attempts to escape from the danger which attends the notion of the soul's discerptibility, (a danger which, on the supposition of a resurrection, is purely imaginary,) we may chance to fall into a more intolerable error.

But if the immaterialist, in his confident assertions respecting the abstract nature of the soul, oversteps the bounds of philosophical modesty, and mistakes probability for knowledge, it must be confessed that the maintainers of the material hypothesis have no less palpably committed the same fault. Of these, Dr. Priestley was the most distinguished both for candour and acuteness; for whatever judgment may be formed of his purely theological opinions, every impartial reader, though he may dissent from his conclusions, will acknowledge that, in his "*Disquisitions relating to matter and spirit*," he has discussed this very difficult question with the tone and temper of a Christian philosopher. There are two rules of universal application in all philosophical inquiries: the first is, that we are to admit no more causes of things than are sufficient to account for appearances; the second, that to the same effects we must, as far as possible, assign the same causes. By these plain rules he proposes to pursue the inquiry respecting the nature and connexion of what have been called material and thinking substances. And, in the first place, to remove *in limine* the objection, that it is impossible for inert matter to possess the property of cogitation, he denies that matter is endued with those qualities of solidity and impenetrability which are commonly supposed to belong to it, and endeavours to raise it to an equality to what is generally conceived of spiritual substance, by attenuating its parts to the highest imaginable degree of subtilty, and ascribing to it the most important active powers. These powers—the powers of *attraction* and *repulsion*—are not, according to Dr. Priestley, simply inherent in all matter, but constitute its very essence and being, and make it to be what it is: the solidity of matter depends on the power of attraction, and its apparent impenetrability on the power of repulsion; and consequently the supposition of the solidity or impenetrability of matter, derived solely from the resistance of the solid parts of bodies, (which, exclusive of a power operating at a distance from them, cannot be proved to have any resistance,) appears to be destitute of all support whatever. It has been asserted, (so great is the void space

within the substance of the most solid bodies,) that for anything we know to the contrary, all the solid matter in the solar system might be contained within a nutshell. This assertion, which most persons will consider as the wildest extravagance of metaphysical conjecture, does not go quite far enough for Dr. Priestley, who expresses his wonder that when philosophers had once discovered how very little solidity has to do in the system, it did not sooner occur to them that perhaps there may be nothing at all for it to do, and that there is no such thing in nature. But upon this hypothesis, that matter is not possessed of those properties of inertness, solidity, and impenetrability, which preceding philosophers had taken for granted as belonging to it, if it be asked how matter differs from spirit, Dr. Priestley answers, "It no way concerns me, or true philosophy, to maintain that there is such a difference between them as has hitherto been supposed. On the contrary, I consider the notion of the union and mutual influences of substances so essentially different from one another as material and immaterial substances have been represented, as an opinion attended with difficulties infinitely embarrassing, and indeed actually insuperable." Thus, as extremes meet, Dr. Priestley, who denies the existence of spirit, after going through the inextricable mazes of the metaphysical dance, arrives nearly at the same point with a much greater man, Dr. Berkeley, who denied the existence of matter.

Now if there really be no such difference between matter and spirit as is commonly supposed, if matter may possess all the properties which have been ascribed to spirit, there can be no difficulty in conceiving that the powers of sensation and volition, as they exist in man, are merely the result of his organic structure. But if matter has no other properties inherent in it than those which Dr. Priestley ascribes to it of attraction and repulsion, it is utterly impossible to conceive, that any exertion of these powers can produce the phænomena of thought. Sensation, volition, and consciousness are surely as different from attraction and repulsion, as matter and mind have ever been supposed to be. They have absolutely nothing in common. And if every system of inanimate matter is found to be impercipient and unconscious, a sound philosophy would lead us to suspect that the powers of perception and thought are not inherent in those systems of matter which compose the bodies of sentient beings, but are the properties of some other substance, the energies of which pervade and actuate the material structure to which it is united. That this substance is unknown and undiscoverable by physical experiment affords no presumption against its existence; for we know no more of the *substance* of matter (if we must needs use the word) than we do of spiritual substance. If a person who was

acquainted with the general properties of iron, but who was ignorant of the existence of the loadstone, should undertake to prove that the superadded powers of the magnetic needle—its polarity, and its property of attracting other pieces of iron—were merely the result of a particular combination and disposition of its component parts, he might possibly construct a very ingenious hypothesis, but we are sure it would be a very false one. Into a mistake of this kind Dr. Priestley seems to have fallen when he maintains, that because “the powers of sensation or perception and thought, as belonging to man, have never been found but in conjunction with a certain organized system of matter, *therefore* those powers *necessarily* exist in, and depend upon, such a system.” Is not this the same thing as to contend, that because the power of polarity, as it exists in the magnetic needle, has never been found but in conjunction with a certain system of matter called iron, therefore that power necessarily exists in iron? That it depends upon it, and cannot exist without it, we justly infer, because we never find that property except in iron; but we know that it does not necessarily exist in iron. In the same manner we know that the power of thought, or at least the exercise of that faculty in man, depends on his organic structure, and chiefly on the state of the brain; and therefore, as far as experience leads us, even on the supposition that thought is something as different from the material system of the brain as the magnetic fluid is from the iron with which it is combined, we have no reason to suppose it possible that the faculty of thinking can be exerted except through the medium of corporeal organization. From the same experience, had we no other guide, we must of necessity conclude that death, which dissolves the corporeal system, is the destruction of the whole man. Philosophy cannot afford us even the lowest degree of probability that the soul can exist and act in a state of separation from the body; still less that the body, which seems necessary to the exercise of the cogitative powers, and which is decomposed by death, can ever be restored again to life, or made capable of immortality. On these points the light of nature wholly fails us, and we soon lose our way in the wilderness of metaphysical conjecture. The chief use of philosophical inquiry on these inscrutable subjects is, that it brings us to a practical conviction that nothing can be *known* concerning them except from revelation, and consequently that our knowledge must be in exact proportion to the clearness with which they are revealed. Life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel; but that the soul of man is in its own nature immortal, or even that it is immaterial, which does not necessarily imply its immortality, the Scriptures do not teach, and philosophy cannot ascertain it.

Having done with the metaphysics of Dr. Priestley, and having seen that he had no more reason, from the light of nature, to maintain that the soul *must* be material, than the strict immaterialist has to assert that it can have no property in common with matter, our attention may, in the next place, be directed to the opinions of Dr. Edmund Law, who, in his "*Theory of Religion*," abandoning the metaphysical part of the question, maintains on purely scriptural grounds, that during the interval between the death and resurrection of the human body, the soul remains in a state of total unconsciousness and inactivity.

That we have no reason from scripture to suppose that the soul is "purely an immaterial principle in man, or a substance (whatever some may imagine they mean by that word) wholly separable from, and independent of, the body," he first endeavours to prove by a most exact and laborious collation of nearly all the passages in which the words, נפש, נשמה, רוח, occur in the Old Testament, and the corresponding words, πνεῦμα and ψυχῆ, commonly translated *soul* or *spirit*, occur in the New. He shows that these words denote, 1st, *Persons*; 2dly, *People*; 3dly, *the whole man*; in which sense, 4thly, *souls*, i. e. *persons*, are said to *eat*, to be *made fat*, to be *hungry*, and *thirsty*, to *faint*, to be *smitten with the sword*, to be *killed, slain, devoured*, to be *destroyed*, to *fail*, and to *die*; with many other similar affections that can hardly be ascribed to the soul, considered as a substance distinct from the body and wholly independent of it.

II. These words sometimes include all *living creatures*; and, III. Sometimes the *body* alone, and that either *living*, or *dead*, and *buried*. Of the last sense he produces only one example, Ps. xvi. 10. *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*; which is repeated Acts ii. 27, 31, and is, to say the least of it, equivocal. IV. The same words stand for the *life* both of man and beast, which life is placed either, first, in the *blood*, or, secondly, in the *breath*; which breath, spirit, or life, *enters into a man*, *goes forth* *departeth*, *comes again*, is *taken away*, and *yielded up* or *expired*. V. These words describe man in respect to his *future life*; under which head most of the texts quoted by the Bishop of Carlisle appear to assert or imply the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul. VI. In some places they denote the *lower appetites*, affections, passions of the mind, or man, or the seat of such appetites, &c. VII. In other places they signify the *superior faculties* and operations of the mind; as when these last are superadded to the former, or opposed to the *body* or the *flesh*. The texts under this class cannot, without extreme violence, be reconciled to Dr. Law's hypothesis, that the soul has no existence without the body. VIII. Sometimes both the *superior* and

inferior faculties of the mind or man are joined together, and represented promiscuously by these words, and by some others usually substituted for them, such as לב, טחית, כבוד, כליות, מעים, καρδιά, θυμός, νους, φρήν, σπλάγχνα, with their derivatives and compounds, and in many places they are figuratively applied to the Deity. IX. They are used for the *Holy Ghost* and his gifts. And, X. For good and evil *angels*.

The collection of texts under these several heads deserves to be attentively perused by all persons who desire to make themselves acquainted with the peculiarities of scripture phraseology; and though it certainly does not establish the position, that these words *never* stand for a substance distinct from the body, it proves that they are used in such various senses, and that the meaning attached to them is often so vague and indeterminate, that we cannot, from their apparent import in *any* passages, necessarily infer that the soul is capable of a distinct and separate existence. The proof of this latter point, if it can be proved at all, must be drawn from the plain and obvious meaning of those passages of Scripture, in which the separate existence of the soul is expressly asserted, or necessarily implied. Bishop Law, who could discover no such passages, proceeds therefore, as the next step of his inquiry, to consider what account the Scriptures give of the state to which death reduces us. And this, he says, we find represented by *sleep*; by a negation of all *life, thought, or action*; by *rest, a resting-place, or home*; *silence, oblivion, darkness, destruction, or corruption*. He gives, as usual, a very copious collection of texts, in which the state of death is represented under all these respective images; but the attentive reader will not fail to remark, that there is not one of all these passages in which the soul or spirit is separately spoken of as being in a state of sleep or inaction, of oblivion, destruction, and corruption. Dr. Law, however, who believed that the Scriptures give no countenance to the opinion, that the soul is capable of existing and acting apart from the body, takes it for granted that these passages are designed to represent the condition to which the whole man—spirit, soul, and body—is reduced by death.

Agreeably to this view, revelation, he says, informs us that we shall not *awake*, or be made alive, till the resurrection: that the wicked shall not be severed from the righteous till the resurrection, or coming of Christ: till which great day we are upon trial or in a state of probation, and at which period the world shall be judged, but not till then. That the resurrection is always spoken of as the time when the virtuous shall be rewarded; but that till then they shall not have eternal life or salvation; shall not put on immortality; be received into Christ; enter into his joy; be-

hold his glory, or be made like him : so that *they*, their faith, labours, and sufferings, are lost, perished, and unprofitable, if there be no resurrection. The resurrection, therefore, as he truly states, is proposed to us in Scripture as the great object of our faith, hope, and comfort ; and from the whole he concludes, that “ the Scripture, in speaking of the connection between our present and future being, does not take into the account our *intermediate state* in death, no more than we, in describing the course of any man’s actions, take in the time he sleeps. The Scriptures, therefore,” he adds, “ to be consistent with themselves, must affirm an immediate connection between death and judgment ;” and, for this reason, they always speak of the coming of Christ as near at hand.

Dr. Law, in the last place, examines in detail the principal objections or texts usually alleged to prove the contrary doctrine. They are well worth the most serious attention. His solutions of these passages, though they sometimes create embarrassment, are for the most part extremely forced and unsatisfactory. Take, for example, his attempt to explain away the plain and obvious meaning of our Lord’s striking exhortation, Matt. x. 28., *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul ; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.* “ This,” he says, “ is so far from proving such a distinction between soul and body as implies any separate existence of the former from the latter, or its being capable of suffering in an intermediate state, that it seems only intended to point out the great distinction between this and the next life ; when, in the common language, soul and body are reunited, and future punishments commence, to the *everlasting destruction* of both, *from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.* 2 Thess. i. 9. Comp. 1 Cor. v. 5, and 2 Pet. ii. 9. It may be observed here once for all, that when Christ uses the common distinction of soul and body, he may be conceived to adapt himself wholly to the popular language and ideas, without giving any confirmation to the *truth* and *justness* of them ; as when he says, *a spirit*, (*i. e.* according to your own notion of it) *hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have*, Luke xxiv. 39, without determining the reality of such a phantom ; which popular way of speaking, used then on all occasions as the most agreeable and most intelligible, should be more carefully attended to by us, in order to guard against all such chimeras as are too often grounded on it.” That it was our Lord’s chief design to point out in this striking passage the great distinction between this and the next life, and to impress on the minds of his hearers a salutary conviction of the superior importance of futurity, is what no man in his senses

will question : that it was his design here to teach that the soul is capable of suffering in an intermediate state, no man who understands the language of Scripture will affirm; for the word that our Lord makes use of to denote the state or place of punishment is not *Hades*, but *Gehenna*. The question, however, is, whether his words do not necessarily imply a separate existence of the soul? Dr. Law says they do not; but afterwards, in the very next sentence, admits in point of fact that they do, and endeavours to weaken their force by suggesting, that when Christ distinguishes the soul from the body, he may be conceived to accommodate his language to the popular opinions which then prevailed among the Jews. In the very same way, and with just as much reason (*i. e.* with none at all), an objector who thought proper to deny that the doctrine of the resurrection was taught by our Lord and his apostles, might say that when they seem to speak of a resurrection of the body, they may be conceived to adapt themselves wholly to the popular language of the time (for the Jews, prior to the coming of Christ, unquestionably held this doctrine), but that in fact nothing more is really meant than a moral renovation, a rising from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. It is quite as necessary to guard against hypotheses which tend to invalidate the plainest points of Scripture doctrine, as it is to guard against the chimeras which are sometimes grounded on a wrong interpretation of scripture phraseology. If Christ had intended expressly to affirm that the soul continues to exist after the death of the body, he could hardly have done it in plainer language than that which he here employs. Tyrants, he says, “*kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul,*” *i. e.* (if we will take Dr. Law’s own explanation of the state of death,) they are not able to reduce the soul to that state of sleep, oblivion, and inactivity, to which they bring the body by depriving it of life. The doctrine of the soul’s separate existence after the death of the body is plainly asserted, and the final restoration of the body is almost as plainly implied, in the contrasted use of the words, to *kill*, and to *destroy*. Though tyrants may *kill* the body, they cannot *destroy* it; the soul they cannot even *kill*: but God is able to *destroy* both body and soul in hell. That this text alone, and unsupported by the general tenor of Scripture, and especially of the New Testament, is sufficient to establish the doctrine of an intermediate state, it would be rashness to affirm; for if the doctrine of the resurrection, which, by the confession of all, is a prominent feature in the Christian revelation, stood only on a single text, however clear *that* might seem in its literal meaning, it would certainly admit, and might probably require a figurative interpretation. But as the matter stands,

we do affirm that the plain meaning of our Lord's expressions in this passage cannot be explained away but on the admission of a principle that, in its extended application, would directly overthrow every important and peculiar tenet of the Christian faith. For if one person may get rid of the doctrine of the uninterrupted consciousness and separate existence of the soul on the ground that our Lord, when he literally asserts it, merely accommodates his language to popular prejudice, without intending to affirm the truth of the doctrine, another, on the very same ground, may deny the doctrines of a resurrection and a future life; and others the mediation and atonement.

Those who have taken the pains to examine Dr. Law's Dissertation, "concerning the use of the words, soul and spirit, in Holy Scripture, and the state of the dead there described," cannot fail to have remarked, that he formed his opinions on these points from those passages in the earlier writings of the Old Testament, which were composed before the doctrine of life and immortality was brought to light, and in which death is generally represented by a negation of life, thought, and action, and as a state of silence, oblivion, and darkness; and then, of course, it became necessary for him to explain away those passages in the New Testament, in which the separate existence of the soul is asserted or implied. Had he reversed the process, he would probably have arrived at a different conclusion; and, having discovered the doctrine of an intermediate state in the discourses of our Lord, and in the writings of his Apostles, would have found it necessary to account for the language so generally employed in the Old Testament, where death is represented as the "*ultima linea rerum*"—the end of all things—on the ground, that the doctrine of the soul's immortality, or exemption from death, was not then sufficiently revealed. If we make the opinions of the patriarchs before the Law, and of the Jews under the Law, the standard of religious truth, and assume, that the revelation of Jesus Christ has added nothing to the former dispensations, we shall very hardly find, that there is any resurrection from the dead, or any life to be looked for beyond the grave; but if we take our opinions (as in all reason we ought) from the inspired writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, and examine what they have delivered on these subjects, without any secret desire of reconciling their language to some previously adopted system of our own, we shall, probably, discover, not only that the doctrines of the soul's immortality, and of the resurrection of the body, are plainly revealed in the New Testament, (on which points there is no dispute,) but that the separate existence of the disembodied soul in a state of activity and consciousness (which is now called in question) was as certainly taught by our Lord and his Apostles as it

has been maintained by the church catholic from the days of the Apostles to our own.

In a question of this kind, where the *meaning* of Scripture is controverted, the universal agreement of all the earlier Christian writers, and the general consent of all Christian churches, as it is expressed in their respective Liturgies and offices of devotion, undoubtedly possesses very great weight, and will by most persons be admitted to be decisive of the point in dispute. Not that the opinions of antiquity, or the agreement of churches, are of any moment in points where they are at variance with Scripture, or on which Scripture is wholly silent; but *in aid* of Scripture their testimony is invaluable. To pass them by, as unworthy of attention, or to set up our own opinions in direct opposition to their concurrent evidence, would, in any modern writer, betray a degree of presumption which is not the less offensive because it is common. Some consideration is also due to the *popular* notions respecting the separate existence of the soul, which universally prevailed throughout the heathen world before the coming of Christ, and which still prevail in all those nations which the light of the Gospel has not yet reached.

Respecting the separate existence of the disembodied spirit, and a future state of reward or punishment, whatever notions might secretly prevail in the esoteric doctrines of Pagan philosophers, (who, by discussing these questions on metaphysical grounds, almost universally brought themselves into a state of the most unsatisfactory and perplexing scepticism,) it is certain, that these tenets were every where engrafted into the popular creed, and formed a very important part of the religion of the heathen world. The fact is unquestionable; the question is, from what source were these notions derived? Observation and experience could never have led to the conclusion, that the soul continues to exist after death: for beyond this point experience altogether fails us, and observation leads us to infer, that death is the termination of our being. This argument is so clearly and forcibly stated by Mr. Hallet, in the first volume of his *Discourses*, that it cannot be represented better than in his own words.

“ I see a man move, and hear him speak, for some years. From his speech I certainly infer that he *thinks*, as I do. I see then that man is a being who thinks and acts. After some time the man falls down in my sight, grows cold and stiff. He speaks and acts no more. Is it not then natural to conclude that he *thinks* no more? As the only reason I had to believe that he did think was his motion and speech; so now that this motion and speech cease, I have lost the only way of proving that he had a power of thought.

“ Upon this sudden death, the one visible thing, the one man, is

greatly changed. Whence could I infer that the same *he* consists of two parts, and that the inward part continues to live and think, and flies away from the body, when the outward part ceases to live and move? It looks as if the *whole man* was gone, and that all his powers cease at the same time. His motion and thought die together as far as I can discern.

“The powers of *thought*, *speech*, and *motion*, equally depend upon the body, and run the same fate in case of man's declining in old age. When a man dies through old age, I perceive his powers of speech, motion, and thought decay and die together, and by the same degrees. The moment he ceases to move and breathe, he appears to cease to think too.

“When I am left to mere reason, it seems to me that my power of *thought* as much depends upon my body, as my power of *sight* or *hearing*. I could not think in infancy. My powers of thought, of sight, and of feeling are equally liable to be obstructed by the body. A blow on the head has deprived a man of thought, who could yet see, and feel, and move; so that naturally the power of thinking seems as much to belong to the body as any power of man whatsoever. Naturally there appears no more reason to suppose that a man can *think* out of the body, than that he can *hear sounds*, or *feel cold* out of the body.”

This seems to be a just account of the conclusions to which men must necessarily arrive, who have nothing but the light of nature to direct them in their inquiries respecting the change which takes place in our condition at death. For the metaphysical proofs of the natural immortality of the human soul, drawn from the consideration of its indivisible and imperishable essence, are, like the metaphysical proofs of the existence and unity of God, so extremely remote and abstruse, that it is utterly impossible that men, in the infancy of society, should either discover them for themselves, or be able to comprehend them when discovered. The general acknowledgment of the being of God is, therefore, admitted to afford a very strong presumption, that this truth must originally have been discovered to mankind by direct revelation: and the same account must, for the same reason, be given of that universal opinion that the soul survives the death of the body, which prevails among the rudest and most uncivilized tribes of men in every region of the globe. Even the Esquimaux, and the natives of New Holland, who are reduced to the lowest degree of mental darkness, and amongst whom the knowledge of God seems to be totally obliterated, have yet preserved a belief that the soul survives the body, and exists in a separate state of consciousness. That their notions respecting this state are incorrect, absurd, and irrational, and rest on no sufficient warrant of assurance; and that the notions of a *future* life, of the *immortality* of the soul, and of the *resurrection* of the body, which form

so prominent a part of the Christian revelation, have never found a place in the creed of any Pagan nation, are points that will not be questioned by those, who, without prejudice, have fully inquired into these important questions. The popular apprehensions of Elysium and Tartarus, of the specific rewards allotted to virtue, and the punishments assigned to vice after death, may have justly excited the contempt of the philosophic heathen, and tended to bring into disrepute the awful truths which were presented under the disguise of a superstitious mythology; and as the opinions of the learned respecting the immortality of the soul, of which, from its active powers of volition, they believed that it was a portion or emanation of the eternal self-existing mind, and that at death it was reabsorbed again into its original fountain—as these opinions of the learned involved a negation of the soul's separate existence, and of man's proper immortality, and as the opinions of the vulgar on these subjects were both irrational and *unwarranted*, it became necessary that these truths should be fully established on the ground of an unquestionable revelation. Still, with whatever mixture of fable and error it may be attended, we find, in fact, that the notion of the soul's surviving the body has, in all ages and countries, been incorporated into the popular belief; and, perhaps, we may be forced to admit upon inquiry, that the *ineptiæ* and *fabulæ* of the Pagan Tartarus, of which Cicero speaks with such unmeasured scorn, were not a whit more contemptible or ludicrous than the material flames and pitchforks, and dragons, and diablerie with which the vulgar superstition, even in Christian countries, continues to furnish the infernal regions.

Every candid inquirer into the history of the popular opinions entertained by heathen nations respecting a future state, must, we conceive, admit that though they had lost, or, if you will, never possessed a clear notion of the *immortality* of the soul, yet they were generally persuaded, that it continued to exist, with its own separate consciousness, after the death of the body; and that as they could not have been led to this persuasion by the course of metaphysical or ontological inquiries, for which, in the earlier stage of society, men have neither leisure nor capacity, they probably derived their belief of this doctrine, together with that of the being of God, from the traditions of primitive revelation. Both these doctrines were equally obscured and defaced; and therefore St. Paul, in addressing his Athenian audience, found it no less necessary to declare to them that unknown God, whom they ignorantly worshipped, than to announce the resurrection of the dead and the judgment of the world to come.

But though the popular theology of all pagan countries affords

a very strong presumption, that the general belief of the soul's surviving the body was derived originally from revelation, the opinions which prevailed among the ancient Jews respecting the immortality and intermediate state of the soul are of much greater importance to guide us to the right interpretation of those passages in the discourses of our Lord, and the writings of the Apostles, in which these doctrines are asserted or implied. It is admitted by all, and indeed it is too evident to be denied, that at the time of Christ's appearing in the world, the Jews not only believed that there should be a resurrection of the just, but likewise, that the souls of men continue to exist in a state of separation from the body, during the interval between death and the resurrection, in a region especially assigned to them by God. And as both the Elysium and Tartarus of the Pagan creed were supposed to be situated beneath the earth, *apud Inferos*; so the Jews believed, that the disembodied spirits of men, both good and bad, were received into a certain subterranean region, which they called *לשון*, a word which the Seventy have, almost in every instance, translated *Ἄϊδης*, or the invisible state. In this common receptacle of departed souls, the spirits of the just were represented as reposing in a paradise of delights, in the garden of Eden, in Abraham's bosom; and the souls of the wicked as tormented in flame. It is highly probable that the imagery of the Jewish *לשון* was borrowed from the *Ἄϊδης* of the Greek mythology; but that the notion of the continued existence of the soul in a state of separation from the body was borrowed either from the Greek or Oriental philosophy, (however it may suit the impugnors of the doctrine to assume it,) and engrafted into the popular belief of the Jews after their return from Chaldea, is a gross and palpable mistake. Why should it be supposed that the Jews alone should have had occasion to borrow from others a tenet which has been found to prevail among all the nations of the earth? They acquired it, probably as others acquired it, from primitive tradition; but from whatever quarter it was derived to them, it is certain they had it in the time of Saul—almost five hundred years before the Babylonian captivity, and more than one thousand and fifty before the Christian era.

That prior to the temporary removal of the Jews into Chaldea they had any *peculiar* revelation respecting the soul's existence after death, or even respecting a future life, is more than we will venture to affirm. The first instance in which there is any clear mention in the Old Testament of a future life as connected with the resurrection, is Dan. xii. 2, and we believe it to be the only one; but the history of the Witch of Endor, take it how you will, incontestably proves that it was the popular belief of the Israelites

in the time of Saul, that the soul survives and acts during its separation from the body. If the spirit of Samuel was *really* "brought up" from the chambers of death, as many of the ablest commentators believe, and as the story seems to assert—not, indeed, that it was raised by necromantic art, but by an immediate act of divine power, to the great terror and confusion of the Pythoness herself—but if it was raised at all, there is an end of the question; or if, with Dr. Law and others, we suppose, that the apparition of Samuel was merely the effect of well-contrived imposture, still the fact remains, the only fact with which we are now concerned, that at that early period the separate existence of the disembodied spirit was an article of popular belief in Israel.

In after ages we find, that the same sentiment continued to prevail among the Jews. The indications of this tenet in their prophetic writings are familiar to all; but we may take for an example that sublime passage in Isaiah, in which the prophet represents the kings of the nations as rising from their thrones in Hades to meet the coming of the king of Babylon, and to taunt him with his fallen state. It will be said, that this is nothing more than a bold poetic fiction, and that we may as well conclude that the cedars of Lebanon literally rejoiced over the fallen state of the Chaldean tyrant, as that the spirits of the dead literally rose up to greet his coming to their dread abode. Let it be granted, and still the fact remains, that the imagery of the prophet was familiar to the people, and was grounded on their general persuasion, that departed spirits continue to exist in their allotted mansions, and in a state of consciousness, while the body moulders in the grave.

We may here observe, by the way, that the well-known passage (2 Macc. xii. 43—45) on which the Roman Catholics rely for the support of the custom of praying for the dead, is so far from countenancing the notion, that the spirits of those who have died in sin can be relieved from the sufferings which they are doomed to endure in the intermediate state, that the contrary is clearly implied; for the historian remarks, that "*if Judas had not hoped that they which were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead:*" the object of the sin-offering and prayers of Judas was not to deliver the souls of the slain from the imagined pains of purgatory, but to make an atonement and reconciliation for them, that they might obtain a better resurrection, and find pardon in the day of judgment.

That these connected doctrines of the separate existence of the soul, and the resurrection of the body to an immortal life, were universally received among the Jews at the time of Christ's ap-

pearing, is a fact that is perfectly unquestionable. To contend that they were not generally received, because the Sadducees rejected them, is about as unreasonable as to assert that the doctrines of our Lord's divinity, incarnation, and atonement are not universally received throughout the Catholic Church, because the Socinians think fit to deny them. Dr. Whately's assertion, that the doctrine of the resurrection is *peculiar* to the Christian religion, can hardly be reconciled with the plain declarations of Scripture to the contrary. To the Gentiles, indeed, it was authoritatively promulgated by the Apostles as a truth hitherto unknown to them, and its certainty demonstrated by the fact of our Lord's resurrection; and both to Jew and Gentile it is established on a firmer basis, and placed in a light which it never had received before the gospel revelation. But to the Jew it is never spoken of as a *new* doctrine, but as one that was already believed among them, and had been declared to them by God from the earliest ages. "*Men and brethren,*" says St. Paul to the Jewish Sanhedrim, "*I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee, of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question:*" and again, before Festus and Agrippa, "*After the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come.*" It is hard to say, how the universal belief of the doctrine could be asserted in stronger terms than those which the Apostle here employs.

With respect to the other doctrine of the separate existence of the soul after the death of the body, if we admit, with Dr. Whately, that nothing is *revealed* to us concerning it in the Gospel, it can only be on this ground, that it was so universally received into the popular creed of all nations, that it is more correct to say, that it was *confirmed*, than that it was *revealed* by Christ and his Apostles. The only reason why the doctrine of the resurrection is so fully explained, and so earnestly insisted on in the writings of St. Paul, is that it formed no part of the systems of Pagan theology, and was disputed or denied by the philosophers of Greece and Rome; but no such pains are taken to explain the credibility of the separate existence of the soul, because *that* doctrine was already believed by those to whom the first preachers of the Gospel addressed themselves. Strictly speaking, we cannot say that the heathens had any notion of an *intermediate* state, since that expression implies the acknowledgment of a resurrection; but the Jews undoubtedly possessed it; and our Lord himself has added such sanctions to the doctrine, that it has ever since been admitted by all Christians, (with very few, and till of late very

inconsiderable exceptions,) as an undoubted article of their faith.

To argue from the abuse of any doctrine against its truth is a most unsafe and disingenuous proceeding. When our Lord related the different fates of the rich man and Lazarus, and represented the one as conveyed by angels, in the very instant of his death, into Abraham's bosom, and the other as placed in Hades in a state of torment, he knew full well that what he then said, would in after ages be perverted, and that the superstitious error of a purgatory would be superadded to the doctrine of an intermediate state. But "what is the chaff to the wheat?" In this story, be it fact, or parable, the disembodied soul is described as existing in a separate state of consciousness—a state of happiness to the good, and of misery and suffering to the wicked. It is the main scope and purport of the story to place this doctrine in the strongest light; to convince the sensual and worldly-minded, that their "good things" will cease, and their "evil things" begin, as soon as this present life is ended; and to support the afflicted servants of God with the assurance that death will at once place them with the other spirits of the just in Paradise.

This last consoling truth is, if possible, more strongly confirmed by our Saviour's promise to the repentant robber on the cross; and since great pains have been taken to make the words in which this promise is conveyed consist with the negation of an intermediate state, the attempt of the *soul-sleepers* to explain away this striking passage requires a particular notice. Dr. Law's explanation of the text, Luke, xxiii. 43, is so singularly weak, that it is evident he himself was not satisfied with it. "*To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*—i. e. *to-day* thou art certain of a place with me in heaven; it is a thing already done and determined: the words *to-day* being constantly used of any matter there fixed, settled, or declared; though not to commence some months or even ages after." He then adds what he calls *another* interpretation of these words from Dr. Taylor, who conceives that the word *to-day* refers to the hopeless state in which Christ appeared at the moment when he made this promise: "You need not suspend your hopes till I am in actual possession of my kingdom; even *at present*, and in my low circumstances, I have authority to *assure* you, that you shall have a place with me in Paradise."

Now suppose the word *to-day*, as it was here used by our Lord, had either or both of the meanings assigned to it by the Bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Taylor—"It is a thing already done and determined, and even in my present low circumstances I have authority to assure you, that you shall be with me in Paradise"—

the question is, in what sense must this promise have been understood at the time, and by the person to whom it was made. Dr. Law tells us the sense is this; "You are sure of a place with me in *heaven*:" we may be sure, however, that the robber on the cross did not so understand it, for *Paradise* and *Heaven*, though it might suit the bishop's purpose to confound them, were in the imagination of the Jews perfectly distinct places. "*Paradise among the Jews*," says Bishop Bull, "primarily signified גן עדן Gan Eden, the *Garden of Eden*, that blessed garden wherein Adam, in his state of innocence, dwelt. By which, because it was a most pleasant and delightful place, they were wont to represent the state and place of good souls separated from their bodies, and waiting for the resurrection, whom they believed to be in a state of happiness far exceeding all the felicities of this life, but inferior to that consummate bliss which follows the resurrection. For they distinguished *Paradise* from the third Heaven, as St. Paul also, being bred up in the Jewish literature, seems to do in the above-cited text, 2 Cor. xii. where he speaks of several visions and revelations that he had received, one in the third Heaven, and another in *Paradise*. Hence it was the solemn good wish of the Jews (as the learned tell us from the Talmudists,*) concerning their dead friend, *Let his soul be in the Garden of Eden*, or *Let his soul be gathered into the Garden of Eden*. And in their prayers for a dying person they used to say, *Let him have his portion in Paradise, and also in the world to come*. In which form *Paradise* and *the world to come* are plainly distinguished. According to which notion, the meaning of our Saviour in this promise to the penitent thief is evidently this, that he should presently after his death enter with him into that place of bliss and happiness, where the souls of the righteous, separated from their bodies, inhabit; and where they wait in a joyful expectation of the resurrection, and the consummation of their bliss in the highest heaven." To which we may add, that if this promise, in reply to the petition of the repentant malefactor, "*Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom*," had not received its accomplishment till the final resurrection; it could, in fact, never have been fulfilled at all. For at the end of all things, when death, the last enemy, shall have been destroyed, Christ will deliver up his mediatorial kingdom to the Father.

If we turn now to the writings of St. Paul, we shall find a very important class of texts, which the opponents of the soul's separate existence, have not been willing to notice; texts, in which the body is represented as a *vessel*, in which the soul is contained, or as a *tent*, or *house*, in which it makes its residence.

* Vid. Grot. in locum.

It is hardly possible by any sophistry to reconcile St. Paul's language 2 Cor. v. 1—9. to the hypothesis, that the soul neither has; nor can have, any existence apart from the body. When he says, "*We are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord,*" (v. 8.) is it not doing the greatest imaginable violence to the plain and natural meaning of these expressions, to say with Dr. Law, "that the phrase '*being absent from the body,*' can have no relation to an intermediate state, but rather denotes the life of Saints after the resurrection"—*when*, be it observed, they most certainly are not "*absent from the body?*" Again, when the Apostle charges the Thessalonians, (1 Thess. iv. 4.) that every man "*should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour,*" he uses a language familiar to the Jews, who constantly represent the body as the כּוּס, σκεῦος, or vessel of the spirit. Were there any room for doubt respecting the meaning of this passage, it might be settled by a reference to the sentiments of a Jewish Christian of apostolical antiquity, who in the Epistle which goes under the name of St. Barnabas, speaks of the body of Christ as the vessel of the spirit, τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος. But if we will allow, that the primitive Christians, those who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles, and were contemporary with them, had better means than we now can have of knowing what the Apostles really taught, and could hardly, one and all of them, be deceived in a matter of this importance, we shall probably be inclined to attach more weight to their uniform concurrent testimony, on this subject, than to the opposite opinions of any modern writer, however highly we may be inclined to rate his acquirements, or his sagacity. We shall not detain our readers by collecting the passages in point from the writings of the earlier Fathers, since they may find them already collected in the two sermons of Bishop Bull; and they are so strong, so clear, and so decisive of the fact, that the primitive Christians universally believed, that the soul, when it is severed from the body by death, passes at once into another state of existence, allotted to it by God, (in which it continues till the resurrection, in a state of happiness, or misery, proportioned to its deserts, and in the expectation of the final judgment,*) that those who have denied, that this doctrine is inculcated in Scripture, have never ventured to deny, that it was universally received by the Christians who lived nearest to the Apostles' times.

It was, in truth, this assured hope of the *immediate* happiness that awaits the faithful Christian, on his departure out of this

* Τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ψυχὰς ἐν χρεῖττονί ποί χάριτι μένειν, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκους καὶ πονηρὰς ἐν χεῖρονι, τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐνδεχομένης χρόνον τότε. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 223. Ed. Colon.

life, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν εὐσεβῶν *in the region of the righteous*, that supported the earlier martyrs, and enabled them to meet death with such triumphant confidence. Thus Polycarp, the apostolic bishop of Smyrna, the disciple of St. John, in his last prayer at the stake, addresses himself to God; “Thou God of the whole race of the righteous, who live before thee:” and then, speaking of the martyrs, he adds, “Amongst whom may I be received before thee this day.” These passages are recorded in the encyclical epistle of the Christians of Smyrna, who were present at his martyrdom: and of the authenticity of this epistle, which is preserved by Eusebius, in the Fourth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, there is no question. The words of this holy martyr are very remarkable; not merely as expressing his own particular faith, but as containing a sort of commentary on two most important declarations of our Saviour, and showing us in what sense they were understood in the middle of the second century. The first of these passages is that in Matt. xxii., and Luke xx. where our Lord confutes the Sadducees, who denied that there was either resurrection, or spirit, by proving to them, that the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though dead to men, are still alive with God. “*Have ye not read that which was spoken to you by God saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him—πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσι.*” Was not the faith of Polycarp grounded on these words of Christ, when he affirmed of the martyrs, “They all live before Thee”—οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιον σου? Again when he expresses his fervent hope, that he might *that very day* be received together with them before God—ἐν οἷς προσδεχθεῖην ἐνώπιόν σου ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ—is it not more than probable, that he had in view that promise to the repentant robber on the cross, “*To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise—ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ?*”

It may be said, as it was said by Dr. Law, with reference to the declaration of St. Paul 2 Cor. v. 8. that these expressions of Polycarp relate only to the general resurrection, “since time *unperceived* making no distance, or difference in the case, the season of each person’s recompense really coincides with that of his death;” and, consequently, that the phrase, “*May I be received this day before Thee,*” can have “no relation to an intermediate state, but rather denotes the life of Saints after the resurrection.” But this cannot be said by those who are conversant with the opinions of the primitive Christians. Their language utterly excludes this subterfuge. When Tertullian speaks of Hades, as “*Limes medius qui interhiat,*” “a middle intervening state;” (Apologet. c. 48. p. 38.) when in the same Tract, he

describes Paradise (which in other places he calls "Abraham's bosom," and supposes it to be situated "*apud Inferos*") "a place of Divine pleasantness, destined to receive the souls of the saints;" (c. 47.) and when in his Treatise "*De Anima*" he says, "If Christ, who is God, because he was also man, died, and was buried according to the Scriptures, and also satisfied that law which assigns the human dead to Hades (*formâ humanæ mortis apud Inferos functus*) and ascended not into the highest heavens, before he had descended into the lowest parts of the earth, you have a subterranean region of Hades propounded to your faith, and may answer the cavils of those, who arrogantly presume, that the souls of the faithful are of too great dignity to be confined in that lower region; who think that the servant is above his lord, the disciple above his master; and *disdain to wait in Abraham's bosom for the solace of the expected resurrection*:" (c. 55. p. 304.) when Tertullian thus speaks, he expresses the sentiments that were then entertained by *all* Christians; and he speaks a language, which cannot be reconciled with the negation of an intermediate state, except by those who are accomplished masters in the art of reconciling contradictions.

Were these opinions of the earlier Christians *at variance* with Scripture, or were they only *superadded* to Scripture, we should consider them, in the first instance as absolutely of no value, like the notion of Purgatory, which crept into the Church at a later period; and in the second, as merely supplying a topic of doubtful disputation, like that which has been introduced into this question respecting the materiality, or immateriality, of the soul. But being, as they unquestionably are, in exact conformity with the express declarations of our Lord and his Apostles, concerning the intermediate state of disembodied spirits, we feel perfectly warranted in applying them for the confirmation of our faith, and are assured, that the tenets which the Catholic Church has from the first maintained on this interesting topic, are consonant both to the letter and the spirit of the Gospel.

But the faith of the Church may be ascertained from her public Liturgies still better than from the concurrent testimony of her most approved theologians in their private writings; for the truth of the maxim "*Lex credendi est lex orandi*," the rule of faith is the rule of prayer," is self-evident. If then the belief prevailed in the primitive Church, that the soul continues to exist after death in a state of consciousness, expecting the award of the last judgment, and experiencing meanwhile a degree of happiness or misery far greater than any that this world affords, and only inferior to the perfect consummation of each, both in body and soul, in the world to come; if this belief prevailed, we might expect to find it

clearly expressed in the most ancient Liturgies and offices of devotion. And so, in fact, it is. In the "*Clementine Liturgy*," in the "*Office for the Dead*, in the "*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*," which goes under the name of Dionysius the Arcopagite, and in every ancient Liturgy without one exception, the spirits of the just are represented as still subsisting in the region of the living, the bosom of Abraham, the Paradise of God. It is superfluous to quote authorities on a matter of such perfect notoriety; but we may refer those of our readers who are less conversant with this branch of theological study to the "*Euchologium*" of Goar, or Renaudot's collection of the "*Oriental Liturgies*." Neither can it be necessary to remind them that this doctrine of an intermediate state is expressly maintained by the Church of England. We know not that it is asserted in any of the ancient offices with greater distinctness than in our office for the burial of the dead.

"Almighty God, with whom do live *the spirits* of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom *the souls* of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity, &c. . . . we beseech Thee, that it would please Thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy Holy Name, may have our *perfect* consummation and bliss, *both in body and soul*, in thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Enough has been said to show that the doctrine of an intermediate state cannot be denied, without doing some violence to the plain declarations of Scripture, opposing the concurrent testimony of all the primitive Fathers, and directly contradicting the doctrine of the Church of England, unequivocally expressed in her funeral service. If all the texts which bear upon this subject were, among the *δυσνόητα* of Scripture, as hard to be understood, for instance, as that passage 1 Cor. xv. which relates to the "*baptizing for the dead*;" if, from the mere context, it were impossible to determine with any approach to certainty, whether the sacred writers intended to accommodate their language to the popular apprehensions and prevailing opinions of the day, or deliberately to express their own full and unreserved assent to the doctrine of an intermediate state, and to record it as a part of that revelation which they were commissioned to deliver to mankind; even in this case we should feel inclined to submit our own judgment to the consentient judgment of all antiquity, and should think it by almost infinite degrees more probable, that our own private opinion was mistaken, than that all the churches of Christ, from their first foundation, should have concurred in the adoption of a common error; and with this feeling should cordially subscribe

to the sentiment expressed in the fortieth of King Edward's Articles—

“Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt unâ cum corporibus mori, et extremo die cum illis excitandas, ab Orthodoxâ Fide, quæ nobis in Sacris Literis traditur, prorsus dissentiunt.”

And let it not be said that the doctrine is, after all, superfluous, since the great ends of practical religion are sufficiently secured by the assured certainty which revelation gives us of a resurrection to eternal life, in which every individual shall receive a just recompense of reward or punishment, according to the things done in the body. To appeal to our feelings in its support, as Mr. Huntingford has done, may be both weak and mischievous; but to establish it firmly on scriptural grounds, and then to show its practical importance, as supplying the most powerful topics of consolation, and reproof, and instruction in righteousness, is the only prudent and profitable way of conducting the inquiry. We may naturally wish, when we die, to pass at once into a state of blessedness, and we may please ourselves with the hope that our departed friends “are in joy and felicity;” but it is somewhat unreasonable to infer, that a man is destitute of natural affections because he questions whether these hopes and wishes have any firm support to rest on. As well might the Mohammedan, who hopes, as soon as he quits this earth, to be clasped in the embraces of the dark-eyed beauties of his voluptuous Paradise, exclaim, that we must be destitute of all natural affection if we can question for a moment the grounds of so delightful an assurance. But if the doctrine of the soul's separate existence stand on such a basis as to claim our firm and unhesitating assent—without which it can have little influence on our conduct—it will be easy to show its great practical importance. Concerning the particulars of that happiness or misery, which will be assigned to us at the resurrection, the Scriptures leave us in ignorance; they only tell us, in general, that our happiness or suffering, in that future state, will be infinite in degree, and endless in duration. Neither have they taught us anything particularly concerning that intermediate state, in which we shall enter immediately after death; they only inform us in general terms, that the spirits of the just will be conveyed into a Paradise of rest and peace, and that the souls of the wicked will exist in a state of dismay and torment. But since it is evident that the happiness or misery, which the souls of good and bad men shall respectively experience in this intermediate state, will not be the result of a special sentence—for that sentence will not be passed till the great day of final judgment—it would appear that they must be felt in the way of

natural consequence: and, indeed, if our souls, in their disembodied state, carry with them their present consciousness, with those habits, dispositions, and affections which they acquired or cultivated in this life, it must naturally and inevitably follow, that the souls of the good and pious are in a state of felicity, and the souls of the sensual and worldly-minded in a state of misery, far exceeding anything that it was possible for them to experience in this world.

As for those whose hearts and affections were in heaven, who "*delighted in the law of God after the inward man,*" since, whilst they lived on earth, they still found that "*evil was present with them, warring against the law of their mind,*" and were ready to exclaim, with the Apostle, "*Who shall deliver me from this body of death?*" it must surely be a vast accession to their happiness to be *actually* delivered from it; to be no more exposed to that conflict with the flesh which formed the hardest part of their former warfare; to be no longer subject to those tumultuous passions which once disturbed their peace; to be exonerated from all that pain and anguish which our flesh is heir to; to be removed from all the din and bustle of this world, and from all those cares and fears which once chained them as it were to earth, and hindered them in their progress to heaven. If during their mortal life they found it necessary to keep under the body, and to retire for a while from the avocations of the world, that they might fix their souls without disturbance on the contemplation of heavenly things, must they not, now that they are removed wholly from this busy scene, and "*delivered from the burden of the flesh;*" must they not have far clearer views of heaven than it was possible for them to attain to in this life; must they not possess unutterable happiness, under the more immediate protection of Christ, in the enjoyment of a nearer communion with Him, and in the society of those other blessed spirits who repose in the un-deceiving hope and glorious assurance of a blessed resurrection; and *may not* this intermediate state of spiritual improvement and felicity be necessary to prepare them for the consummation of their bliss, both in body and soul, in the state of everlasting glory in heaven?

In the same way, of natural consequence, it will follow that the souls of the wicked, the sensual, and the worldly-minded, must in their disembodied state experience great misery and suffering. Removed from the world in which all their affections centered; divested of that body which was the chief instrument of their impure gratifications; and still retaining their former dispositions and propensities in unabated vigour, without the possibility of satisfying them, they must, of necessity, be exquisitely

wretched. *Here* men may easily contrive to keep out of sight the future consequences of their vicious conduct; they may engage themselves with such eagerness in business or in pleasure as to leave no room or opportunity for serious reflection; and they may possibly contrive to persuade themselves that the day of judgment is so far removed that it may never come at all. But *there* all those intervening objects which occupied the mind, and served to shut out the prospect of an unwelcome futurity, will have no place; and the disembodied spirit, wretched in the privation of its past enjoyments, will have its wretchedness augmented in the clear and constant apprehension of its approaching doom.

Thus far we may be permitted to conjecture, that the souls of the righteous and the wicked, if they continue to exist after their departure from the body in a state of uninterrupted consciousness, must, from the nature of the case, be respectively placed in a state of happiness or misery. If we push our inquiries farther, and ask *how* the soul continues to act when it is divested of the bodily organs which formed the medium of its intercourse with this visible world, we shall soon be lost in the trackless ocean of conjecture. Whether the soul be in its own essence strictly immaterial; or whether, according to the not improbable opinion of Tertullian, it be corporeal, having a body "*sui generis*," indivisible, imperishable, and totally distinct from flesh and blood; these are points which God has not thought fit to reveal, and which philosophy will never enable us to discover. If we must speculate upon them at all, our diffidence should, in all reason, be in proportion to our ignorance—than which nothing can be greater. Whatever we may fancy concerning the materiality or immateriality of the soul, to whichever side our opinions may incline, let us not fancy that the truth of Scripture can in the smallest degree be affected by our decision either one way or the other. "It is of no consequence in the world to any purpose of religion," says Mr. Hallet, who nevertheless was persuaded that the soul is an immaterial substance, "it is of no consequence whether the soul of man be material or immaterial. All that religion is concerned to do is to prove that that which now thinks in us shall continue to think, and to be capable of happiness or misery for ever. This religion proves from the express promises and threatenings of the Gospel. But religion is not concerned to determine of what *nature* this thinking immortal substance is. For my part I judge it to be immaterial; but if a man should think that the soul is mere matter, endowed with the power of thought, he would not overturn any article in religion that is of the least consequence to promote the *ends* of religion. For while a man thinks that his soul is matter, he necessarily thinks

that God, who made matter capable of thinking, and endowed the matter of his soul in particular with the power of thought, is capable, by the same almighty power, of preserving the matter of his soul capable of thinking for ever. And when he shall have proved that it is *the will of God* that that thing which now thinks in him shall continue to think for ever, he has proved the immortality of the soul, even upon his supposition of its being material, in the only way in which we, who apprehend it to be immaterial, are capable of proving its *actual immortality*. For this can only be proved by showing that it is the will of God that it shall be immortal."

We recommend these candid and judicious remarks, first to the consideration of those persons who, like Mr. Huntingford, think it impossible for a materialist to be a Christian; and, secondly, to those smatterers in physical science who, when they have once persuaded themselves that the percipient and cogitative powers in man are, or *may be*, the necessary result of his organic structure, fancy they have made an important discovery that quite overturns the authority of Scripture. By both parties it is taken for granted that the Scriptures assert the strict immateriality of the human soul; whereas a little patient inquiry, by convincing both that the Scriptures teach no such thing, might induce the one party to be somewhat more tolerant towards their opponents, and the other to be somewhat less precipitate in their approaches to infidelity.

ART. VI.—*The History of the Huguenots during the Sixteenth Century.* By W. S. Browning, Esq. In Two Vols. Svo. London. William Pickering. 21s.

FEW, if any, portions of History have received equally copious illustration from contemporary authority with that which relates to the Wars of Religion (as they are called) in France. Many of those who have narrated these transactions were themselves busy agents in them; almost all of them were men possessed of considerable talents and accurate sources of information: and the boundaries by which opinion was divided in their times were so strongly marked, that, when we are once acquainted with the faction which each respectively espoused, there is little danger of our falling into error through the hazy colouring which prejudice sometimes very naturally has diffused over facts. Extreme violence of party feeling, for the most part, furnishes its own corrective; and wherever two writers, of avowedly opposite principles, relate the same event in a decidedly opposite tone, there can be

no doubt that the language of Truth will be found exactly between both.

μη σύντονον δίδωκε, μήτ' ἀνειμένην,
 ἱαστὶ ἔσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν νέων
 ἄρῃαν, αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει.

With this abundance of materials from which selection may be made without any very difficult exercise of judgment being required in sorting or arranging them; and with a theme, from its extent and variety, from the magnitude of the actions which it relates and the celebrity of the actors, eminently attractive, in spite of its many horrors, the blood and crime with which it is so deeply dyed,—it is a matter of some surprise that hitherto, at least in English, we have not any standard History of the *Ligue* and the causes to which this association owed its birth. Unfortunately the present Work of Mr. Browning is not likely to supply this defect in our Literature.

The chief contemporary guides for the three important reigns of Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV, as professed Historians, are De Thou and Davila. Beza does not accompany us beyond 1563, a year which, if the foul calumnies of Poltrot had been credited, must have been for ever fatal to the reputation of the great Reformer. But Poltrot retracted the charge which he had brought affirming that Beza was the stimulator of the murder of the Duke of Guise; and in his last moments he earnestly endeavoured to remove the impression which this falsehood had created: an impression which Bossuet, by adroitly turning it in the direction which best suited his unfair purpose, has contributed to keep alive in later days; and which it is much to be wished Bayle, according to the promise which he held out* of considering it under a notice of Poltrot, (a notice which he never gave) had for ever dispersed.

De Thou was in his nineteenth year when the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated, and he had returned from his studies at Orleans to Paris not long before its occurrence. Accordingly the account which he has left of that enormity is more vivid and particular than has been furnished by any other hand: and Dr. Lingard, in his quiet moments of rumination and recumbency, may chew the cud of “bitter fancy” with which he will be supplied by an acute remark of Voltaire:—“*Il n'est pas vrai que le Saint-Barthélemi fut prémédité; car tous les Historiens, à commencer par le respectable De Thou conviennent qu'elle le fut.*”

In 1576 De Thou was actively employed in negotiations connected with the disturbed politics of his Country; and he acquitted himself in such manner as proved his capacity for State affairs not

* *Ad v. Beza.*

less than for Literature. About that time he filled the important posts of *Conseiller Clerc au Parlement de Paris* and *Maître des Requêtes*, and the Capital appears to have been his chief residence till the *Day of Barricades*. On his return thither, during the Assembly of the States at Blois, he narrowly escaped from the effects of popular fury aroused by the announcement of the assassination of the Guises. His employment under Henry III. did not prevent his favour in the succeeding reign; and on the death of his uncle in 1596, he obtained the honourable office of *Président à Mortier*. Henry IV. engaged him in frequent negotiations. He assisted in the treaty by which the Duke of Guise became reconciled to the Bourbons, and he was largely concerned in the arrangement of the memorable Edict of Nantes.

Yet, notwithstanding these numerous avocations, which must have more than sufficiently distracted a common mind from other pursuits, De Thou, by that nice husbandry of time, of which we still possess some striking instances in the master spirits of our own days, has left behind him a more imperishable monument than he could have provided by any Civil service. The seven bulky and closely printed folios which were published under the superintendence of the learned and excellent Mead in 1733, and which alone contain the genuine Work of the great President, comprise no less than 138 Books. The general fidelity and exactness of this most remarkable Work has never been questioned. Such indeed was the freedom of the disclosures upon which its author ventured, and so little in accordance with the spirit, the tastes, the habits, and the interests of his days, was his honest revelation of Truth, that by the cautious policy of his Executors this History was nearly committed to the flames; and most probably would have been so, if the foresight of the President himself had not provided against such a contingency, by placing a duplicate copy in the hands of his friend M. Lingelsheim. Peiresc, from whom we learn these particulars, has marked other instances in which the want of similar precaution has been most destructive to the cause of Literature. De Thou himself, although he published many parts of his Work during his life-time, did not care to hazard his safety by telling *all* that he knew, while he might personally suffer for his frankness; and, accordingly, the copies printed under his own inspection, as well as every other preceding Mead's edition which we have just mentioned, have undergone very efficient castrations. That edition is printed exactly after the Author's original copy; and the reader who wishes to learn more concerning the changes which the Work has undergone at various times, and the means by which we are at length presented with it in its perfect form and original vigour, will find the facts distinctly stated in some preliminary Letters by Buckley.

The Latinity of De Thou may be read with great pleasure even by a fastidious scholar; nor do we admit the validity of an objection which has been frequently urged against him, and which will probably continue to be repeated by every small critic who passes judgment on his style. It has been said that by Romanizing his proper names he has obscured matters which would otherwise have been plain, and has rendered the assistance of a Glossary constantly necessary. Now it seems to us that by so doing he has avoided a pyebald and patchwork diction, a mosaïque and tessellation of language, which is very offensive to good taste. Who could tolerate amid the easy current and smoothly-gliding course of pure and classical Latin, such uncouth names as Leeuwaerden, Steenwijck, Bergen-op-Zoom, Bravoetz, Cleerhage, Yselstein, or Cloot, if set down in all their native, original, and vernacular deformity? We have taken these cacophonous and clazodontic words at random, and we are well pleased to see them adumbrated under the more mellifluous titles of *Leopardia*, *Stenrica*, *Berga*, *Bravoetsus*, *Claragius*, *Iselstenius*, and *Cloetus*. When the Historian writes of *Billeus Bruxellensis jurisconsultus*, he is in unison with his general mode of speech; but what ear (unless that of Mr. Bowring, which discovers music in the scrannel tones of Hooft, Vondel, Vandergoes, and other brethren of the *Amsterdamche Kamer*) would not be shocked by *Bill de Bruxelles, LL.D.*? *Graveverta insula prope Telonium* or *Bomelense territorium* might flow from the pen of Livy, but who, save a burgo-master could indite, or a frog could hope to pronounce, *Gravenwert de Tolhuys*, or the yet more *brekekecious* *Bommelerweert*? The key becomes familiar after a few pages; and even if some denser reader should be slow in its application, in Mead's edition, the only one to which he ought to have recourse, each page has the vulgar names at its foot. The labour, however, which these explanations required in the first instance was of no little extent. Carte, who addressed himself more especially to the illustration of English names, which have passed through two metamorphoses, the first that of French pronunciation, the second that of Latin inflection, tells us that it cost him many weeks anxious search among the Records in the Tower to elucidate such titles as *Bonoornii*, *Floræ arcis* and *Ottoni reguli*.

Of De Thou, Lord Carteret (or Buckley translating him) has spoken in the most unqualified admiration; *inter Historicos præstantissimos meritò numerari debet . . . Lectorem per totum mundum circumducit, semper delectat, et documentis utilissimis ubique ferè instituit*. But, perhaps, the fullest eulogium which could be passed on his high merits has been paid incidentally by Dacier, himself an editorial scholar, but one who was gifted with suffi-

ciently enlarged powers of mind to distinguish between the jejune-ness of mere verbal criticism, and that plenitude and raciness which is to be found only in the philosophic student. "I have had in my hands," says he in his Preface to the Biographer of Charonea, "a Greek Plutarch with numerous MS. notes by Turnebus. It was utterly useless to me; for these annotations related to nothing more than the most remarkable words of the text, which this learned man had taken the trouble to write in the margin, in order that they might be more present to his memory. But I cannot too much acknowledge the assistance which I have derived from another Plutarch, in which all the Lives are commented on by the hand of the celebrated De Thou, that great Historian, who in his peculiar department of Literature has made France the rival of Greece and Rome, and whose writings are equally distinguished by profoundness, vigour, sincerity and truth. He had read these Lives with so much care and accuracy, and had marked, with so much judgment, all that could elucidate the most remarkable and important passages, or trace them to their source, that he has greatly abridged my labour, by sparing me tedious researches, and often by affording me lights for which I should have looked in vain elsewhere."

The great object of continuing a History from the point at which Paulus Jovius ceased, appears to have occupied De Thou from his very earliest youth. This purpose was always borne in mind during his Travels, his professional occupations in Court, and his Embassies—whether his Country was at Peace or War. His leisure was dedicated to the collection of materials; he ransacked every where all such Histories as were printed, and employed copyists for such as were in MS. He read the Memoirs of Generals, the Negotiations of Envoys, and the very Despatches of Secretaries. By familiar conversation with the greatest men of his time, he obtained a profound knowledge of affairs, and he profited by their judgment and accurate acquaintance with events, to decide between opposite statements written or spoken on either side, during a period of more than common excitation. Such are his own declarations; and the results which he obtained from this course fully avouch their truth. One crowning stone was wanting to complete the design of his great edifice, and to render it, what it has become with posterity, a *κρίμα ἐς αἰῶνα*,—a determination to write without regard to party feeling. That he has attained this point as nearly as human infirmity will permit, must be allowed by all who are conversant with his pages. That he intended it, none will deny who read the solemn protestation in his last Will, written at a moment when he was entering upon scenes uninfluenced by the petty motives and frivolous interests which

attach to this world. *J'ai composé mon Histoire à la gloire de Dieu, et pour l'utilité publique, sans aucun motif de haine ou de complaisance.*

We come in the next place to Davila, whose opportunities of obtaining correct information were scarcely inferior, if at all so, to those possessed by De Thou. Educated in the service of the Queen-mother (Catharine de Medicis), and hereditarily attached to her family, he witnessed many of the leading transactions of her Court. Afterwards, serving personally, and with distinguished bravery, in the War of the *Ligue*, he was present at some of the chief actions which he relates. What infinite life does a narrative gain, with what augmented strength does it affect the reader's imagination, when it can be prefaced by the writer's personal knowledge of the individual whom it concerns. We will take one instance at hazard. Davila is about to describe the assassination of Henry III.—an incident which he has told with great and very interesting particularity. The unconcerned demeanor of the murderer on the evening before the committal of the bloody act; his grave rebuke of the unseasonable merriment of those who, little suspecting his purpose, asked him if *he* was the Religious by whom it was prophesied that the King should perish—"These are not matters to be treated lightly;"—his usage at Della Gueila's table, during supper, of the very knife which was to drink the Royal blood on the morrow—*tagliò il pane con un coltello nuovo, co'l manico nero*;—his eating, drinking and sleeping as if without thought of the approaching tragedy—all these fine and rapid touches heighten the effect of the picture, and almost place the scene which it portrays before our eyes. But what additional power does it receive, how is its charm wound up and consummated, when we are told that the painter has not wholly drawn from Fancy, but that Memory also has guided his pencil; that he had frequently been in company and was well acquainted with the person whose story he is delineating; *a me sovviene, mentre molte volte visitavo fra Stefano Lusignano Cipriotto Vescovo di Limisso, e frate del medesimo Ordine, quando la Corte si ritrovava in Parigi, haverlo veduto, e udito, mentre gli altri Religiosi di lui si prendevano passatempo.* The miserable fanatic, it seems, was always half-witted, and had long been the butt of his companions. His credulity assisted the wicked purpose of those by whom he had been derided, and the very folly which at first ministered to their diversion, was applied in the end as the fittest instrument of their crime.

In point of style much fault has been found with Davila for the mould in which he has cast his History; for the imaginary speeches and discourses wherewith he has so largely interspersed

his narrative. For so doing, however, he may plead high and undisputed authority; and we know not why that which is considered to be eloquent and impressive when it is found in the pages of Thucydides, of Livy, or of Tacitus, should be stigmatized as misplaced, unnatural, impertinent and affected when adopted by a writer who happens to be born a certain number of centuries after them. No reader is deceived by this practice. It is quite possible, nay more, it is very probable, that Cleon and Diodotus did in fact deliver sentiments respecting the surrender of the Mitylenæans, very similar to those which the son of Olorus has ascribed to them: we have little doubt that Scipio and Manlius harangued their soldiers much after the same manner (though, perhaps, with more brevity) as that which the Historian of Padua has adopted in their names; and the thoughts, if not the words, of Agrippina, of Boadicea, of Germanicus, of Suetonius Paulinus, and of Vologeses, have assuredly been faithfully represented by the last of the three great Historians whom we have mentioned above. Later usage has exchanged this strong dramatic form for one of much less energy; for unimpassioned dissertation, and calm, sober, tranquil and nicely-balanced reflection; for the cool sagacity of the writer in his closet, rather than for the burning words of the hero in the field or the orator in the senate. To our minds, however, *composition* is a loser, and *common sense* is not a gainer by this revolution. In either case, every body knows that these sentiments, be they conveyed in speeches or remarks, in diction glowing or profound, whether they aspire to Poetical heights or plunge into Politico-economical bathos, are episodes, and the sole property of the writer; and as each method answers the like purpose in *fact*, the question becomes one solely of *form*—of which the elder is, in our judgment, the more agreeable of the two.

Mezeray, indeed, has sneeringly termed Davila's Work, *le Roman de la Ligue*; but Mezeray himself is plainly deficient in graces of style, and consequently in just power of criticism upon them; though he is never to be too much commended for plain, downright fidelity. Would that the pithy remonstrances of Colbert, and the jeopardy in which the honest Historiographer found his annual 4000 livres were placed, had not induced him to *abridge* the truth in his later editions! He was far too single-minded to pervert, or even to modify it; and the minister, who had more courtly notions, and who believed that Kings watered Historians with the dew of pensions, only in order that the Royal sunshine might draw out exhalations of flattery, reclaimed the money when he found he could not obtain an equivalent of praise. Nevertheless Mezeray has allowed that Davila exhibits judgment and accuracy; and if we confine his charge of "Romance" within

the bounds which he appears to assign in explanation, it is by no means without truth. Davila, he says, in many places has attributed events to causes which have nothing to do with them. The affectation of profound political knowledge, and of close acquaintance with the secret machinery of actions, is indeed, perhaps, his most besetting sin. The Archbishop of Cambray has delivered a palmary judgment on this point, which though called out by the particular individual, is applicable to Historians in general. —“ We read Davila,” writes Fenelon, in his *Réflexions sur la Grammaire*, “ with pleasure; but he speaks as if he had been intimately admitted into the innermost mysteries of Cabinets. One man singly can never possess the confidence of all conflicting parties. Besides, every body has his secret, which he is not likely to trust to others, especially to a writer of History. Truth is to be picked up only by fragments; and the Historian who seeks to instruct me on points which I am sure he cannot know, makes me doubt even respecting those wherewith he is really acquainted.”

Baudouin, in his French translation of Davila, has corrected several inaccuracies in national topography, names and titles, which are very pardonable in a foreigner, and which rather establish than impair our belief in the Historian's integrity in matters of higher moment; for if errors upon such matters had been to be found, they would doubtless have been exhibited. It is to be wished, therefore, that Mezeray had been less vehement in the expressions which he has used elsewhere; and had not, to the great offence of courtesy, written with too free and lavish pen of the *mensonge de cet Auteur Italien*, of his *grossiere oubliance ou insigne malice*. Davila, it seems, almost in the outset of his Work, either from want of full acquaintance with facts, or really from conviction, has *accused* Francis I. of neglecting Persecution; for that he allowed the Reformed principles to creep on unrestrained, rather despising than fearing them. The zeal of Mezeray is roused in defence of his Prince, and he urges satisfactory proof that this Monarch was not deficient in that fiery devotion which ought to entitle him to be accounted a genuine son of the Romish Church. That which, if it were true, (unhappily it is not so,) would infinitely increase his reputation, is considered to redound to the discredit of the most Christian King; and the pious author carefully distributes among the several victims the burnings, hangings, whippings and banishments which were administered to more than sixty wretches, the infection of whose errors increasing, *Le Roy fit rallumer les feux pour en purger la France*. “ What then,” says this wise and temperate advocate, “ is it nothing to issue six or seven rigorous edicts, oftentimes to convoke the Clergy, to assemble a Provincial Council, to despatch every day Ambassadors to every Prince in

Christendom, imploring a General Council, to burn heretics by dozens, to condemn them to the Gallies by hundreds, to banish them by thousands?" And the reader in the end is cautioned *how* he should read Davila, who has ventured to write thus unbecomingly *du Père des bonnes Lettres*.

One other passage, however, which has been adduced, not by Mezeray, but by Maimbourg, is so plainly a fiction that we can only suppose Davila was misled as to the incident itself by general report; for it is given, as he represents it, by many other writers of good repute, and among them, with some additional particularities, by Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné himself. For the rest he depended, no doubt, upon what he rashly considered a fair licence for an Historian—the free usage of verisimilitude—and he indulged moreover his favourite passion for displaying State secrets. Immediately after the Duke of Guise had been murdered in the royal antechamber, Henry crossed to the apartments of the Queen Mother, where the memorable and well-known conversation occurred which we need not here repeat, and for which there are sufficient vouchers to remove all doubt of its truth. But Davila continues that the King proceeded from Catherine's bedside (she was at the time confined by the gout) in order to hear mass with the Legate Moresini. They met in the Chapel of the Palace, and the Historian relates their conference at great length and with considerable minuteness through several pages. The King exposed the various treasonable practices of the Duke, and enlarged upon his own gentleness and benevolence; he dwelt upon the oaths and promises which Guise had violated, the Sacraments which he had repeatedly forsworn; that he had entered into leagues with foreign Princes, received pensions and allowances from Spain, concerted measures injurious to the Crown with the Duke of Savoy, and a thousand times over incurred the full penalties of actual rebellion. Nevertheless, that it was wholly impossible, in his case, to observe the ordinary forms of judicature. No prisons could retain, no chains could bind so powerful a delinquent. No minister would have dared to examine, no judge to condemn him; and even if he had been condemned, force would still have been wanting to put the sentence into execution. On these accounts he, the King, who in his own person was the acknowledged representative of justice, possessing such superabundant and overflowing evidences of guilt, resolved to put the offender to death by his sole plenary authority; and *by the assistance of God* (it is of one of the foulest acts recorded in History, although perpetrated on an ambitious, perhaps a treacherous subject, that he is speaking) he had happily compassed his desire though opposed by a thousand almost insuperable difficulties. In conclusion, that

by committing this assassination, he had satisfied Heaven, Justice and his own conscience, and had secured the well-being and repose of his dominions; therefore that he requested the kind offices of the Cardinal so to represent this necessary and just deed to his Holiness that it might not be deformed by the malignant artifices and relations of his enemies. To this acute and logical defence of homicide, by which killing was satisfactorily proved to be no murder, the Legate replied as a Legate may be expected to reply, wherever it is the interest of his Apostolic Master to keep on good terms with the Court to which he is deputed; and sagaciously diverted the matter into an argument for the extermination of Heresy and the Huguenots. Henry assured him in return that if the Pope would but approve his conduct and lend his aid, there soon should be but one Religion in France. Moresini, catching at this declaration, promised the concurrence of Rome; and not thinking it politic at a moment of such doubt and danger to introduce other than public topics, purposely forbore to request the release of the Cardinal of Guise, who had been arrested at the moment of his brother's death. Henry interpreted this silence as an acquiescence in his ulterior designs, and not apprehending any objection from the Pontiff, proceeded to disencumber himself of the Cardinal, by means similar to those which he had just employed against the Duke.

Now it is quite plain that such a conversation, if it had really occurred, never could have met any other ears than those of the two interlocutors; and we must excuse its introduction by the Historian on the same grounds as we forgive a soliloquy in a Tragedy—it is a mere vehicle by means of which a writer agreeably conveys to us that which it is only natural to suppose has passed in the minds of his heroes. But alas! what is to be said if we can show that not only the conversation is (as we think we have proved above it legitimately may be) a work of invention, but that the interview itself is equally so; that Moresini, so far from having heard mass, and talked with the King within an hour of Guise's murder, (as Davila represents the above scene, it could scarcely be more,) in vain solicited an audience on the morning of that day, although he employed the powerful mediation of Madame de Nemours; that he could not even obtain admission to the Palace; and that he did not see the King till the *third day* after the death of the Cardinal of Loraine. These facts are distinctly stated in one of the Legate's own Letters to the Cardinal Montalto, a nephew of Sextus V., annexed to the Memoirs of his Life written by the Archbishop of Spalatro. Who, after this strange contradiction, shall dissent from Sir Robert Walpole's often-cited *dictum*, or venture to adopt any other principle but that of Pyr-

rhonism in matters of History? How easily Mr. Browning is satisfied with the materials before him, and how unsuspiciously he follows in the track of his predecessors, without examination, is plain from his having implicitly relied on Davila, without giving a hint that his story is naught.—(ii. 189.)

It is plain from the space which we have allotted to these two great writers that both De Thou and Davila are among our choicest favourites—nor, indeed, have we yet quite done with them; for by and by we shall find occasion to introduce them again incidentally. But we must hasten on at present to a rapid consideration of a few other authors not without just claims upon notice. Among these, Maimbourg must be next mentioned as approaching more closely than the rest to the dignity of History, and as being but little removed in time from the events which he relates. Maimbourg was a man of talents, but unhappily he has failed to please any party. He was a Jesuit, and therefore never wrote without one paramount design; and, wherever it suited his purpose, sacrificed Truth to the interests of his Order, as he believed himself obliged to do for conscience-sake. Nevertheless he quarrelled with his brethren, and by his Will bequeathed to a Carthusian Monastery all the property which had been intended by his Father for the support of an Ignatian College. His Sermons, his History of Arianism, and of the Iconoclasts, were bitterly visited by the Jansenists. The last-named is said by Jortin, very far from an intolerant Critic, “to be written *more Maimbourgiano*, that is, with flagrant insincerity and much of misrepresentation.” His History of Calvinism called up a numberless host of opponents. The Jesuits condemned, degraded, and expelled him for asserting the liberties of the Gallican Church; and most Protestant writers have taxed him with palpable dishonesty. It has indeed been averred, that if we retrench from his Works his descriptions of battles, (which are said to have been written at the close of his second bottle, a *tolerabile hospitium* by which he invigorated his style,) his portraits of Generals, and his falsehoods, the six-and-twenty volumes, of which his publications consist, would shrink into *one* of very attenuated dimensions. This judgment may be exaggerated and too severe; but even Bayle, who (perhaps from a spirit of opposition) has praised him in terms not less unmeasured than those of the condemnation just cited, characterizes him as *Romantic*, (a term here applied in a far stronger sense than that in which it has been used towards Davila,) and admits that his History of the *Ligue*, although equally excellent with all that preceded it, was not equally a favourite with the Public. Du Pin, in his *Bibl. des Aut. de xvii. Siècle*, employs the same epithet *Romantic*; and

attributes to that particular quality the success with which Maimbourg's early Histories were received. But the public taste, he adds, soon recovered itself; his later volumes had little circulation, and, even during his lifetime, the earlier were forgotten. His facts in the History of the *Ligue*, as himself states in his Preface, are chiefly borrowed from Pierre Cayet. It was translated into English, at the command of Charles II., by Dryden, or at least under the protection of that great writer's name. The object of this translation, as well as that of the *Duke of Guise*, a Play already written by Dryden in conjunction with Lee, was to increase Shaftesbury's unpopularity by drawing a parallel between his faction and that of the French *Ligue*.

But besides these Works of larger and (if we may so say) of more *heroic* size, the abundant harvest of minor Memoirs which belong to this period must not be forgotten; and the lover of Biography, of minute history, of anecdote, scandal, and gossip, of the light tale which rises on the morning breeze and is scattered before that of evening dies away, will be amply repaid by hunting out the numerous unremembered duodecimos which illustrate the decadence of the House of Valois. True it is that we have to wade breast-high in blood, and that our path is soiled at every step with unheard-of wickedness. Suetonius, or the Writers of the Augustan History, have scarcely more enormities to recount than may be found in the pages of Brantome and Lestoile, of Condé, Castelnau, Tavannes, and de la Popeliniere. But we must stop here, for our limits will not admit a tithe of a tenth of the names which the reader may find, if he so chooses, set down in the ninety folio pages of Le Long, which catalogue the writers on *L'Histoire politique de la France* during these eventful reigns.

The atrocities which passed before their eyes appear in great measure to have diminished the sensitiveness of most of these writers. They became familiarized with crime; and they relate their tales of horror and of guilt in a very equable, unsolicitous, and forgiving tone; as if perjury, murder, adultery, incest, and effeminacy, were but the fashionable, and therefore the pardonable, vices of the day. We are better pleased with the indignant expressions of an old and forgotten English Annalist, Antony Colynet, who, in 1591, compiled the *Tragical History of the Civill Warres raised up in the Realme of France*. He speaks plainly of the dissensions "wrought by the vilest men and meanes that ever were heard of, having attempted and atchieved most haynous and outrageous murthers;" therefore, he continues with equal boldness, "I have thought good to decke the parties with titles and ornaments fit for such deedes, to wit, with sharpe wordes, to expresse more effectually the greatnes of the offences,

protesting not to touch the noble families of Christendome whom I reverence, but the degenerating of them, who having put aside the robes of true Nobilitie are become slaves of treacheries and rebellions, and have clothed themselves with dishonour and infamie; to the end that the Christian reader may, by the signification of grievous Epithetes, comprehend the greatnes of such transgressions as doo boyle in such men, and learne to avoyde the societie of all damned congregations of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram." After all, we much fear, however, that the "grievous Epithetes" of this plain-spoken Chronieler are rather directed against the resisters of authority and the violators of right divine, than against the murderers and minions, the fearless, heartless, and godless children of lust and blood, who formed the *cortege* of Charles IX. and Henry III.

Among the writers just mentioned, Brantome claims the chief place as undoubtedly the most amusing, and with equally little doubt the most indiscriminating. He had seen much, and heard much; and he believed every thing which he had heard, and fancied a great deal more than he had seen. Now and then his anecdotes bear an internal evidence of Truth and Nature, by which they force their way to credit; and we may believe them *in general* as indicating the spirit and manners of his days (what villainous days they were!); but when he brings forward *particulars* without a sufficient voucher, we would as soon pin our faith upon Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, who has indeed largely borrowed from his pages. The History of Brantome's own life furnishes a powerful comment upon the times in which he lived, and throws strong light upon the dissoluteness and total want of principle which characterized them. As a younger son of the Noble House of Bourdeille, he was educated in the Court of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre and Sister of Francis I. and was early destined for the Church. He already possessed the Deanery of St. Yrier, the Priory of St. Royan and another Benefice, St. Vivien-les-Xaintes, when Henry II. conferred on him the Abbey of Brantome, by the name of which he continues to be known to posterity. So that, in his Mother's Will, this facetious and free Historian *des Cocus, des Femmes Galantes, et des Rodomontades*, appears in the masquerading character of *Reverend Père en Dieu, Messire Pierre de Bourdeille, Abbé de Brantosme*. Having made the tour of Italy, he attached himself to the Guises; he was at Amboise at the time of the Conspiracy, which bears its name from that place; and at Orleans on the arrest of the Prince of Condé. In 1561 he accompanied the Grand Prior in conducting the widowed Queen of France to her native dominions; and on his return from Scotland, he visited the Court of London.

On the renewal of the Civil war, this richly-beneficed Ecclesiastic betook himself to the camp, and was present at the capture of Blois, the siege of Bourges and Rouen, and that of Orleans; at which last his patron the Duke of Guise was murdered. He next served in Barbary, and at the surrender of Velez received the order of Christ from the hands of the King of Portugal. At the close of this expedition he passed to the Court of Spain, and not long afterwards had serious thoughts of enrolling himself as a Knight of Malta. Italy and Savoy again occupied some of his time, and on his return to France he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Chamber to Charles IX. While he held this office he had the mishap to save from drowning the Baron de Montesquieu, evilly known afterwards as the cold-blooded murderer of the gallant and illustrious Condé, when he had surrendered himself prisoner at the battle of Jarnac. At this fight also Brantome was present, and it seems he wished to be so at that yet more celebrated one, at Lepanto. We soon after find him in the suite of Margaret of Navarre, who had just married the great Henry, on her entrance into Bourdeaux; and under her patronage there can be little doubt that he profited greatly in the attainment of that species of knowledge by which his Memoirs are so expressly distinguished. At the siege of Rochelle, the Abbé served as a volunteer, and was repaid by a wound: and his career at Court and in the army was continued till the death of his early patroness, Catharine de Medicis, by whom he had been befriended during three-and-thirty years. Deprived of this powerful support, and supplanted by younger aspirants, he passed a querulous old age in retirement, and in the composition of his Memoirs; and after a life of very fruitless activity, and a strange and motley mixture of secular pursuits and spiritual profession, it is in the following awful words that this wretched old man speaks of the length of days which Providence had seen it good to permit him to enjoy: *sans me vanter, le nom de Brantome y a été tres-bien, et en grande renommée; mais toutes telles faveurs, telles grandeurs, telles vanités, et telles vanteries, telles gentilleses, tels bons temps s'en sont allés dans le vent, et ne m'est rien resté que d'avoir été tout cela, et un souvenir encore que quelquefois me plaît, quelquefois me déplaît, m'avançant sur la maudite chenue vieillesse, le pire de tous les maux du monde.* How different from this fretful, peevish, and disappointed reminiscence, from this cold, blank, and dreary avoidance of prospect, are the glowing words of the great Pagan Moralist! *Non lubet mihi deplorare vitam, neque me vixisse pœnitet: quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existimem: et ex vitâ ita discedo, tanquam ex hospitio, non tanquam ex domo. Commorandi enim*

Natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi locum dedit. In this passage Cicero is "almost a Christian;" yet how far beyond him in meek dignity, in humble hope, in tranquil aspiration, is one to whom Christ was known not "almost," but "altogether!" "I have," says Sir Henry Wotton, "in my passage to my grave, met with most of those joys of which a discursive Soul is capable, and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of. Nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content, but have often met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind, and temptations to evil. And yet though I have been, and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by His Grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, the thought of which is now the joy of my heart; and I most humbly praise Him for it. And I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself, but He that hath kept me to this great age, and let Him take the glory of his great mercy. And, my dear friend, I now see that I draw near the harbour of death, that harbour which will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better—that world wherein dwelleth Righteousness, and I long for it."

As a proof of Brantome's inconsistency, it has been remarked that in his female histories he perpetually terms a lady *une dame fort belle et honnête*, although in the next paragraph he may prove her *une putaine fioffée*. But such in fact we may readily believe were nine-tenths of the high-born dames with whom he lived, and they were not thought the worse of on that account; just as his Heroes, in general, are destitute of honour, honesty, and humanity, not one of which qualities does he appear to consider requisite for their formation. Like Froissart he is, as we have before implied, an admirable painter of manners, and we have no doubt that he presents very accurately "the form and pressure of his times." But it is idle to look in him for any individual truth. It was his usage *de parler beaucoup et de penser peu*; and he manifestly poured forth from a very largely stored, though not a very accurate or well-arranged memory, without forethought or examination, all that had ever found admission into its capacious receptacles. We shall close our notice of him, with an instance of carelessness, forgetfulness, and inaccuracy which may safely be pronounced unparalleled in the whole course of Literature.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated on the 24th of August, 1572. Pius V. died on the 1st of May, in the same year. Brantome, as we have already shown, was then employed about the person of Queen Margaret, and therefore must have

been well acquainted with public events; nevertheless, under his *Discours sur M. l'Amiral de Chastillon*, he gravely commits to paper the following narrative:

“*Touchant l'allegresse et la contenance qu'en fit le bon et saint Pape Pie V. (on le peut appeller ainsi) de ce massacre susdit, J'AY OUI DIRE A HOMME D'HONNEUR QUI POUR LORS ESTOIT A ROME, que, quand on luy en porta les nouvelles, il en jetta des larmes, non pour joye qu'il en eust, comme force gens font en cas pareil, mais de deuil; et quand aucuns de Messieurs les Cardinaux qui estoient près de luy remontraient pourquoy il pleuroit et s'attristoit ainsi d'une si belle dépesche de ces gens malheureux, ennemis de Dieu et de sa sainteté? 'Helas, hélas!' ce dit il, 'je pleure la façon dont le Roy a usé, par trop illicite et deffendue de Dieu, pour faire une telle punition, et que je crains qu'il en tombera une sur luy, et ne la fera guères longue desormais.' Comme ce saint homme sçeut très bien prophetiser par l'esprit de Dieu que je croy qu'il avoit autant que jamais eut Pape, (a belief in which we heartily coincide). 'Je pleure aussi,' dit il, 'que parmy tant de gens morts, il n'en soit mort aussi bien des innocents que des coupables.' Comme il fut vray, mesme de fort bons Catholiques, que leurs ennemis faisoient accroire qu'ils estoient Huguenots. De plus ajousta ce bon Saint-Pere, 'Possible qu'à plusieurs de ces morts Dieu eust fait la grace de se repentir et de retourner au bon chemin, ainsi que l'on a veu arriver a force en cas pareils.' Comme de vray, combien avons-nous veu depuis force Huguenots s'estre convertis et faits bons Catholiques? Les chemins en rompent. VOILA LE BEAU DIRE ET LA BELLE PROPHETIE DE CE SAINT PERE SUR CE MALHEUREUX MASSACRE.”*

Beau dire et belle prophetie, most assuredly, if ever such were delivered by any mortal lips!

“Time was,

“That when his brains were out a man would die:”

But here we find a brainless Pope speaking at least four months after his death. We know that St. Oran was alive, and talked rather wildly of the out-of-the-way places which he had visited, three days after his friend St. Colum had stopped his breath, by building him up into a new stone wall in his cathedral of Iona, for very wise and charitable purposes; and we can only account for the retention of language by Pius V. after so much longer an interval, by the far higher graduation in the scale of Beatitude which a Saint-Pope must attain above an ordinary Saint: in other words, that if a simple Priest may be allowed 72 hours of interlocutory indulgence, much more may be granted, *à fortiori*, to a Sovereign Pontiff. But the marvel ceases not here. This dead-alive descendant of St. Peter, by his journey to the other world,

acquired sentiments and diction widely differing from those which he was accustomed to exhibit while a man among mankind; and his posthumous humanity stands in the strongest possible contrast with his vivacious ferocity. Who would believe that his Holiness, who, having been once buried, spoke with tears in his eyes of the wholesale murder of hapless and perhaps innocent heretics, but a short time before he was incinerated and inhumed, had fervently urged that very operation upon its perpetrators. That he had stimulated Charles IX. after the battle of Jarnac, to pull up by the roots all the tares which remained, *nisi enim PENITUS EXTIRPATÆ fuerint, futurum est ut rursus pullulent*; and that he had placed before his eyes the ill example of Saul, who was over-lenient with the Amalekites.* Again, that he had advised him not to admit any solicitation for pardon, nor to concede any thing to ties of blood or close alliance, *sed omnibus qui pro scelestissimis hominibus rogare audent, inexorabilem te præbere oportet*;† and in the same mild and Christian spirit that he had exhorted Catharine to dissuade her son from Peace with the children of Satan, and to press upon him the holy necessity by which he was bound, *ad conficiendas intestini belli reliquias et justissimas de communibus hostibus pœnas sumendas*.‡

Neither are Brantome's imaginary *post mortem* lamentations of the deceased Pontiff, for the spilling of that blood which he had long wished to see licked up by dogs in the pools of Paris, at all borne out by the reception with which the news of the enormity actually met, when it was announced to the real possessor of the Triple Crown. We need not remind our readers that Gregory XIII. performed high mass, and chaunted a solemn *Te Deum*, in honour of the glorious act, and that he handed down his approbation of it to posterity, by striking a medal with his own impress on one side, and on the other the exterminating Angel destroying the Protestants, with the legend *Huguenotorum strages*. It is not too much to affirm that the tender-hearted *Saint-Pere* of Brantome, if he had been still uncanonized at the moment, would have acted in the same manner, and (if we may use such an Hibernicism) have imitated his successor.

We have entered upon a seductive path, and we could willingly pursue it much farther; but a recollection of the limits wherein we are confined warns us to abstain from treading onward in a course which only lengthens as we advance, and of which, unless we stop of our own accord, we freely confess that we do not perceive an end. We must, therefore, strike once again the

* *Epist. Pii V. iii. 10, 45.*† *Ibid. 16.*‡ *Ibid. iv. 2.*

key note from which we have wandered into the above *fantasia*, and return to Mr. Browning.

Mr. Browning's sole merit is, that, like Sir Hugh Evans, he has "prayed his bible well." He has probably read most that is to be read on the subject whereon he has chosen to write; but his materials are ill digested, and mixed together without judgment or discrimination; so that the produce is but that which the *Charlatan Lorain* dispenses in the *Satyre Menippée*, (a Work which has often, no doubt, occupied much of Mr. Browning's attention,) a *fin Galimatias*.

The origin of the *soubriquet*, (if it be such) Huguenot, given to the followers of the Reformed Religion in France, is still undecided. Mr. Browning very briefly touches upon it in a note not very accurately put together.

"Various definitions of this epithet exist. Pasquier says that it arose from their assembling at Hugon's tower, at Tours, he also mentions that in 1540, he heard them called *Tourangeaux*, (vol. i. p. 859). Some have attributed the term to the commencement of their petitions, 'Huc nos venimus.' A more probable reason is to be found in the name of a party at Geneva, called *Eignots*, a term derived from the German, and signifying a sworn confederate. Voltaire and the Jesuit Maimbourg are both of this opinion."—vol. i. pp. 22, 23.

The fact, we believe, stands as follows: that till the year 1560 the French Protestants, although differing in many points from Luther, were known either under the generic term of *Lutheriens*. or, from their denial of the Real Presence, of *Sacramentaires*. About the year just mentioned they received their new name, which we have little doubt is a corruption of the Swiss word *Eidgenossen* (confederates), used by the Genevese, who united themselves with the Swiss Cantons against the yoke of Charles III. of Savoy, and introduced by the French Reformed themselves as a distinctive title, not conferred by their enemies as a term of reproach.

Etymology, however, has run wild in its search after other sources. Huguenot, says one writer, is derived from the Flemish *Gheus*, a beggar; or rather, suggests Pasquier, it may be from the Swiss *Henes quenaux*, seditious folks; or more probably, advances Skinner, from *les Guenots de Hus*, John Huss's imps; or that they supported the pretension of the line of *Hugh Capet* to the Crown; or that they adopted the doctrines of one *Hugues*, a heretic under the reign of Charles VI.; or that they were not worth more than a *huguenote*, a miserable small coin, current for half a *denier*, under the early Kings; or (as above) that some of their members commenced a speech with the words *huc nos venimus*; or finally, that they used to assemble secretly near the gate

of Hugo, at Tours. We wish we knew more of this Hugo—*Hugo Rer*, as De Thou calls him—for the little of his legend to which that Historian alludes is very attractive. He was a Spirit, it seems, who used to parade the streets by night on horseback, sorely to the discomfiture of all who encountered him. Can he be at all connected with the grisly spectre, with a black mantle and bare ribs, that Sir Hugh de Pountchardon, *le gros veneur*, who has so much interested us in Mr. Surtees' *History of Durham*, and who frightened "the most prowld and masterfull Bissshop of England" by his unexpected appearance?

The *massacre of Vassi*, as it is generally called—the *affray of Vassi*, as Dr. Lingard softens it—does in fact appear to us to deserve the latter name, or one very little more harsh, rather than that under which it is more commonly known; Mr. Browning decides otherwise.

"Guise arrived at Vassy precisely as the Huguenots were performing divine service. He expressed great indignation, and went to church to hear mass. Only a small party followed him, the rest hastening to the spot where the protestants were assembled, commenced their attack upon them by gross insults and abusive language. An assault so unprovoked, excited the indignation of the protestants, and both parties soon came to blows. The strife was very bloody, for Guise's men rushed into the building where the meeting was held, and fell upon the assembly sword in hand: women, children, and aged persons, were the earliest of their victims. The news of this tumult reached the Duke, who immediately left the church to appease it. Unfortunately he received a blow on his cheek from a stone; the sight of his face bleeding, rekindled and augmented the rage of his followers; they renewed the massacre, and continued it with barbarous activity. They pulled down and destroyed the pulpit, burned the books, and spared neither age nor sex; every one that could not escape from them was murdered. More than eighty persons were killed on this occasion.

"It has been said that Guise wished to interpose his authority, and prevent the effusion of blood; and that but for the wound he received, no massacre would have taken place. As a warrior he was celebrated for heightening the splendour of his victories by his humanity to the vanquished; but his generosity was confined, it would appear, to the field of honour; and when bigotry urged on to murder, that noble quality could not expect to be encouraged. Surely he would otherwise have shewn, on behalf of defenceless women and children, and unarmed men, some of that pity which he had displayed upon the field of battle. His attendants consummated a frightful butchery, while he had a slight wound dressed at a trifling distance: indeed his retiring for that purpose tacitly encouraged them by exhibiting his wound as an excuse, as well as a pretext for their conduct. Subsequently, when the public voice accused him as the *butcher of Vassy*, he made an attempt to justify himself, and get rid of the imputation; but his observation to one of his

officers, who commanded at Vassy, is an unanswerable argument for his guilt. Guise reproached him with having been the original cause, in not preventing a meeting of heretics. The officer excused himself by saying, that the edict of January allowed them to assemble in the suburbs. This reply inflamed the rage of the Duke, who laid his hand upon his sword, declaring that it must be settled by that means. His attendants, therefore, had anticipated his intentions. If the special object of Guise's journey be taken into consideration, it must be admitted that he could not well be displeased with the zeal of his followers, in first insulting, and afterwards attacking the Huguenots; and he must have all the ignominy of the transaction. One account states that the Duke approached when they were preaching, out of curiosity; another, that he warned the protestants to suspend their service, till after he had heard mass, but they only sang the louder, out of bravado, for he happened to come at the very moment they were singing psalms. But neither of these offer any reason to suppose, that a handful of unarmed protestants would have given provocation to a considerable troop, commanded by the first captain in France. Most catholic writers treat this massacre with a cruel indifference, but as it was the occasion of a civil war which followed, they are always anxious to make the protestants appear the aggressors."—vol. i. pp. 115—118.

Unfortunate as were the results of this tumult, bloody and unjustifiable as were the extremes to which the followers of Guise pressed it, we cannot but think that it was altogether an accidental affray, naturally arising out of the exasperated state of men's minds on both sides; and in which it is an impossible task to distinguish, in the first instance, between the offended and the offenders. It should be remembered, that the elder La Brosse had been wounded as well as the Duke himself, before any lives were lost; and that there appears to have been quite as much inclination to violence on the part of those who ultimately suffered most, as on that of the victors. It is one of those events which has derived importance solely from its consequences; for isolated, and left by itself, it would soon have been forgotten; but it was the *first* blow, and it has therefore always been assumed as the epoch from which the subsequent enormities are to be dated. In our times we have all heard hard names given to events of which posterity will be careless. Who now remembers the once far-famed "Manchester Massacre," but some unfledged orator in a Meeting against Select Vestries or for the Election of Common Councilmen?

Mr. Browning examines with much particularity, and we think with eminent success, the charge which the Roman Catholic writers have with so much perseverance continued to bring forward against the Admiral Coligny, of being privy to, if not of having excited, the assassination of the Duke of Guise at Or-

leans. We have already spoken of a similar calumny against Beza; and each is to be traced to the same unworthy origin, the declaration (or *assumed* declaration, for it was published by the enemies of the accused,) afterwards retracted, of the murderer himself, while suffering under the agonies of torture. It might be thought that the frankness of the Admiral's character, his freedom from suspicion and its accompanying train of dark qualities, the openness and gallantry of disposition through which his own life was afterwards sacrificed, would have been sufficient to clear him. Or, above all, that the remarkable words in his Letter to the Queen Mother would dispel all doubts, in which he intreats that the execution of Poltrot might be delayed, and that he might be kept in some place of security, without intimidation or subornation, until he could be confronted with the man whom he had so foully accused. Surely a conscience labouring under inward knowledge of guilt would have sought to veil its crime from others by some hypocritical regret, some expressions of feigned sorrow; but, on the contrary, Chastellon, while indignantly avowing his innocence, not less boldly states his conviction that Guise's death was the happiest event that could have occurred. Could he have made such a declaration as follows if he had been instrumental in procuring it? *Ne pensez pas, Madame, que ce que j'ai dis soit pour regret que j'aie à la mort de M. de Guise, car j'estime que ce soit le plus grand bien que pouvoit arriver à ce Royaume, à l'Eglise de Dieu, et particulièrement à moi et à toute ma maison. Aussi que s'il plaît à votre Majesté ce sera le moyen de mettre ce Royaume en repos.*

We will not dwell farther on this occurrence than to notice the *impossible* harangues which Garnier, in his History, has made the dying Guise deliver to Catharine de Medicis, to his Duchess, and their children. They occupy two quarto pages, and are as terse, smooth, polished, and nicely-balanced, as those of the Chamberlain of London when presenting the Freedom of his City, or of a young *élève* of the Ministers, on moving an Address in answer to the King's Speech. Perhaps it is some recollection of these last words of the murdered Prince which has led Mr. Browning into the very magnificent figure in which he informs us that as soon as Guise "heaved his last sigh,"—"the Genius of Civil War seemed to make a halt before his bier."

The Duke of Anjou's memory, in common, alas! with most of the Princes and Nobles contemporary with him, will not bear a heavier load of infamy than that with which it may authentically be charged. In the following passage we think that Mr. Browning has either mistaken or misrepresented the authority upon which he relied.

"The Duke of Anjou slept at Jarnac, in the same house where the Prince of Condé had lodged the preceding night. He had the cruelty to behold the body of the unfortunate Prince borne by an ass through the Catholic army. Condé's body became an object of derision with many, who before had trembled at his name alone: it was afterwards sent to the Prince of Bearn, who caused it to be interred at Vendome, in the sepulchre of his ancestors."*—vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

Now it appears to us from the words of Davila, which we sub-join, that Henry so far from having cruelly rejoiced at the special indignity, (which no doubt was offered,) was a reluctant if not an angry spectator of it; that he carefully prevented any repetition of insult; and that, as early as he could, he restored the body of his fallen enemy to his relations and companions in arms, in order that it might be interred with becoming honours. The Historian of the Civil Wars writes as below:—

"Il Duca d'Angiò proseguendo i nemici, entrò la medesima sera della giornata vittorioso in Giarnacco, (here is not any thing about sleeping in the same house,) ove con jattanza militare fu portato morto il Prencipe di Condé sopra le spalle d'un vilissimo somaro, godendo et allegrandosi di tale spettacolo tutto l'esercito, che mentre visse haveva molto temuto la ferocia e il valore di tanto huomo. Non permesse il Duca che al cadavere di lui fosse usato scherno, ne fatto strattio di sorte alcuna, bastandoli che quello, che si dubitava tanto de fare, o con l'arte, o per mezzo della giustitia, fosse succeduto nel fatto d'arme; onde pochi giorni dopo, per mostrare anco verso il morto quel rispetto che stimano esser dovuto al sangue regio, lo restituò al Henrico Prencipe di Navarra suo nipote, che senz'altra pompa, ma con abbonatissime lagrime di tutta la fattione, lo fece sepolire a Vandoma, ne' monumenti de' suoi progenitori."†

Mr. Browning, after noticing the vehemence with which Pius V. had urged on the work of Persecution, remarks that the Letters which he wrote after the Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, were in another tone; and hence he deduces, an inference, that he was acquainted with the intended massacre of St. Bartholomew.

"As the subsequent letters of Pius V. were of a very different character, we may fairly presume, that he was privately informed of the plot already in preparation. It is impossible otherwise to account for the great change which is obvious in the different letters he afterwards wrote to the King and Queen of France; after having so repeatedly urged the extermination of the protestants, it is improbable that he should suddenly discontinue his zeal, unless he had received some intimation of the Queen's designs, especially as his correspondence evinces the same anxiety for supporting the catholic religion.

"Very soon after he made an attempt to obtain troops from France for the assistance of Mary Queen of Scots, and the letter is remarkable for the absence of all exhortation to destroy the heretics, although in

* Dav. liv. iv. p. 484.

† Davila, iv. p. 227. Ed. 1733.

persuading the Queen to the measure, he alludes to the help which the protestants continued to receive from the Queen of England, whom they informed of every thing that passed in France."—vol. i. p. 290.

The last fire-and-sword-breathing Letters to which allusion is here made, were addressed to the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, bearing date 23d September, 1570. Only three Letters to Charles IX. are extant subsequent to these. The first, dated November 3, 1570, is an official despatch urging upon the King the recognition of Cosmo de Medicis as Grand Duke. The second, dated December 12, 1571, is an exhortation to join a Crusade against the Turks; and it is manifest that in each of these the Pope, having a specific object in view which he was very anxious to compass, had too much political sagacity to deviate from it into extraneous matters. In the third and last Letter, dated January 25, 1572, we think there is most conclusive evidence that Pius was not at that time acquainted with the King's intentions; and that the Court of France, however long before it had meditated the approaching massacre, was far too wary to intrust any but those immediately within its own pale, with the terrible secret. In this Letter the Pope renews his exhortation to the Crusade. He then most powerfully and peremptorily condemns the projected marriage between Henry and Margaret. All hope of *his* conversion, he observes, is idle; but for the unhappy Princess, *si ipsa ad mariti se voluerit errores conformare, fortasse quidem illa quiverit humanâ ac fallaci quâdam miseræ hujus vitæ quiete potiri; sed cum sempiternâ deinceps damnatione infelicitateque nunquam apud inferos terminaturâ.* After this gentle innuendo, as to ulterior consequences, he concludes, *quamobrem te ut hoc incepto desistas et hortamur et obsecramur.* The single remaining Letter to Catharine de Medicis does not indeed contain any direct counsel for the destruction of the Huguenots; but the chief motives by which she is pressed to aid the Queen of Scots are, that if that Princess should obtain the English Crown, *Gallicos tumultus nunquam sanè pateretur;* and again, *fieret ut Christianissima Majestas tutior esset ab hostibus qui eam assidue circumstant ac fortasse contra illam conjurant.* In this language there is certainly no abandonment of deadly enmity to Protestantism; but the season did not permit immediately active measures, and the Pope, as a wise Statesman and Diplomatist, abstained from encouraging the flame while it wanted fuel to support it, if excited into a momentary and inefficient blaze. On the whole, each and all of these Letters present Pius V. in the character of a most bigoted and remorseless Persecutor; but they do not afford any trace of secret understanding between him and the Court of France, as to the plot which was ripening; on the

contrary, the Letter of January 25, 1572, establishes a directly opposite belief. It is probable that the first hint which the Holy Father received was that given to Cardinal Alessandrino, on his arrival at Blois, in March of the same year.

We pass by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew itself, to which the above remarks may appear about to lead us. But the question as to its premeditation and the extent of its horrors has been so ably settled by Dr. Allen, in his *Reply to Dr. Lingard's Vindication*, (a masterly summary of evidence replete with Historical information,) that it is obviously unnecessary to enter upon it. Mr. Browning also has very faithfully collected and compressed the chief incidents of that night of guilt and horror. We extract a single passage, which presents one of the most remarkable and interesting individual narratives.

“ The Marshal de la Force was a child at the time of the massacre ; he has left some memoirs of his life, and has given the following narrative of what occurred to him : ‘ A horse-dealer, who had seen the Duke of Guise and his satellites go into the Admiral Coligny’s house, and who gliding through the crowd, had witnessed the murder of that nobleman, ran immediately to give information to M. Caumont de la Force, to whom he had sold ten horses a week before.’

“ ‘ La Force and his two sons lodged in the faubourg St. Germain, as well as many Calvinists. There was not then any bridge which joined this faubourg to the city. All the boats had been seized by order of the court to carry over the assassins. The horse-dealer plunged in, swam across, and informed M. de la Force of his danger. La Force was out of his house, and had time enough to save himself ; but seeing his children did not follow him, he returned to fetch them. He had scarcely entered again when the assassins arrived. One Martin at their head entered his room, disarmed him and his two children, and told him with dreadful oaths that he must die. La Force offered him a ransom of two thousand crowns ; the captain accepted it ; La Force swore to pay it to him in two days, and immediately the assassins, after having stripped the house, told La Force and his children to put their handkerchiefs in their hats in the form of a cross, and made them tuck up their right sleeves on the shoulder : that was the token for the murderers. In this state they made them pass the river, and conducted them into the city. The Marshal de la Force declares that he saw the river covered with dead bodies. His father, his brother, and he, landed before the Louvre ; there they saw several of their friends murdered, and among others the brave De Piles, father of him who killed in a duel the son of Malherbe. From thence Captain Martin took his prisoners to his house, Rue des Petits Champs ; made La Force and his sons swear that they would not go out thence before they had paid the two thousand crowns ; left them in the custody of two Swiss soldiers, and went in search of other Calvinists to massacre in the city.’

“ One of the Swiss, touched with compassion, offered the prisoners

to let them escape. La Force would do nothing of the kind; he answered, that he had pledged his word, and that he would rather die than forfeit it. An aunt of his had procured for him the two thousand crowns, and they were going to be delivered to Captain Martin, when the Count de Coconas (the same who was afterwards beheaded) came to tell La Force that the Duke of Anjou wished to speak to him. Immediately he made the father and the children go down stairs, bare-headed and without their cloaks. La Force plainly saw that they were leading him to death; he followed Coconas, praying him to spare his two innocent children. The younger (aged thirteen years, the writer of this, and who was called James Nomparr), raised his voice, and reproached the murderers with their crimes, telling them that they would be punished for it by God. In the mean time the two children were led with their father to the end of the Rue des Petits Champs. They first gave the elder several stabs; he cried out, 'Ah! my father! Oh! my God! I am dead.' At the same instant the father fell upon his son's body covered with wounds. The younger, covered with their blood, but who by an astonishing miracle had received no stab, had the prudence to cry out also, 'I am dead.' He threw himself down between his father and brother, and received their last sighs. The murderers believing them all dead, went away, saying, 'there they are all three.' Some wretches afterwards came to strip their bodies. The young La Force had one stocking left; a marker of Verdelet's Tennis Court wished to have it; in asking it off he mused on the body of the young child. 'Alas!' said he, 'what a pity! This is but a child, what can he have done?' These words of compassion obliged the little La Force to raise his head gently, and say in a low voice, 'I am not yet dead.' The poor man answered, 'do not stir, child; have patience.' In the evening, he came to fetch him. 'Get up,' said he, 'they are no longer here,' and put a shabby cloak upon his shoulders. As he conducted him, some of the executioners asked him, who is that boy? 'It is my nephew,' said he, 'who has got drunk; you see what a state he is in: I am going to give him a good whipping.' At last the poor marker took him to his house, and asked thirty crowns for his reward. From thence the young La Force was taken in the disguise of a beggar to the arsenal, to his relative Marshal Biron, grand-master of the artillery. He was concealed some time in the girls' chambers; at length, hearing that the court were hunting after him to destroy him, he made his escape in the dress of a page, under the name of Beaupuy."—vol. i. p. 342—345.

To this passage we shall add the following very just estimate which Mr. Browning has formed of Dr. Lingard's version.

"Great importance has been attached to the recent publication of Dr. Lingard. His History of England has been held up as an antidote to the incorrect and prejudiced writers of preceding times; the persecution of the French Protestants being so interwoven with the events of Elizabeth's reign, he could not avoid discussing the subject; and a short notice of this work will therefore be useful. His account is founded on the Duke of Anjou's confession. In the body of the work his remarks

are short; but the subject is treated more at length in a note at the end of the volume. The assertions which are there made excited considerable attention on their publication, and some observations in the reviews became the cause of a treatise in vindication of the original remarks. In the history, the notes, and the vindication, there are many inaccuracies which will immediately strike every one acquainted with the French history of this period; and without insinuating that the reverend gentleman has intentionally misrepresented any point, there is fair ground for inferring that he has in some cases taken a quotation on the authority of a partial writer, and that his acquaintance with the French authors is very superficial. The following are a few of the cases alluded to:—

“ ‘Coligny and his counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood, and every Huguenot, or reputed Huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered.’* Justice to the population of Paris demanded a statement of the methods used to excite their feelings; but that is passed in silence, because the detail would be fatal to the sentiment meant to be impressed. ‘Several hours elapsed before order could be restored in the capital.’† Certainly several *days* elapsed before any real attempt was made to put an end to the carnage. In the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, public proclamation was made to desist from the massacre, and Dr. Lingard has given a quotation‡ from Lapopelinere to show that the King gave orders by sound of trumpet, for every one to return home under pain of death for those who continued the murders; but in common fairness the extract from that writer should have been given more at length; it would then appear that the last day of the week was but little less remarkable for murders than the others.§

“ ‘The work contains some errors which deserve notice, although they are unimportant in point of historical argument. ‘So powerful a nobleman, who had *twice* led his army against that of the crown, was naturally an object of jealousy.’|| ‘They reminded him (the King) of the *two* rebellions of the Huguenots, &c.’¶ It is certainly of no real consequence that Coligny had been engaged against the King’s troops more than twice,** and that there had been *three* civil wars or rebellions instead of two; but the assertion shows how much this writer’s reputation for research and accuracy has been overrated. Two other remarks are unaccountable: in one the admiral’s assassin is placed in an *upper* window,†† a thing impossible in a narrow street; the other mentions the ringing of the bell of the *parliament house*.‡‡

“ ‘The Doctor’s remarks respecting the number of killed are curious;

* History of England, vol. viii. p. 96. † Ibid. ‡ Note E. p. 440.

§ Lapopelinere, vol. ii. liv. 29, p. 67. We must suppose either that Dr. Lingard has not consulted the History of Lapopelinere; or that having consulted it, he has refused to relate the whole truth.

|| Note E. p. 436.

¶ Ibid, p. 438.

** Besides sieges and skirmishes, there were no less than six battles; viz. Dreux, St. Denis, Jarnac, La Roche-Abeille, Montcontour and Amay-le-Duc.

†† Note E. p. 437.

‡‡ Ibid, p. 439. If by Parliament House is meant the Palace of Justice, it is at variance with the general accounts; and there was no other building which could be so called.

* among the *Huguenot* writers, Perefine reckons 100,000, Sully 70,000, Thuanus 30,000, Lapopelinicre 20,000, the reformed Martyrologist 15,000, and Masson 10,000. But the Martyrologist adopted a measure which may enable us to form a tolerable conjecture; he procured from the ministers in the different towns where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of persons who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582; and the reader will be surprised to learn, that in all France he could discover the names of no more than 786 persons; perhaps if we double that number we shall not be far from the real amount.* Of the above six Huguenot writers, three were well-known Catholics, viz. Perefine, Archbishop of Paris; Thuanus, or De Thou, and Masson. Lapopelinicre abjured Protestantism, and the only Huguenot of them all is Sully, with the exception of the anonymous Martyrologist, respecting whom it is a fair subject for inquiry who he was, and whether his work was not one of the artifices of the League to diminish the odium which even at that time was entertained for these effects of Popish bigotry. Dr. Lingard himself seems aware that his position is untenable, for in his *Vindication* he changes his ground, represents his printer to have inserted the word *Huguenot* instead of *National*,† and afterwards declares how little importance he attaches to the contradictory conjectures of historians, adding that as he had taken Caveyrac for his guide, he refers the reader to him as his sole authority.‡ Such a reference renders comment unnecessary; it must, however, be observed, that more than seven hundred persons of distinction were killed,§ and supposing the Martyrologist to have been what is pretended, his researches must have been for persons of a particular class, or he could easily have found more names than he did; but the list contains chiefly the names of persons of the lowest condition; and when the period of its publication is considered, there is very great appearance of its being intended to discredit the then prevailing opinions, if not in France, at least in foreign parts.

“ In replying to the reviewers, Dr. Lingard goes more deeply into the subject, but with no better success, for errors are often discernible. ‘The ceremony (the marriage) had been fixed for the eighteenth of August, but he (Coligny) went to court in June,’ &c.|| It was, however, the death of the Queen of Navarre in June, which caused it to be delayed till August. To show how unlikely it was that the King should be so great a dissembler, he is stated to have been no more than *twenty* years of age,¶ whereas he was in his *twenty-third* year.

“ Respecting the league of Bayonne in 1565 there are some observations worthy of attention. Dr. Lingard shows that there is no proof of it beyond the suspicions of the Huguenots, and which suspicions had not much effect even on them, for they placed themselves without hesitation at the mercy of the court, at the assembly at Moulins in 1566.** So far, however, from trusting to the court, the fact was, that they went so

* Note E. p. 441. † *Vindication*, &c. p. 15. Paris Edit. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 45.

§ Maimbourg, *Hist. de Calvinisme*, liv. vi. || *Vindication*, p. 18.

¶ *Vindication*, p. 18. Charles IX. was born in May, 1550. ** *Ibid*, p. 51.

well accompanied, that the Queen did not dare attempt anything.* It is moreover singular, that to prove there was nothing in contemplation against the Huguenots, a letter should be produced from Strada, written by Philip II. to his sister in the Netherlands. It states 'that the Queen of Spain having entreated her brother and her mother to remedy the perilous state of religion in France, found them perfectly disposed to follow the counsels which were discussed; that several marriages, and an alliance against the Turks, were proposed; but that nothing was decided, because the Queen turned aside *every subject but that of religion*, which she recommended anew to her brother and mother at the suggestion of the Duke of Alva, and that the meeting broke up.'† It has been said that Strada did not believe that any idea of the massacre was entertained at this meeting; but the substance of the letter which he has preserved, shows that measures were then canvassed for suppressing the Huguenot party: and the argument as to whether or not he did believe that the massacre was then discussed, rests altogether upon a difference in the punctuation of a paragraph."—vol. i. pp. 380—384.

Mr. Browning relates the following anecdote of the Elector Palatine as he received the King of Poland on his passage to his dominions. Unless he has relied upon other authorities than Brantome and De Thou (and he has not cited any other) he has fallen into very great inaccuracies in his transcription.

"The King of Poland quitted France in November, 1573. During the journey he stopped at Heidelberg, where the Elector Palatine omitted nothing which could remind him of the St. Bartholomew. In the apartment destined for him, was placed a large picture of the massacre, in which the Admiral and the principal persons murdered were represented in their natural size. The King was surrounded with French Protestants who had escaped; they regarded him with a mournful air, and suffered him to hear some of their murmurs against himself, as a cause of their misfortunes. The Elector afterwards led him to the picture, and pointing to the portrait of Coligny, he said, 'You know this man! you have killed in him the greatest captain in all Christendom. And you ought not to have done so, for he has done the King and yourself great services.' Henry attempted an excuse upon the ground of the conspiracy, to which the Elector answered, 'We know the whole history of that,' and quitted the room. This was not the only mortification of the kind which Henry experienced on his journey."—vol. ii. p. 15.

The introduction of the crowd of melancholy Protestants is pure and gratuitous invention. De Thou does not state who were present. Brantome says that the Elector led Henry into the Cabinet *avec deux ou trois des siens*. Again, the Picture was not of the Massacre, but simply of the Admiral—*Le portrait de feu M. l'Amiral, tout de son haut et fait au naturel*—*In porticu imaginibus Principum et illustrium virorum egregie pictis ornatâ . . . tabula in quâ Colinæus depictus erat*.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 314.

† Vindication, &c. p. 53.

The death-bed and character of Charles IX., which Mr. Browning has passed very rapidly, are touchstones of De Thou's honesty. He allows that unhappy Prince parts and virtues, which had been corrupted by evil education and maternal indulgence; so that among his good qualities prudence had degenerated into cunning and penetration into suspicion. However skilled beyond his years in veiling his intentions, he could not always restrain his ferocious bursts of passion. In person it is said that *staturâ fuit prægrandi, sed paulum incurvâ, obstipo capite, oculis torvis, naso adunco, colore pallido et plumbeo*; and the words precisely convey to us the savage and sullen image which may be found in the curious Plate prefixed to the Dedication of the *Venerie* of Jacques de Fouilloux, in which that most Cynægetical writer is presenting his Volume to the King. Charles's favourite amusements were dancing to excess and forging weapons on an anvil. One solitary amour is recorded of him; and such were his nightly terrors after the blood-shedding of St. Bartholomew, that Musicians were stationed in his chamber to soothe his spirits as often as he started from his disturbed dreams. As with Tiberius, his Mental survived his Physical Faculties, and he maintained his characteristic dissimulation to his last breath. It was employed in recommending his brother to submit, as he himself had done, to the counsel of the Queen-mother, whose yoke, had he survived, it was well known he was preparing to throw off for ever.

In like manner we receive Davila's summary of the character of Catharine de Medicis as no small proof of *his* integrity also. He speaks in high terms indeed of her great abilities—and who shall deny these? Her wisdom in providing expedients against sudden emergencies, and in removing unexpected obstacles. Her constancy of purpose, dexterity and patience; her magnificence, affability and liberality. Unless we concede to this extraordinary woman the possession of such qualities as these, the unbounded influence which she exercised, and the unmeasured evil which she worked, are left without adequate causes; and the History of her life becomes an unexpounded riddle. Mr. Browning states that Davila "attributes the greatest part (of the charges brought against her) to malice or ignorance." But it is not thus we understand the Italian Historian. He says that her motives have often been mistaken, and this is probable enough; that measures rendered necessary (herein is his mistake) by policy have been attributed to the depravity of her nature, or her lust of power. A dispute on motives is endless, and Davila, like a prudent General, has taken up the only post in which a chance of defence was afforded him. To desert after her death the Patroness to whom his family owed almost its existence during adversity, would have betrayed a

total absence of honour and fidelity; and it can be a matter neither of blame nor of wonder, that he has sought in some degree to close his eyes upon her wickedness, and has regarded her memory with feelings of gratitude which would, if possible, throw a veil over her crimes. Yet even in spite of this natural desire (a desire not only to be pardoned, but to be praised) Truth has been victorious in the end, and he has delivered himself in terms which sufficiently mark his sense and his abhorrence of her atrocities. *Fu tenuta di fede fallacissima, avida, o più tosto sprezzante del sangue humano più assai de quello che alla tenerezza del sesso femminile si convenga; et apparve in molte occasioni, che nel conseguire i suoi fini, quantunque buoni, stimasse honesti quei mezzi, che gli parevano utili al suo disegno, ancorchè per se medesimi fossero veramente iniqui o perfidiosi.* We accept these words, wrung from an unwilling evidence, not only as an unanswerable confirmation of the estimate which posterity has formed of this remorseless, bloody-minded and perfidious Princess, but moreover as a decisive voucher for the uprightness of him by whom they are delivered.

We are much less satisfied with the unmeasured eulogy which he passes on Henry III.; a King, who, to the dissimulation, perfidy and cruelty of his brother, did not add equal abilities. His conduct even as Duke of Anjou, though widely different from that which rendered him infamous after his accession to the Crown, is far from justifying the praises of Davila, which might, indeed, with very little alteration, be transferred to a Titus or an Alfred. He admits that when Henry attained the Throne, his Religion was counted hypocrisy — his prudence, malignity — his liberality, licentious prodigality; that he was despised and detested, and that his privacy was stigmatized by such unspeakable enormities that his death-blow was generally attributed to a stroke of divine vengeance. Can we hope in the teeth of the numerous authorities which avouch them to deny these imputations? and if we are compelled to admit them, how are they to be reconciled with the existence of a natural disposition, which in youth manifested singular foresight, princely magnanimity, profound devotion, burning zeal for Religion, affection for the good, hatred for the bad, universal benevolence, popular eloquence, dignified affability, generous ardour, and chivalric gallantry? yet such and many others are the virtues with which Davila would clothe this Prince.

It may be worth while to notice a few of the facts recorded by L'Estoile, who appears to have written his Journal without any spirit of partizanship, and who notices occurrences without commenting upon them as good or evil. It might be in accordance with the barbarous customs of the times, that when Salsede was

torn in pieces by four horses, *Le Roi et les Reines assisterent à l'exécution en une Chambre de l'Hostel de Ville, exprès accoustrée et parée pour eux*; but it was scarcely necessary that the King should assist at the previous torture of the unhappy victim; though he did so in concealment, behind the tapestry hangings of the Chamber in which he was put to the question. This is no proof of a humane disposition. Of the wisdom of that Monarch some doubt may reasonably be entertained, of whom we learn that he shot all the wild beasts in his Menagerie because he dreamed that he had been eaten up by Lions and Tigers; that he was in the habit of scouring the streets of his Capital on horseback, at full gallop and masqued, followed by a troop of mummers, knocking down and belabouring with cudgels all whom he met, because the King chose during Lent to enjoy the sole privilege of this refined discursiveness, and to commit *infinies insolences*; that on one occasion during the sitting of a Council in the Louvre, taking offence at the Grand Prior of Champaign, he fell upon him tooth and nail, *jusques à lui donner de coups de pied et de poing*; that he set a fashion which was rapidly followed by his Minions and Courtiers, Dukes, Gentlemen, Pages and Lackeys, of walking abroad publicly, playing with a child's *bilboquet*. We purposely avoid the interior of the Palace and its *mignons frisez et fraisez*, though it is difficult to reject the concurrent testimony, which agrees respecting their detestable licentiousness. We shall speak only to one point more, the *pietà profundissima* which Davila claims for his Hero. We find the King, in company with his effeminate associates, busy in establishing a congregation of Penitents, and joining in a solemn procession, habited as the other brethren; again we see him preaching with his own mouth at a Convent in Vincennes; and finally, on another occasion, heading a Sunday procession through the streets of Paris, with a lighted taper in his hand, telling his beads, listening to a long sermon, and performing all the actions of a devout Catholic; and then, as he quitted the place of worship, demonstrating his sincerity by crying in the ear of an attendant, *comme se moquant de toutes ces simagrées*, "*voilà le jouet de mes Ligueurs!*" *monstrant son grand Chapelet*.

We cannot forbear, in connection with this part of our subject, to add one more extract illustrative of the devotion of these miserable times. The Leaguers, in 1585, got up a procession of Penitents to pray God to soften the King's heart, and they afterwards carried an address to the Royal presence at Chartres. Mr. Browning has translated De Thou's account as follows:—

"At the head of it appeared a man with a great beard, dirty and greasy, covered with hair-cloth, and wearing a broad belt, upon which hung a crooked sabre; at intervals he sent forth some harsh discordant

sounds from an old rusty trumpet. After him marched fiercely three other men equally filthy; each of them having on his head a greasy pot, instead of a helmet; bearing coats of mail upon their hair-cloth, with brassards and gauntlets: their arms were rusty old halberts. These three braggadocios rolled about their wild and savage eyes, and bustled a great deal to keep off the crowd collected by this spectacle. After them came brother Ange de Joyeuse, that courtier who had turned capuchin the year before. He had been persuaded, in order to move Henry, to represent in this procession the Saviour going up to Calvary: he had suffered himself to be bound, and to have his face painted with drops of blood, which appeared to flow from his thorn-crowned head. He seemed to drag with difficulty a long cross of painted pasteboard; and at intervals he threw himself down, uttering lamentable groans. At his sides marched two young capuchins clothed in white robes; one representing the Virgin, the other the Magdalen. They turned their eyes devoutly towards heaven, shedding false tears; and every time brother Ange fell down, they prostrated themselves before him in cadence. Four satellites, resembling the three former, held the cord which bound brother Ange, and gave him blows with a scourge, which were heard at some distance. A long train of Penitents closed this ludicrous procession."—vol. ii. p. 173.

We need not draw the moral which the story of these abominable days sufficiently produces for itself—and we shall conclude here. Mr. Browning may be warned in parting, that if he aspires to the dignity of Historic writing, he should for the future avoid certain familiar phrases, which appear a little out of place, and certain violations of idiom, which occasionally render him difficult to be understood. Thus we had rather not read of "individual experience being very chequered"—of "the autobiographers of the preceding times beholding a progeny of histories"—of Carbeas, whose father had been impaled, desiring "to be avenged of that circumstance"—of the Admiral being "at a furious expense"—of the mother of Ignatius Loyola "passing her accouchement in a stable"—of Catharine de Medicis not allowing "maternal affection to have its proper way"—of the rebellion at Paris "outstripping all idea"—of the Parisians having "great repugnance to eating human flesh," which does not appear to us to be unnatural—and of Lord (the Earl of) Essex being a *preux Chevalier* on account of his "residence at a Court presided by a female." Above all we would warn him against a cropped and curtail fashion into which his acquaintance with French Literature has probably led him, (though he might have learned better things from De Thou,) and we would advise him to restore (even at the hazard of sesquipedalianism) their full complement of syllables to the Proper Names upon which he has performed amputation. *Paul Jove* is every whit as insufferable as *Tacite*, *Denis*, *Polybe*, or even *Tite Live* itself.

ART. VII.—*The Evidences of Christianity; stated in a Popular and Practical Manner, in a Course of Lectures, delivered in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Islington.* By Daniel Wilson, A.M. London. Wilson. 1828. 8vo. 12s.

WE have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this unpretending and very useful volume. Mr. Wilson informs us, in his preface, that he designs to unite the historical with the internal evidences of Christianity, and present them in a popular and practical form; and the work now before us accomplishes the first portion of this important object. The author makes no claim to originality of reasoning, but contents himself with undertaking to state the whole argument for Christianity, and apply every part of it to the conscience. How faithfully and ably he has pursued this plan may be inferred from the extracts which we shall make from his volume.

The first passage which we have to quote is that in which Mr. Wilson assigns his motives partly of a general nature, and partly derived from the peculiar circumstances of our country, for engaging in the present work,

“ 1. The young require it of our hands. We must deliver down to the next age what we received from the preceding. We must not let the inexperienced Christian go out into the world merely with the general persuasion of the truth of his religion. We must give him some furniture of knowledge in a day like the present, when irreligion stalks abroad, when the spirit of inquiry is pushed into the regions of impiety or scepticism, and the mind is exposed to the injection of harassing doubts and suspicions. We call on the young to ratify the engagements made for them at their baptism; and it is but right that we should put them in possession of the chief reasons of the hope which we trust is beginning to animate their breasts. They need something more than the simple word of their parents and ministers.

“ 2. The lapse of time requires it of our hands. We are now so far removed from the age when Christianity took its rise, that the facts of it rest on a longer series of testimonies. The proof of the authenticity of the sacred books demands an arrangement of the train of witnesses. The miracles must be defended. The volume of prophecy, as it unfolds, requires more time and care. We must establish what we say of the first promulgation of the gospel by an appeal to facts. The internal character and the blessed effects of Christianity must be cleared from the errors and misrepresentations which have in different ages obscured them. The obstructions of a long array of errors, which the corruption of man has engendered, must be swept away. Now all this cannot be done without pains and attention. The distance of time does not, indeed, weaken the force of conviction when produced by the proper testimonies; but it weakens the impression of the facts till the testimony

is detailed: and it allows also of any thing being said. The wide space of eighteen centuries gives room for assertions and misrepresentations of every sort—absurd enough when examined—but still requiring to be examined, or outweighed by other and more practical considerations. The title-deeds of the heavenly inheritance are as authentic as in the first age, and where the hope of it is powerful on the heart and life, the process of proof is easy; but they require, from the lapse of time, a more laborious examination, to obviate all the difficulties of a scrupulous mind.

“3. Then the decayed state of piety, and the neglect of religious education, require this of our hands. The tendency of human nature is so strong to a secular and worldly and formal tone of religion; and the external peace which Christianity has in this country long enjoyed, favours so much the insidious evil, as almost to have extinguished amongst us that bright flame of holy faith and hope in our crucified Lord, which sustained the martyrs and confessors of the primitive Church. In such a day, infidelity, the infidelity of the heart, always spreads, because Christianity being defended chiefly on the footing of external evidences, and the strong-hold of religion, its inward grace and spirituality, being less generally understood, the rising generation are unprepared for a subtle adversary. Many hang loosely upon the Christian profession. Religious education is neglected. The precious deposit of the faith is handed down with little care. The Bible is not studied. The young are unfurnished with knowledge and unfortified with holy principles of judgment. In such a day it is essential to re-state the vast importance of Christianity, its irrefragable evidence, its internal excellency, its mighty benefits. In such a day it is necessary to pause in the ordinary course of pastoral instruction, and confirm the minds of the young, and supply the omissions of education, and solemnly inculcate the paramount obligation of Christianity. In such a day it is more than ever necessary to rekindle the flame of Christian faith and hope, by awakening, if it please God to bless the attempt, the consciences of men, and calling them up from a mere indifferent adhesion to the national creed, to a warm and practical perception of the blessed hope which Christianity inspires, and for the sake of which all the external evidences have been accumulated.

“4. Then, in the present age, we have seen the moral desolations which a spurious philosophy has spread far and wide; we have heard the loud claims set up for the sovereignty of human reason; we have witnessed the scorn with which all ancient institutions and established usages have been treated; we have been astonished to see a wild and enthusiastical scheme of pretended benevolence raised on the ruins of all personal virtue and all domestic and civil duties. The altar and the throne have been overturned. The most daring and unblushing attacks have been made upon our holy religion; attacks addressed to the common people, and sapping all the foundations of good order and subjection. The storm has spent itself. The irruption has proved by its devastations its own cure. But enough mischief remains, to call on the minister of religion to erect the standard of the Cross amidst the ruins,

and display aloft the flaming torch of Revelation before the astounded and bewildered world.

"5. It is partly a result of this spurious philosophy, and partly the effect of other causes, that the Christian religion has been too frequently passed by and slighted in our literature, in our projects of education, in our schemes of benevolence, in our plans for diffusing useful knowledge, even where it is far from being expressly disavowed. It has come to be a received maxim with many, that the peculiarities of the Christian faith, its vital truths, its elevating hopes, its mysterious benefits are, as if by common consent, to be kept out of sight. Our piety rises no higher than natural religion. All beyond is bigotry and superstition. A temporizing policy like this blights with a deadly indifference all the bloom of Christianity, robs it of its peculiar glory, and reduces it to the cold detail of external morals. The channels of public information are poisoned. A pernicious neutrality prevails. Education is divorced from religion. Knowledge is accounted sufficient to restrain the passions and purify the heart. The hope of eternal life in Christ Jesus, the fall of man, the redemption of the cross, the grace of the Holy Spirit, are forgotten, evaded, opposed, maligned. Unless therefore heavenly wisdom *utter her voice loudly in the streets*, and plant the standard of Christianity, as the centre of holiness and truth, *in the openings of the gates*, and amidst the crowds of our youthful population, we must expect the more daring invasions of human pride, and the weakening, in the next age, of the venerable and sacred bulwarks of our common faith.

"6. As the unavoidable effect of all this, the minds of Christians generally, are in more danger than usual from the assault of sceptical doubts. The very excitement of the present day, on subjects connected with religion, which has kept pace with the assaults of infidelity, leaves the uninformed believer more exposed to the revulsion which a state of decayed sensibility brings on. When men of warm religious affections are thrown upon their principles, if those principles are unsupported by solid grounds of reason, and some acquaintance with the evidences of Christianity, they are apt to give way for a time, and leave the mind open to the temptations of the spiritual adversary. The rock, indeed, of the Christian faith remains firm and immoveable, and the sincere believer, though washed off for a moment by the swelling surge, will regain his footing; yet it is important to prepare him for the storm, and assist him in making fast his position, and teach him how to resist and baffle the waves. He must be duly instructed in the foundation of his faith, and have his mind thoroughly imbued with the collective force of the Christian evidences, in order to be prepared for temptation, and guarded against the danger of apostacy from the faith."—vol. i. pp. 17—23.

The two next passages which we purpose to extract contain clear and concise statements of the great historical arguments for the authenticity of Scripture.

"I. I ask then, in the first place, in what way are other ancient works ascertained to be the productions of their respective authors, and to have been published at the time when they profess to have been?"

“I take as an example our venerable Book of Common Prayer. How do I know that it was composed by the martyrs and confessors of the English church 300 years since, at the period of the reformation in the 16th century? I answer, because we received it, without contradiction, from our immediate forefathers as the works of these writers, and they from their ancestors, till we come up to the date of publication. I answer, because it was a matter of history at the time; because contemporary authors quote and refer to it; and because adversaries and opponents, though warmly contending against some of its doctrines or rites, never called in question its authenticity, that is, (which is all we are now considering,) its really being the production of the professed writers. Thus I am as certain, for all practical purposes, of this historical fact, as if I had been contemporary with the English reformation. The general obscurity, resting on ancient works, begins, you see, to be dispelled.

“I go back seven or eight hundred years from the present time, and ask, how do I know that the survey of England, called Domesday Book, was written in the eleventh century, in the reign of William the Conqueror! I apply the like arguments. We received, by the same distinct transmission, the historical fact. It was a matter of record. The original manuscript is now amongst our national records, a fac-simile of which was published by order of parliament in the last reign. It has been referred to by contemporary and all succeeding historians. It has been appealed to in our courts of law from the reign of the first Henry (A.D. 1100) to the present time. I am, therefore, just as certain of the authenticity of this celebrated document, as if I had lived at the period when it was first compiled. The case clears up yet more. You perceive that the genuineness of works published in remote times, may be proved.

“I go back six hundred years further, and ask, how do I know that the Institutes of the Emperor Justinian were published in the sixth century? The proof is the same, only longer in the series of witnesses. I answer, because the present generation received it from the preceding, and that from the one before it, as the work of that monarch; because it has been a matter of history from his time to the present in all authentic memoirs; because it has formed ever since, and now forms, the code of civil law by which almost all European nations are governed; because it was an æra in legislation, and the distinguishing glory of the reign of Justinian. I ask no more; I could not be better satisfied if I had been a contemporary. We begin to see our way in such inquiries—the ground is firm.

“I go back still five hundred years, to the Augustan age, the period of our own sacred books, and I inquire how I know the authenticity of any of the most celebrated works of the philosophers of that time, the writings of Seneca for example, born a few years before Christ, and put to death by the command of the monster Nero, about the year 68? I answer, on the same principle as before, because I can trace up the books from the present age, through each preceding one, in the public documents and memorials of the European and other nations, till I come to the Augustan. I turn to Tacitus, the celebrated contemporary his-

torian, whose writings have been in every one's hand ever since, and read the account of Seneca. I turn to Quintilian, who flourished within twenty years of Seneca's death, and read a criticism on his works. From that day to the present I see those works referred to, quoted, commended, blamed, by men of all classes and all ages and all nations and all opinions, differing from each other in almost every respect, but agreeing as to the authenticity of these books. I have all the evidence I could desire. I am as certain of the historical fact concerning the writings of Seneca, as I should have been if I had lived at the time. Thus all the difficulty which we felt before we began the inquiry, is gone. The impossibility of proving the authenticity of ancient works was a mistake. We see that the case admits of a satisfactory determination. The lapse of years makes no difference in our conviction, so long as we can distinctly trace up, by decisive and uninterrupted testimonies, the fact we are in search of.

"I come now to the question of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, and if I am asked why I believe them to be the undoubted productions of the apostles and evangelists of our Lord; I answer, just on the same historical principles as in all the like cases—because I received these books, as a most sacred deposit, and the undoubted writings of their respective authors, from my immediate parents and teachers, and they from theirs; and so each preceding generation from the one before it, till I ascend, without interruption, from the present day to the very time of the apostles, tracing the distinct proofs and testimonies in each period. I answer, because, not only I, but all Christians in all nations, of all languages and all ages, have done and do the same. I answer, because it is a matter of history, attested by contemporary authors, Jewish, Christian, profane, that these were the writings of the apostles and evangelists. I answer, because amidst the sharpest opposition of heretics within the church, and of Jews and heathens without, these books were never denied to be the authentic documents of the Christian religion, but were taken for granted and argued upon as such. I answer, because hundreds of ancient manuscripts now exist, some of a date within a few centuries of the birth of Christ. I answer, because institutions have arisen, national usages been established, and sacred festivals kept in consequence of the belief of the facts recorded in these books, and on the footing of that belief, and no other, from the apostles' days to the present.

"I am as certain, then, of the naked historical fact of the authenticity of the New Testament, that is, that the books of it were the writings of their respective authors, as I am of that of the Common Liturgy of the English Church, or of the Doomsday Book, or the Institutes of Justinian, or the works of Seneca, or any other ancient writer of whom no serious doubt was ever entertained in the world. I appeal to historical testimony on this historical question, just as in a question of natural philosophy I should appeal to experiment; or in matters of reasoning to conclusive arguments, leading up to primary and universally admitted truths.

"In fact, there are but three ways of receiving knowledge according to the subject matter of the thing inquired into. Does it relate to things material and sensible? I appeal to the report of the senses; as, that

the magnet attracts iron. Does it relate to intellectual things, founded on invariable relations? I arrive at it by just reasoning; as, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. Does it relate to matters of fact, as the publication of a certain book, by a certain author, in a certain age? I appeal to testimony."—vol. i. pp. 100—106.

"Such is my first general observation. We prove the authenticity of the New Testament by the same kind of arguments (though much stronger) as those by which men are uniformly governed in all like cases.

"The testimony of our sacred books can be traced up step by step from the present time to the days of the apostles.

"We asserted this in our general observations. How the proof stands will now be seen.

"Let us take first our own country. No one can for an instant doubt that the books which we receive in the year 1828, as the genuine writings of the apostles, were so received 300 years before, at the period of Cranmer and Ridley, and the other reformers.

"I go back a century and a half from that time, and ask whether they were not acknowledged just as universally in the days of John Wickliffe, in the fourteenth century, who translated these very books into the English language? The fact is undeniable.

"I ascend next to the time of Grosseteste, the celebrated Bishop of Lincoln, and the opponent of Pope Innocent III. in 1240; or to the days of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury under William Rufus, who wrote a treatise against those who mocked at the inspiration of the scriptures; and I ask, were not the same books universally admitted to be authentic then?

"I go up to the reign of Alfred the Great, who founded or restored the University of Oxford, and translated the Old and New Testament into Saxon, in the ninth century. I suppose the very fact of translating our books will be allowed as a proof of the admission of their genuineness.

"I find myself next at the age of the Venerable English Presbyter Bede, born in the year 672, whose fame filled the whole Christian world, and who has left comments on the epistles of St. Paul;—from him we come to Gregory the Great in 590, who sent over Augustine and his companions for the conversion of our ancestors, on the footing of the authenticity of the scriptures. This brings us up to the reception of the books by the Christian churches on the Continent through Gregory, Theodoret, and Fulgentius, in the sixth century; St. Austin, Jerome, and Chrysostom, in the fifth; Ambrose, Athanasius, and Eusebius, of the fourth; Cyprian, Origen, and Tertullian, of the third; till we reach Irenæus, (from A.D. 97 to 202,) who was the disciple of Polycarp, the follower of St. John.

"Thus the testimony from the present time up to the very days of the apostles, is notorious to all mankind, an unbroken chain, where each link is distinctly visible.

"And not only so, but several different series of testimonies may be traced up in the various countries of Christendom; each independent of the rest. One series in Italy, through Gregory up to Clement of Rome,

in the first century. A second in France, through Hilary to Irenæus, Bishop of Lyon. A third in Africa, through Fulgentius, Austin, and Cyprian, to Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian. A fourth in Syria, through Ephrem Syrus to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in 107. A fifth in Asia Minor, through Anatolius and Pamphilus to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, martyred in 168. All these witnesses testify, not merely that they received our books from their immediate ancestors, but received them as the authentic writings of their respective authors, acknowledged in all the Christian churches from the age of the apostles, and acted upon from that very time, as the rule of faith and practice. The force of this testimony is irresistible to a fair and candid mind."—vol. i. pp. 127—129.

We have room for only one other extract, and we select a passage in which Mr. Wilson exhorts his readers to make an appropriate practical use of the prophecies contained in the Scripture, and gives a seasonable warning against that irreverent abuse of them which prevails at the present day.

"A review of some of the more remarkable instances in which this vast scheme of prophecy has been fulfilled, and is now fulfilling in the world, will be the object of our next lecture.

"I. In the meantime tell me, in conclusion, if this prodigious scheme has not the impress upon it of the infinite Majesty of God? Tell me whether any kind of evidence can, in its own nature, be more distinct and clear—whether any proof can be of an extent more becoming the majesty of God—whether its parts can converge in a centre-truth of more sublimity and grace—can be developed with more exquisite contrivance—can be communicated by messengers of more purity and integrity, or be directed to ends more worthy the Almighty and most blessed God.

"I see you already are convinced by this display of divine wisdom. The evidence from miracles has prepared you for this different and yet more astonishing testimony from prophecy. The union of the two overwhelms the mind with the superabundant proof. You listened with increased attention as we passed over the rapid survey, and your heart was touched and moved. You saw the wide and irreconcilable distinction between all the petty and miserable conjectures of men, and the majestic and widely-spread ramifications of the holy revelation of God. The dignity and glory of the divine Saviour, incarnate for the redemption of man, seemed to you a suitable and natural centre around which such a system should be placed. All is in proportion.

"II. Proceed, then, in your course of humble and cautious inquiry. Study with sacred awe the amazing subject. You now more clearly comprehend the reason of our insisting so repeatedly, on the right temper of mind in the inquirer into the Christian Evidences. If a man may neglect and reject the palpable proof from miracles, as we shewed to have been the case with the Jews at the time of our Lord, he may also misinterpret the divine prophecies. If our minds are prejudiced against the spiritual and humiliating doctrines of Christianity, and we

come to the investigation with pride and scorn, we shall discover no harmony in the scheme of prophecy, we shall derive no confirmation from it in favour of the Christian doctrine. In such a state of mind, all is perverted, misunderstood, abused. If the deductions of mathematical science were placed before us as the medium of proof for such holy doctrines, in such a state of mind, we should reject them.

“ But to the teachable and candid heart, touched with a sense of the weakness and ignorance of man as a creature, with his demerit and blindness as a sinner, and thirsting for heavenly wisdom, the prophetic word is as rivers of water in a desert land. He traces its rise in paradise. He follows the stream as it flows onward. He marks the union of all the tributary waters in one majestic and widening course. He perceives that each refreshes and fertilizes the immediately adjoining banks, as it rolls on to successive regions. He views the collected torrent pouring into a new hemisphere. He drinks himself of the living waters : and whilst he partakes of its blessings, rejoices in beholding its diffusion and expansion through every region of the world.

“ III. Study, then, the sacred volume with holy and increasing diligence. It is there you will learn the scheme of divine prediction, and the gradual development of it in various dispensations. This is the only safe method of studying a divine revelation. The opinions of men as to what prophecy might or ought to be, and what should be the clearness of its declarations, are out of place. We might as well speculate on what ought to be the operations of nature and the laws of motion. The duty of man is to study the natural world according to the phenomena which present themselves to his examination : and to study a scheme of divine prophecy on the principles which it lays down, and by a contemplation of its several parts, according to its own plan. We study prophecy aright when we study it in the Bible, when we derive our first data from its records, observe on what scheme it professes to proceed, and compare the fulfilment with the predictions to which they correspond.

“ It is one advantage of this method, that it leads men to become acquainted with the whole of the sacred volume. A certain knowledge of the contents of that book is essential to the comprehension of the argument. It is not possible, by quotations, to supply the materials for a judgment. The prophetic scriptures must be examined for themselves. ‘ Nor is this the only instance,’ says a great writer, referring to the prophecies, ‘ wherein our means of judging of revelation depend on some personal study of it. Scepticism is often no more than a form of very unreasonable enthusiasm, demanding conviction without the pains of inquiry.’ Unbelievers, generally speaking, know nothing of the Bible. Nominal Christians too often know but little more of it. It demands all our attention. It is the study of a life. The simplest Christian indeed, with the use of marginal references and chronological tables, may trace out much of the vast theme. His heart assists his understanding. The glory of God, shining in the face of Jesus Christ, guides his footsteps. But in the full development of the divine system, there is employment for the noblest powers, and the longest and most diligent re-

search. It is remarkable that even the prophets themselves understood not adequately their own sacred oracles—*The prophecy came not by the will of man. They spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. They inquired and searched diligently what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify.* Let this teach us humility, and stimulate us to diligence in the heavenly science.

“IV. Let us, however, always keep in view the practical ends of the study. We do well to *take heed to the word of prophecy, as unto a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts.* This holy purpose—this cheering view of a future world—this obedient attention to present duty—this anticipation of a heavenly and eternal state which is opening upon us—this is the high end of the prophetic word. Thus hope is sustained—thus present afflictions are tolerated—thus painful duties are made more easy—thus, as events confirm and make sure to us the sacred system, we render praise and glory to God.

“Let us guard against *private interpretations*; against *the will of man*; against prying with unhallowed curiosity into unfulfilled predictions; against indulging fancy and conjecture. The church has seen, in different ages, the mischiefs arising from this practice. Nothing tends more to discredit the magnificent subject, if any thing could discredit it, than the impertinence of human conceit, especially if united with ignorance and dogmatism, in deciding on unfulfilled predictions; and, instead of waiting for the slow but sure comment of events, and interpreting prophecy according to the general import of the system to which it belongs, rushing in with unhallowed haste, fixing on an interpretation on partial grounds or insufficient evidence, and then attempting to impose on others the opinions we have espoused ourselves. True wisdom, as well as modesty, appears in the holy and cautious use of the prophetic revelation; which should never be approached but with a recollection that it was written under the inspiration, and must be interpreted according to the entire record and testimony, of the Holy Ghost. Then will the practical ends of it be answered. The scheme, so far as it has been accomplished, will fill us with admiration, love, gratitude, and reliance on a divine guidance in all future events. When we read the unfulfilled portions, we shall content ourselves with those holy exercises of faith and anticipation, which they are calculated to excite. In cases where a real doubt may exist, whether the predictions are fulfilled or not, we shall pursue our inquiries with humble fear. In all cases, we shall keep in mind that the main use of the prophetic word is not to establish us as inspired seers; not to enable us to pronounce, as our Lord did, on the exact manner of the accomplishment of each prophecy, but to afford us that friendly, though feeble light, in a world where futurity is to us impenetrable darkness, which may not, indeed, dispel that darkness, but guide and cheer our faith through the midst of it, till *the day dawn and the day-star arise in our hearts.*”—vol. i. pp. 291—298.

It must not be supposed that we concur in every sentiment contained in this volume. Here and there we notice expressions

coinciding with the opinions maintained in former works by the same author, and from which we have been compelled decidedly to dissent. But the general character, like the great object of the book, is excellent; and we rejoice to see a man of Mr. Wilson's talents, experience, and zeal, passing over those points of doubtful disputation on which good men unfortunately differ, and devoting so large a portion of his time and study to the fundamental truths of religion.

ART. VIII.—*Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion derived from the literal fulfilment of Prophecy: particularly illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of recent Travellers.* By the Rev. Alexander Keith, Minister of the Parish of St. Cyrus. Third Edition, enlarged. Edinburgh. Waugh and Innes. 1828. pp. 346. 6s.

WE remember a very accomplished and amiable young man, no ways *superstitiously* attached to Christianity, who, in the course of his travels in the East, was so struck by the present state of Tyre, as corresponding with the predictions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, that he was induced more soberly to study and consider what he did not indeed disbelieve, but had not sufficiently revered. We believe that many stand in need of such a monitor who never can receive the admonition through a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the scene of the principal fulfilled prophecies; and the more so, because the prophecies themselves are wrapped up in a text containing a great multiplicity of facts and allusions which have ceased to be intelligible to an ordinary hearer or reader, and are often explained by commentaries which place them still farther beyond their capacity. The commentators are not to be blamed for this: for it certainly requires very great learning and research to enter upon the explanation of matter so ancient and recondite, as well as mysterious; and, to make the explanation satisfactory to a learned reader, it is necessary that learned reasons should be adduced. But there are, nevertheless, abundant instances of fulfilled prophecy so plain and indisputable, that little more is necessary than to put the prediction and the history, or the description, which illustrates it, side by side; and such is the plan which Mr. Keith has undertaken, and which he has executed with very great care, and success proportionate to his industry and good sense.

One great merit of Mr. Davison's admirable work on Prophecy is, that it directs our attention to many prophecies which, because they do not come within the immediate range of that stream of light which began with the creation, and grew stronger, broader,

and fuller, till it ended in the perfect revelation of the Messiah, are apt to be overlooked in their obscurity, though equally real and equally demonstrative of a divine origin, common to them all. Mr. Keith's unpretending little work makes no claim to the development of system, but may be useful in confirming the faith of many, (and haply of winning over the attention of some,) who may not have had the ability, or the patience, to disentangle the high *matter* of Mr. Davison's argument from its perplexing *phraseology*. We are highly indebted to *both* for reminding us of the astonishing proofs of Divine prescience which have been, which are, and which are to come; which have gone before us, and surround us.

A work of this sort is useful in proportion as it is *plain* and *popular*: in proportion too as it is *comprehensive*, and combines under one view the various but harmonious dispensations of Providence, as they have been announced and recorded. A *single* prophecy may have been delivered at hazard, and by hazard fulfilled: the ten-times quoted prophecy of Seneca need not be resolved into any other cause than that of pure blundering fiction which buzzed against an unexpected reality; (we say this because some people have been at the pains to show *how* Seneca came to say the truth;) and if any individual were to predict that our modern Tyres, Liverpool or Bristol, would, in the course of ages, become what Carthage is, and what Venice threatens to be, he might very probably, in the course of ages, be right. But it is the *multitude* of such instances and their consistency which render them important. The same which has proved true of Tyre is true of Nineveh, is still more *palpably* true of Babylon, of Egypt at large, of Idumæa, of the Arabs as a nation, of the Jews. The volume of prophecy *professes* to be a volume of prophecy; it does not here and there throw out a stray prediction to the chance of its fulfilment, but is declaredly, and throughout, a tissue of predictions. All this is admitted, but it is sometimes forgotten, while we read these prophecies *severally*, with our attention confined to one prophet only, or directed to one subject.

The author gives a simple statement of the manner in which he was led to the compilation of this treatise. "A person who disbelieved the truth of Christianity, but appeared to be considerably affected by even a slight allusion to the argument from prophecy," was the immediate occasion of his endeavouring to obtain some compendious statement of that argument. Having failed to find a work such as he desired, or to persuade others to undertake the task, he undertook it himself; omitting very properly, in the execution of it, all those prophecies the sense of which was doubtful,

or the fulfilment of which had taken place before the time of Malachi.

In a work on this subject, and more particularly a work of this kind, little that is *new* can be either expected or *desired*: more particularly in that division of it where, with great propriety, the author adduces *first* the predictions which describe the character and the death of the Messiah. The *manner* of putting these known facts is the chief thing therefore to be attended to, and while we admire Mr. Keith's useful brevity in putting them, we doubt whether it would not have been better to have added the *references* to the places quoted from the New Testament, to distinguish them from what he adds in his own person by way of abstract or comment. The want of a more distinct reference is felt when (as at p. 40) a quotation of great length is made from several prophets, or drawn from different chapters of the same prophet, with nothing more than a slender dash (thus —) to mark the transition, and a line of references at the bottom of the page, to be appropriated according to those dashes, and according to the goodness of the eye-sight or the spectacles of those who, having a better vision than ourselves, are able to apply them. The slightness of this remark will show how secure Mr. Keith is from any more serious charge: even this little defect occurs but seldom, and the smallness of the type (necessary to the compendiousness of the volume) is the only thing which makes it of moment.

After a review of those prophecies which describe our Lord's character, His life, and His death, which demand no elucidation; leaving without excuse those who will not see their application, Mr. Keith gives a summary of such as describe the progress and final triumph of Christianity. In this department occurs a remark which to us is perfectly new, and no less pertinent. Mr. Keith has modestly placed it in a note.

“ Were it even to be conceded—as it never will in reason be—that the causes assigned by Gibbon, for the rapid extension of Christianity, were adequate and true, one difficulty, great as it is, would only be removed for the substitution of a greater. For what human ingenuity, though gifted with the utmost reach of discrimination, can ever attempt a solution of the question—how were all these occult causes, (for hidden they must then have been,) which the genius of Gibbon first discovered, foreseen, their combination known, and all their wonderful effects distinctly described for many centuries prior to their existence—or to the commencement of the period of their alleged operation?”

Mr. Keith has shown great good sense in abstaining from *anticipating* the times and the *manner* in which the great prophecies are to be fulfilled which declare the final and universal tri-

umph of religion; and we know that he does this on principle, because in another place he lays down the rule, and is tempted, very unfortunately, to transgress it.* Yet it is scarcely possible not to realise to ourselves, in some faint degree, the future destinies of the Church, when we behold beneath our feet the vast foundation already laid on which it must stand a pyramid to perish only with the world. The gradual civilization of the earth, in its most distant regions, by Christian Europe, cannot but ultimately accomplish that which we trust may be more speedily and worthily achieved than by such slow, though certain, means. When we look back to the shores of the Galilean sea, at a distance of not many ages, taking into account the immensity of the revealed plans of Providence, and behold the utmost regions of the world yielding to the influence of European arts and reason, while we recognise in this the “enlargement of Japheth” which was predicted of old, we cannot help seeing how that goodly tree, which sprung from so small a seed, does already begin to put forth her branches from east to west; and, though we forbear to hazard a guess at those times and seasons which certainly it is not ours to know, we feel ourselves called upon to watch the progress of the celestial plant towards that “summer,” which haply may “be nigh at hand.” But these are high matters, and this is not the place for discussing them farther. In the meantime, when our Lord declares “that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out:” or, as St. Luke has it, yet more strongly: “and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God,” (Luke, xiii. 29,) these simple words, declaratory of a fact which no Jewish mind could or would foresee, and which we see to be so abundantly accomplished in the *visible* Church, might, with many expressions more of our Lord, have been added to those predictions which Mr. Keith has accumulated, announcing the extension of Christianity.

There is another prophecy which has not, we believe, been so pointedly compared with its fulfilment as it appears to deserve. When, in the last words of the Old Testament, Malachi declares: “Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse:” had this promised mission of John the Baptist proved *ineffectual*,

* By some anticipations respecting the fate of Turkey and its empire, which were more probable in 1828 than 1829.—p. 292, n.

it would doubtless have taken from the value of the prophecy, even though he fully made good in his own character and conduct all its requirements. Had he, who was to prepare a way for the Lord, *failed to have prepared* the minds of men for that advent, there would have been a manifest incompleteness in the prophecy as well as its fulfilment. But we can plainly see how different the real state of the case was: without any support of temporal power, or any other influence than that of truth and character; preaching only the baptism of repentance, and not admitted, nor able to admit to that higher baptism of the Holy Spirit, by the gift of which so many were confirmed in their more miraculous conversion; not working miracles, nor pretending to them, John the Baptist nevertheless attracted into the wilderness not only great multitudes of the common sort, but, the last sign of great notoriety, if not of universal influence, the Pharisees also and Sadducees.

“Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan,” &c. (Matth. iii. 5. 7,) and accordingly we find, that the number of those who believed in the divine mission of John was so great, that the hierarchy of the Jews did not venture to give an answer which would have conveyed their disbelief in his authority, and consented, rather than run that risk, to the dishonourable alternative of confessing ignorance. “But if we shall say, of men; we fear the people; for *all* hold John as a prophet;”* and St. Luke, “But if we say, of men; all the people will stone us: for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.”† This piece of casuistry, while it betrays the disbelief, at heart, of the higher‡ orders of the Jewish congregation, shows abundantly the universal reception of St. John’s doctrine among the people at large: and that adulterous and murderous king also, who affected to give an ear to John’s preaching on other points, when he, than whom a greater had not been born of woman, plainly told him of his unlawful marriage, was deterred from putting him immediately to death, inasmuch he “*feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet.*” When we compare this reception of John the Baptist with the prediction of his coming, and of the effect of his coming; and in the next place set the rejection of our Lord, by the nation at large, by the side of the prophecies which declared that he should be rejected, we must be doubly struck by the two-fold coincidence.

To return to Mr. Keith. The next subject he discusses, is the destruction of Jerusalem. And here we have an example of the great difficulty there is in attempting to compress the

* Matth. xxi. 26. † Ibid. xx. 6. ‡ See Matth. xxi. 32. Luke, vii. 29, 30.

accounts of the different evangelists, and to consolidate them into one. Mr. Keith has done this with very sufficient accuracy, and for an elementary work it may be enough that the different statements of the same conversation should be set forth in this way, but it necessarily ties down the reader to one view of the subject, to one interpretation of particular passages; or leaves him to rectify it, as he may, by reference to the originals. The mind becomes perplexed on finding that what it peruses does not occur in any *one* of the evangelists, but is a *cento* from *three* of them; and even the very avoidance of those difficulties, which occur in chapter xxiv. of St. Matthew, arising from the double question, "When shall these things be?—and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" is of doubtful utility, as the difficulty naturally demands a close examination of the whole passage, which would produce an intelligible statement of it. The objection, however, does not lie against Mr. Keith's management of his plan, but is an imperfection inherent in the plan itself.* It is gratifying to find that in his review of the prophecies relating to the present state of Palestine and the adjoining countries, he derives his information respecting them principally from the unbelieving Volney; or from other travellers, who thought more of perfecting themselves, as Mahomedans, than of elucidating the Christian Scriptures. The present state of the territory of Moab, Ammon and Edom, is a noble commentary on the old prophets, and in this part of his work Mr. Keith has collected a great deal of matter which is not only most apposite, but, in a great measure, new. That these countries are now waste and deserted nobody doubts, but many require to be told that they once were populous, as evinced by the remains of considerable cities, and once must have been as wealthy and flourishing as they are now miserable, to judge from the temples which may still be traced, and the tombs which are still perfect, being founded in the rock after the custom of the East. The very animals to which one district (Idumea), was devoted by the prediction of Isaiah, are those which now most abundantly tenant it; and the declaration that "*none should pass through it*," has been made good by the impracticable character, and Arab propensities, of its present inhabitants. But under this head, we humbly opine that Mr. Keith goes a little further than he need, when, in a note, (p. 189,) he wishes, (or seems to wish), to prove that the accomplishment of the prophecy is literal to a degree almost

* We have not been able to find, among the predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem, any reference to Daniel ix. 26-27, though our Lord calls the attention of his disciples to it very pointedly; Matth. xxiv. 15. It is possible Mr. Keith may have noticed it, though we have failed to see his observation.

unexampled. Not only do the Hadji routes, from Cairo to Damascus, avoid Idumea, (which by the by they might do without any great sacrifice of expedition), not only has it been recorded as the most difficult country of access in the East, inspiring Mr. Volney, according to his own account, for the first time in his life, with the sentiment of fear; but (continues Mr. Keith), “not even the cases of the two individuals, Seitzen and Burckhardt, can be stated as at all opposed to the literal interpretation of the prophecies. Seetzen did indeed pass through Idumea, and Burckhardt traversed a considerable part of it. But the former met his death not long after the completion of his journey through Idumea; the latter never recovered from the effects of the hardships and privations which he suffered, &c. Neither of them lived to return to Europe. *I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out, and him that returneth.*” It is not fair to press to this extreme degree of literal interpretation one part of the prophecy, and at the same time to allow others to pass unnoticed. What is the literal interpretation of, “*And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch: It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever:*” * which is in immediate contact with the prediction in question? But Mr. Keith has answered himself, for, continuing the same note, he says, “Strabo mentions that there was a direct road from Petra (the capital of Idumea,) to Jericho, of three or four days journey. *Captains Irby and Mangles were eighteen days in reaching it (Petra) from Jerusalem.*” Now Captains Irby and Mangles lived to return to England, and to print an account of their travels, for a copy of which Mr. Keith thanks them in his preface, and at p. 197, we find Mr. Keith again saying, “Captains Irby and Mangles, having, together with Mr. Banks and Mr. Legh, spent two days in diligently examining them, give a more particular detail of the ruins of Petra, than Burckhardt’s account supplied,” &c., and yet both Mr. Banks and Mr. Legh returned to Europe, and did not even die “soon after their return.” Unless our faculties are blunted by the southern atmosphere we breathe, it does seem to us a marvellous oversight thus to indite a note, the termination of which, scorpion-like, stings to the quick its commencement. One word more on the ruins of this Idumean Petra. Illustrations and engravings are excellent things, and wood-cuts and plans are no less commendable on all proper occasions, and often highly necessary to illustrate works on scriptural as well as profane subjects; but the wood-cut representations of the Necropolis of Petra, and the plan of its ruins, are more useful in the

* Isaiah, xxxiv. 9, 10.

place from which they have been adopted, than in our author's little volume, and disappoint the inquisitive eye, which retains so much of the school-boy as always to run after the appearance of a plate, by seeming to promise some great discovery, and ending in a design of some very ordinary rock-tombs. While we are advancing criticisms professedly trifling, will Mr. Keith pardon us for making one more, descending to so slight a matter as *language*? He wishes to prove, probably with reason on his side, that Ekron (a city of the Philistines), has been literally "rooted up" according to the prophecy, and urges that it cannot be identified with any existing remains, admitting that it has been put down in a map, (alas! if maps were arguments, how flourishing would be the condition of many a depopulated country!) but concluding on the whole, that "while Ashkelon and Ashdod retain their names in their ruins, the very name of Ekron is *amissing*." We know that it pleases our brethren of the North thus to write occasionally; and in some most delightful travels in Germany, this sweet Doricism occurs more than *occasionally*, but surely *that* instead of being a reason why we should swallow the awkward compound with complacency, calls upon us to protest in time against these unnecessary decorations, which may be inspectable in Milton's poetry, but are unseemly in modern prose.

Nineveh and Babylon come within the compass of our author's plan, because, though their destruction took place so long ago, the effects of it in their present desolation are perpetuated. "The records of the human race, it has been said with truth, do not present a contrast more striking than that between the primeval magnificence of Babylon and its long desolation."* Nor could a more exact and particular fulfilment of a prophecy have been conceived, nor a more signal example chosen, nor a greater distance between the time of the prediction and of its fulfilment desired. Babylon was doomed to be the habitation of the beasts of the desert, an abode for none but doleful creatures, when her enormous and incredible extent was full of a population rioting on the riches of the most fertile district of the old world, unthinned as yet by the arrows of the Median, undiminished by the loss of a court or the decay of commerce and empire. Yet this more than London of the old world, with a population which commentators are afraid to calculate, and an extent which they hardly dare to set down, is foredoomed to a perpetual annihilation by two Jewish prophets, at different periods, ages before that desolation ever began to be accomplished, with a minuteness of description which call for, and can bear, the most exact inquiry. Yet how tardy must the course of events

* P. 255.

have appeared to such as waited for them, while Babylon, even after its conquest and temporary overthrow, continued still to be enormously vast, and populous, and wealthy, exciting the astonishment of the historians who visited, and the poets who allude to it! Manifestly these things do not come to pass “with observation;” but in their proper times and by fitting means all that remains to be accomplished will be brought to pass, though we may well say with the conscience-stricken prophet, “Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!”

The passages which Mr. Keith has cited from modern travellers, on the subject of Babylon (among others from Mr. Keppel, whose description is much the best) are abundant and well chosen.

On the still more present instance of Egypt, we will subjoin the author’s own words, as a fair example of his matter and his manner:—

“Egypt was the theme of many prophecies, which were fulfilled in ancient times; and it bears to the present day, as it has borne throughout many ages, every mark with which prophecy had stamped its destiny:—

“‘They shall be a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of kingdoms. Neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations: for I will diminish them that they shall no more rule over the nations. The pride of her power shall come down. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. I will make the land of Egypt desolate, and the country shall be desolate of that whereof it was full. I will sell the land into the hands of the wicked. I will make the land waste and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers. I the Lord have spoken it. And there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt. The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away.’* ”

“Egypt became entirely subject to the Persians about 350 years previous to the Christian era. It was afterwards subdued by the Macedonians, and was governed by the Ptolemies for the space of 294 years; until, about thirty years before Christ, it became a province of the Roman empire. It continued long in subjection to the Romans, tributary first to Rome, and afterwards to Constantinople. It was transferred A.D. 641, to the dominion of the Saracens. In 1250 the Mamelukes deposed their rulers, and usurped the command of Egypt. A mode of government, the most singular and surprising that ever existed upon earth, was established and maintained. Each successive ruler was raised to supreme authority, from being a stranger and a slave. No son of the former ruler—no native of Egypt succeeded to the sovereignty; but a chief was chosen from among a new race of imported slaves. When Egypt became tributary to the Turks in 1517, the Mamelukes retained much of their power, and every pasha was an oppressor and a

* Ezek. xxx. 6, 7, 12, 13; xxxii. 15. Zech. x. 11.

stranger. During all these ages, every attempt to emancipate the country, or to create a prince of the land of Egypt, has proved abortive, and has often been fatal to the aspirant."—pp. 263, 264.

So far Mr. Keith, who adds other particulars descriptive of the state of Egypt a little time back from those two most unexceptionable witnesses, Volney and Gibbon; who probably little dreamed that they should ever be quoted by a Scottish clergyman, to prove the fulfilment of Jewish prophecies. With regard to Volney, Mr. Keith justly remarks, in conclusion, "can any purposed deception be more glaring or great, than to overlook all these prophecies, and to raise an argument against the truth of Christianity from the very facts by which they have been fulfilled?"

With respect to the prophecies which have been usually considered (among Protestants,) to denote the rise of the Popish power, and its Anti-Christian character, Mr. Keith is, for a minister of the Kirk, very moderate in his statements; and, in the following chapter, he has offered a new illustration of a passage of Daniel, which has by common consent been applied to the rise of the power of the Turks. "He shall enter also into the goodly land, and many countries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon." (Dan. xi. 41.) It being presupposed that by "the king of the North" is personified the Turkish Porte, it certainly agrees very well with this hypothesis, that, according to the testimony of all travellers, the districts once inhabited by those pagan tribes are now overrun by Bedouins, who owe little or no subscription to the Turkish dynasty. But Mr. Keith carries the application still farther, and refers us to a variety of respectable modern travellers, to prove that the fertile land once occupied by the children of Ammon, though holding out so tempting a spoil, is only partially subject to the neighbouring Pacha of Damascus, and in this Mr. Keith sees a fulfilment of the limitation of "*the chief of the children of Ammon.*" It may be so, though we doubt whether this is not carrying a literal interpretation too far; the general remark on the immunity of the adjacent districts from Turkish subjugation, at all events deserves attention, especially as confirmed in a more pointed manner by Mr. Keith than by preceding writers.

From what we have already said, it must be apparent that Mr. Keith's work contains a great deal which may be highly useful either as reminding or instructing its readers. His conclusions are stated with simplicity, and no ways overcharged in the expression; though possibly they are sometimes expressed a

little too *diffusely*. It is very likely, however, that to many readers a little reiteration may not be either unprofitable or disagreeable; and practically we have observed those orators to be without fail the most popular, who deal the most largely in this convenient figure.

We believe that many grown professors of Christianity, who have never been suspected, nor suspected themselves, of an insufficient or insecure state of religious knowledge, would derive not only great instruction, but great moral and spiritual benefit also, from the perusal of works like the present. The generality of Christians, in a country by long prescription Christian, are under the temptation of taking for granted all the truths and all the history of religion; and not only that, but taking it for granted also that they are acquainted with them. It is really marvellous to what an extent the ignorance of well-educated youth is sometimes found to stretch and extend itself, in those matters which, in the Sunday-school of their village or estates, are learned by rote by the poorer classes under their patronage. Nay, we are not quite sure that the parents of these well-educated young gentlemen are always much better informed in the same particulars, only there is no ordeal for full-grown Christians by which their ignorance can be elicited. Now it really does appear to us, that the practical influence of Christianity must, (humanly speaking,) be proportionate, in each individual, to the sincerity with which he embraces it, the singleness of mind with which he apprehends it, and the attention he devotes to it. To grow up a Christian without knowing how or why, is to grow up as the cabbages do in our gardens; while, on the other hand, the immediate effect of an actual attention to the grounds of our belief—a conviction, arising from whatever source, not hereditary but personal, can hardly fail to be accompanied by increased sobriety of mind and vigilance of conduct. It is very true that the fountain-head of such conviction must be sought in the Scriptures themselves; but many may have their attention directed to these, or obstructed, according as they fall in with well or ill-written books of argument in the course of their miscellaneous reading. On that department of proof which we have been considering through the last few pages, the authors usually to be met are apt to be either like Dogberry, such learned persons that there is no understanding them, or, without the ballast of too much learning, they soar out of all possibility for mere mortal eyes to follow them, borne in some flimsy modern machine, full of vapour and at the mercy of every wind that blows. On these accounts such works as that with which Mr. Keith has

obliged the church, plain, intelligible, and full of matter, are of real and extensive utility.

As far as the argument from prophecy is concerned, it is obvious that we possess, at the present day, some advantages over those who might appear most favoured—the witnesses of the first Christian miracles. Καὶ ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον: “And we have had confirmed to us the prophetic announcement,” (as the passage appears to mean, in spite of all that Sherlock has advanced to support the English version,) confirmed by many concurring instances, and long experience. Under this head it appears to us that more stress might have been laid on certain parables of our Lord, which, though extremely simple and concise, are deficient in none of the requirements of indisputable prophecy. Their brevity and their simplicity make them more especially fit to be produced as popular arguments. The parable of the sower has been instanced in this respect as prophetic of the state of belief and practice in the church at large through succeeding ages,* in like manner the vast increase and extension of the church is typified in others, and in that brief illustration of the effect of his approaching death, which compares the dissemination thereby of his doctrines, to the multiplication of a single seed by inhumation.† Of this kind are the many parables which intimate, and some of them more than *intimate*, the admission of the Gentiles‡ into the same privileges with the Jews, and the final exclusion of the latter from the visible church; in the *typical* prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, the more remarkable because occurring by way of parenthesis in the course of a parable not directly or necessarily leading to the mention of it, (Luke xix. 27,) and perfectly understood and deprecated by those who heard, Luke xx. 16; add to this the brief declaration in St. John iv. 21, which denotes at the least the annihilation of a ceremonial and local worship, (a thing marvellous for a Jew to declare, or a Samaritan to hear,) the direct prophecies of the persecution his disciples should undergo, *signifying even by what death some of them should glorify God*. All these are the more valuable because many of them are indirect, (the prophecy contained is subordinate to some other object,) all of them are clear, and not capable of being misunderstood. In many the *homeliness* of the illustration was obviously sought and designed out of compassion to the meanness of the understandings, or the habits of life, of those who were listening, but that

* The parable of the *Tares*, alas! might be equally well applied.

† John, xii. 24.

‡ Compare with the more lengthened parables on this topic, John x. 16.

very homeliness gives a force and solidity to the promise as addressed to us. Such is the comparison of the word of the kingdom of heaven to leaven, which is “to leaven *the whole lump* ;” while the unaffected grandeur of other illustrations is the natural expression of the great future event present to the divine mind which foretells it, and reflecting the awful truth in its own glorious colours. “For, as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.” Is it presumptuous to say that this grand image gives an unsought evidence to the truth of the event predicted? In other instances the simplicity of the illustration has lost something, as addressed to ourselves, except we take the trouble, (and it is never an unprofitable one,) of attending to the context. For example, the multitude of Christians at large, as gathered together at the day of judgment, are compared to fish drawn together by a net, and afterwards separated, the good from the bad: a parable which gives as clear and plain a picture as words could convey, but which was more immediately appropriate when addressed to the fishermen of Galilee, near the place of their habitual occupation. “Jesus saith unto them, (immediately after this parable, the last of many he put forth at the same time,) Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea, Lord.”* We must remember that these same disciples had failed to understand the parables of the sower and the tares, after which the parable referred to, and others of the same kind, were added. But the most important, beyond comparison, of the prophetic parables are those which bear upon our Lord’s own future rejection, sufferings, and death: for instance, the type he refers to, of the elevation of the serpent;—the parable of the bridegroom who was to be taken away from his companions;—the charge to all that heard him, that if they would be his disciples, indeed, they should take up their cross, and so follow him, long before any probability appeared that he would die a violent death, or that such could be the manner of his death;—the intimation, very concisely given, that he should suffer in a particular place, (*And they caught him and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him*, Matth. xxi. 39,) both this and the charge to bear the cross were well understood by the author to the Hebrews: “Let us go forth, therefore unto him *without the camp, bearing his reproach*,” ch. xiii. 13. To these must be added the most express declarations of what he was to suffer, and the end for which that suffering was designed, made clearer and clearer, from obscure, but to us, intelligible intimations of the same, and addressed first to his more immediate disciples, and gradually extended to greater numbers,

* Matth. xiii. 51.

preparing the minds of those who followed him, and exulted in the vain hope of his temporal dignity, for a ruin of those worldly expectations for which they were little prepared, and seeking to instruct them in the elements of that better hope of everlasting redemption of which they had no imagination. This great system of preparation, for the end for which our Lord came into the world, is attested by all the evangelists in a multitude of passages of every possible description, direct and indirect, corresponding with, and remote from, each other; with this all the actions of our Lord's life are in harmony, and by reference to this alone can many of them be completely accounted for: it runs through the texture of all the four narratives, and is preserved in all as completely as undesignedly; containing in itself the evidence of prophecy fulfilled, combined with the witness by suffering of One who could not have been influenced by example, or by enthusiasm. No fact, but that furnished by pagan authorities, the death of Jesus Christ, is necessary to this proof; nor is it necessary first to prove the authenticity of the New Testament, or the validity of the Old. By this our Lord's own declaration is made good, (and He appears Himself to have designed it)—*Now I tell you before, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.* John xiii. 19.* Our Lord is here his own sufficient testimony, both in prophesying and suffering; but this great and popular argument, which has not, we believe, ever been developed, we have not now space to develope here.

ART. IX.—*Death-Bed Scenes, and Pastoral Conversations.* By the late John Warton, D. D. Edited by his Sons. Vol. III. London. Murray. 1828. 8vo. pp. 541. 12s.

GREAT was our admiration of the former volumes of this work, and we opened the one now before us with some feelings of alarm. We feared that the writer might have exhausted the best of his materials, and that the great interest excited by the preceding part of his work would subside before this large volume was finished. But our fears were unnecessary: each succeeding page contributed to remove them; and we can safely recommend our readers to peruse the scenes here described, with an assurance that they are in no respect inferior to those which have been already submitted to the public. In endeavouring to make extracts we scarcely know where to begin, and having begun, it is difficult to conclude. We must be content to open the volume at random, and taking here and there a passage, leave it to our

* See also John xiv. 29; and the context in both places.

readers to observe, upon perusing the whole, "that a far better selection *might* have been made." The common arguments and explanations with which Dr. Warton endeavours to overcome the hardened unbelief of Marsden, are succeeded by a new and very powerful piece of reasoning.

"To escape me the wretched man flew to Atheism, and resumed a portion of his former atrocious impiety. 'For what *I* know,' he cried, 'this may be all a bug-bear to terrify us; how can I ascertain that there is any such Being as God? I know no such thing; nor do I know how to set about to find it out.' What am I to do now? I thought with myself. Must I go through the arguments for the existence of a God with this dying sinner, who should be invoking the aid of a Saviour with prayers, and tears, and groans? It is impossible; it is useless if it were possible; and Scripture he will disclaim altogether. I will take another course; so I said, 'You suppose then, perhaps, Sir, that, if there were no God, there would be no world, nothing, after this; neither pleasures nor pain. But I must tell you, (and I am sure you cannot prove the contrary) that, whether there be a God or not, there may still be another world, and another life for all of us.' 'How so, Dr. Warton?' he inquired eagerly. 'Why,' I said, 'the same fate, or chance, which brought us here, might just as well bring us to exist again hereafter; and there would be nothing more wonderful in it. If God do not cause and direct everything, then it must be fate, or chance, which does it; and you see every day what surprising things happen with respect to other animals and vegetables; quite as surprising as if a man were to return to life. But do you know what I mean by fate, and chance?' 'Not very well,' he answered. 'Then I will tell you,' I said, 'in a very few words, which will be enough, perhaps, for our present business. Chance, indeed, you probably *do* understand sufficiently already; but then if you do, you will never admit it, I am sure, as causing and directing all that you observe in the world; and so chance must be given up altogether. Is not chance, or what you mean by it, something very irregular, and uncertain, and often contrary to your expectations?' He allowed it. 'But *that* is by no means the course of things even here,' I said; 'the sun, for instance, and the moon, which are of so great use to us, are any of their great laws at all irregular, or uncertain? Do they ever rise or set at unexpected hours? In short, do we not know long before all about them from our almanacs? A cloud, indeed, may come between the sun and *us*, and keep off some of his light and heat from us; and you might at first think *that* to be a mere matter of chance; but do you really suppose that a single cloud ever floats in the air without a cause of its being *there*?' 'No, to be sure, I don't,' he answered. 'Well then,' I said, 'it seems that we shall get rid of chance, as I mentioned before, altogether; for nothing happens without a cause. In truth chance is only a name for our own ignorance; we do not know what causes are at work to produce this or that effect, and so we say foolishly that such things happen by chance; but now you perceive it is not so, in natural things at least. And how is it in the affairs of men? Just the same. There is a vast

deal which takes place with as much regularity, and certainty, and as agreeably to our expectations, as in natural things; but on the other hand, there is a vast deal also which looks like mere random chance. A tradesman who understands his business, and never neglects it, and is honest in his dealings, and spends nothing viciously or unnecessarily, being both sober and frugal, will prosper, and flourish, and get rich; *that* is the great law of human affairs, like the rising and setting of the sun. But now and then comes a cloud; his house and all his goods are destroyed on the sudden by fire; he is plundered by thieves, or by an invading army. Not that these things really happen by chance; but only that he knows nothing about them beforehand, and so calls them unlucky chances; they have their certain causes just like other things, but he is ignorant of them. However, be it as it may, what do I infer from all this? Why, that under whatever ruling influence we live, give it any name that you please, it is so regular, so certain, so conformable to our expectations, nothing could be more likely than it should still follow us after we die, and reproduce us in another state, as it does thousands of other things; provided only, that there be some purpose which has not been accomplished, and could not well be accomplished, in the present state. And any reflecting person *must* see that this is precisely the case with men—the purpose evidently is, to reward and to punish them according to their actions in this world; but the execution of the purpose being only begun, and not completed here, we have good reason to believe that it will be completed hereafter. The tradesman whom I described, was suddenly deprived of his natural reward in this world, by causes over which he had no control; but the irregularity may be, and most probably therefore will be, corrected in the next. On the contrary, the tradesman who is idle, and drunken, and a spendthrift, is reduced to poverty, and afflicted with disease besides; *that* is his natural punishment here; but he gains a large prize in the Lottery, suppose, and his poverty at least is at an end, and with it a part of his punishment; the full punishment therefore may be, and most likely will be, paid him hereafter. You cannot give a reasonable account of human affairs in any other way than this; if there were not a future state for us all, there would be a beginning, and no ending of anything; or rather there would be a wise beginning, and a very unaccountable and unsatisfactory ending. I conclude, therefore, Mr. Marsden, whoever, or whatever, it may be that directs everything, being so wise as we see it to be, and yet not complete, on account of the vast variety of circumstances entangled with each other in this world, it will pursue us into another world; and, consequently, there is no use, and no real comfort to any man, in the supposition that there is no God. It is merely doing away with a name. This that I have now explained to you, which rules nature with such regularity, and begins to reward and punish men in this life, and which you cannot by any means get rid of, is the very God with whom we have to do now, and shall have to do hereafter.’

“ Here I stopped to consider where I was; and I must own that all which I had just said, now that I think coolly about it, may reasonably appear to any of my readers to be exceedingly flat and dry, and even

totally unadapted to the awful case before me. If so, my brethren of the clergy, who are thrown into the same trying circumstances, must guard against my errors, and devise some more auspicious proceeding. But at all events they will perceive how I was led on to this mode of argument; and I can assure them, that although it produced no ultimate good effect that I am aware of, it was listened to by this poor man with more attention than almost anything else, and seemed to open to his view what he had never dreamt of, or reflected upon, in his whole life before."—pp. 92—97.

We now turn to the history of Jacob Brockburn, which (together with the episodes most aptly introduced) abound with interest; and each succeeding scene increases our respect for the writer. We feel persuaded that it will fix attention by the interest it excites, and produce great effect upon the mind by the lessons which it inculcates. The first description of the village where murder had been perpetrated seems to place us on the very spot.

"Having arrived at the place, there seemed to be an uncommon stillness and desolation about it. We walked almost round the whole cluster; not a door was open, not a human creature visible, not a sound heard. Yet it was nearly the hour of dinner, when I might reasonably have expected to find the entire population, of every age and sex, assembling together. 'Have these people fled with one consent from this scene of blood?' I thought with myself. 'Or are they all shut up within their dwellings, ashamed and afraid to look upon each other, occupied in silent reflection upon the warning which God has given them?'"—p. 117.

The accounts given to the rector by some of the neighbours, respecting the circumstances of the murder, are so naturally expressed, that we conceive they must be recorded almost in the words of the relaters. In this and the subsequent conversations each circumstance is laid hold of in order to reach the feelings and situations of the different hearers, and before the conclusion of the history, we are gratified to find that good effects have been in some instances produced by these appropriate admonitions.

It is painful to reflect that such scenes as are described, may be witnessed wherever the inhabitants of this country are collected together in considerable numbers, and that the utmost degree of ministerial faithfulness is able to effect but little for the spiritual improvement of the people. Something, however, as in the case before us, may always be done. There needs not a murder to make an opening for the patient visitation of each cottage, for unwearying attention to the souls as well as the bodies of the poor.

We extract a few passages of peculiar interest.

" 'I do not know whether you have sufficiently considered what it is which makes your calamity so grievous; but it is fit that you should be fully aware of the utmost extent of it. There is no solid comfort to be

derived from an endeavour to soften it down to your own thoughts ; and if I were to take that course with you, I should ill discharge my office ; I should deceive you in a most culpable manner, and your comfort, being a false one, might be your ruin. No, you must look your calamity steadily in the face, and then apply to God, as the correct view of it may teach you and urge you to do. If you were the murderer of your wife I do not want you to tell me so ; I only want you to settle that matter, impartially, between God and your own conscience ; so that it may not appear hereafter, to your everlasting confusion, when *He* comes to try you, that you have reckoned erroneously, and deceived even yourself. Nor, on the other hand, will it avail you at all with respect to this particular point which I so much wish to impress upon you, it will not avail you to plead that her death was not intended by you, but only her correction ; I mean, that you cannot get rid of the fact, that, in consequence of your treatment of her, she went hastily and too much unprepared before her Judge ; nay, in an actual immediate state of sin, which would cause even the most indifferent person who reflected upon it to tremble for her ultimate and eternal lot. You, who knew all her habits too well, cannot possibly be ignorant what a tremendous reckoning she is gone from this world, suddenly and unexpectedly, to make in the other world, and therefore also what a tremendous result, it may reasonably be feared, will follow such a reckoning ; and then the certainty comes home to your own bosom, that it was *you* who deprived her of the means and opportunities which she might otherwise have had, before she died in the course of nature, to return from Satan to God. I do not say that you may not be acquitted and forgiven for this at the heavenly bar, as you have been at the earthly, if you take the proper steps to procure forgiveness ; but I *do* say, that you will with great difficulty forgive yourself if you feel your situation as you ought. Will you not ask yourself continually, where is her soul now ? Will not the fearful thought mix itself with all your affairs that her soul may be entered into eternal misery ? And will you not then be harrowed up with remorse, when you think again, as you must always do, that it was *you* who sent her there ? If you ever suffer yourself to try to taste any pleasure, will it not be embittered by this constant care ? Will it not become worse than gall and wormwood to you ? Will you not condemn yourself for the very idea of pursuing any pleasure, and say, I have flung *her* from everlasting pleasures into everlasting woe ! In your daily labours too, when you are earning your bread by the sweat of your brow, will not the same reflection make all the instruments of your work feel heavier in your hands, and your work itself harder and more toilsome ? Heretofore your industry was supported and cheered by many consolations and many hopes ; what will support it, what will cheer it now ? But at length comes the end of all in this world, death ; and then the judgment in the next. But whom will you see standing with you, and waiting for the sentence, at the same bar ? Even *her*, your own wife, whom your own hand slew ! And will you not be agonized with the sight of her, and still more with her voice, when she opens her mouth, at the command of the terrible Judge, to speak the very truth, and therefore to accuse and condemn you ?"—pp. 309—311.

Again.

"I had threatened to pierce him once more to his heart, and my threat was now executed. No aspen-leaf ever trembled so much as this man, though shaken by the rudest breeze; and his agitation was the greater, because he was eager to speak, and could not. I hastened to give him my last advice. 'Oh! Brockbourn,' I said, 'for the remnant of your days resist with all your might the first rising of passion in your breast! Let it be the constant subject of your prayers to God, that you may be able, henceforth, to curb and restrain it! You have felt how wild, how impetuous, how furious and uncontrollable the storm is when you have once suffered it to gather strength within, and to burst abroad. The whirlwind might as soon be stopped, and ruled. It beats down before it all the barriers of nature, of reason, and of religion. This it did in *your* case, Brockbourn; aye, it conquered and subdued, in *your* case, even the terror of a shameful death, of a halter, and a gibbet; for when your flight was cut off, you exclaimed to your pursuers, "I have made up my mind to die for her;" and you added wicked, opprobrious expressions against her, which proved, that all the night, even in your lurking-place, you had been brooding over your cruel deed with an unnatural malice, and that the same malice was still rankling in your heart.'"—pp. 339, 340.

Enviably indeed must be the feelings of an individual who can toil through scenes like those which are here so admirably described; nor can we conceive a more blessed sensation than he must have experienced at the termination of his last conversation, and the effect he had produced upon the wretched and now truly penitent culprit.

"In an instant, and before I had thought of looking for a prayer-book, he was down upon his knees, with every token of humility, devotion, and penitence. I was deeply struck; and I paused for a while, beholding this striking spectacle with awe and with gratitude; then I prayed silently that God would both teach him how to pray, and also bless his prayer. After which, almost involuntarily, and without knowing it, (so quickly and so forcibly did that beautiful and divine parable present itself to my thoughts,) I began thus: 'Two men went up to the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee, the other a Publican;' and whilst I stood over him I repeated it by recollection to the end. When this was done I knelt down myself by the side of him, with a prayer-book in my hand, and read the commination-psalm, omitting the fourth verse as well as the two last; but the verse in which the penitent, dejected monarch supplicates to be delivered from blood-guiltiness, a verse which I never used on other occasions, I used now with a solemn emphatic fervency. I heard Jacob Brockbourn's sobs; his face was hid with his hands. I next read the second commination-prayer, with such alterations as made it a personal prayer of mine for *him*. The benediction at the end of that service concluded my performances and intentions.

"He rose soon after me, and, without giving him time to speak, I beckoned to him with my finger, and being desirous not to expose him

to the curiosity and the gaze of the servants, I dismissed him myself through the front door."—pp. 351, 352.

In the third chapter, entitled "The Eucharist," the arguments brought forward by the sick man and his wife against receiving the sacrament, are completely and distinctly answered. Besides those so commonly used, we find several suggested by these unfortunate people, with an acuteness that could not be turned aside without a thorough knowledge, not alone of the subject, but of the feelings of human nature, and the workings of the human mind. Dr. Warton readily applies the every-day occurrences of life to his purpose, in answering the objections raised by this worldly-minded woman.

" 'Yes, Sir,' she replied, '*that* is very true; and I see plainly enough that his disciples were bound, as long as they lived, to keep up the memory of him in this manner; but I do not see that all people are commanded to do it.' 'Why,' I said, 'the reason of the thing extends to us all alike. Upon giving them the bread, he told them that it was his body which was broken for them; and upon giving them the cup, he said, drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for *you* and for many, for the remission of sins. Now here you are informed, that his blood was shed for many others besides the disciples; and what do you think of his body? Do you think that it was broken on the cross for the disciples alone?' 'No, indeed,' she answered. 'I am not so ignorant.' 'Very well then,' I said; 'you will probably allow, upon second thoughts, that at least all those who are to profit by his death, and obtain the forgiveness of their sins in consequence of it, are bound by the command to keep up for ever that sort of memorial of him.' 'It looks like it, indeed,' she replied. 'Certainly, it does,' I said; 'and it appears to *me* also, that they who do not keep up this memorial of his death, virtually abandon, of their own accord, all right and title to the forgiveness of sins which his death was intended to procure.' '*That* would be a very serious matter, indeed,' she answered doubtfully. 'Well but,' I said, 'this at least stands to reason, does it not, that they who will not preserve the appointed remembrance of a person, or thing, will come afterwards with a very bad grace to ask for some great benefit, which is only to be had by that person, or thing, and which is the very cause of appointing the remembrance to be preserved?'

"Here she seemed to be somewhat shaken, and did not attempt to speak; so I continued. 'In point of fact Jesus Christ died for the whole world; all mankind therefore are equally interested in his death; they stand equally in need of it; and therefore they are equally bound to keep up that memorial of it which he himself appointed; and consequently the command is addressed to us all, when he said, upon presenting the cup, do this as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of *me*. This is proved too by the practice of the first Christians. Give me your Bible, and I will show you what that practice was.' There was no Bible, as there should have been, in the sick room; but she was not without one in the house, and after a short delay she brought it to me. I

then pointed out to her the several passages which speak of their breaking bread from house to house, and of their continuing steadfastly in the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer. From the 2d chapter of the Acts of the Apostles I turned to the 11th of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, where that Apostle gives directions about this sacrament, and finds fault with an improper administration of it ; but I read only as much as was sufficient to establish the fact, that wherever the Christian religion was settled, the ceremony of the Lord's Supper was ordained also, and enjoined upon all Christians alike. Afterwards, however, I dwelt a little upon the circumstances of St. Paul, to show her the importance of the ceremony, as well as the certainty that it was intended to be universally adopted. ' St. Paul,' I said, ' was not present when our blessed Lord instituted the holy rite ; nor did he first learn anything about it from those who were. It was made known to him by our Lord himself. His expressions to the Corinthians are these : " I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto *you* ; that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread," and that he spoke such and such words, and did such and such things. Now then I ask you, Mrs. Turner, what was the use of Christ's appearing miraculously to St. Paul, to tell him all the history of the first institution of the Sacrament, if it were not to be established everywhere, and were not besides a matter of general importance to us all ? That the Apostle so understood it is plain by his conduct.'

" Mrs. Turner was silent for some time, and seemed to be quite unable to controvert my position ; but at length recurring in her thoughts to what I had said about the eighth commandment, she answered, that notwithstanding all this, she could never bring herself to suppose that we were under the same obligation to take the Sacrament, as we were to keep our hands from picking and stealing. ' For you know, Sir,' she added, ' we could not go on at all if we were to rob one another every day as we pleased ; but we may be very good men and women, as far as I can see, without the Sacrament ; and the world perhaps would go on just as well without any Sacrament at all.' ' Then do you think,' I said, ' that you are at liberty to make a distinction in the divine commands, and to pick and choose out of them, and obey only those of which you understand the use, and neglect the rest, or at least consider them to be less binding upon you ?'

" Here she hesitated ; so I continued. ' My opinion is this. Be the command what it may, if it come from God, we have nothing to do but obey. If we understand the use of the command it is very well ; but if not, still we must obey, or submit to the consequences ; and we may depend upon it that God will punish a wilful disobedience even of the least, or the most unintelligible, of his commands ; and the more severely if we should presume to argue that they are useless, or of little consequence. What would you say to your children if they should refuse to obey any command of yours, and tell you that they did not see any use in obeying you in that particular instance ?' ' Why,' she exclaimed eagerly, ' I should box their ears well ;' and then, suddenly recollecting

herself, she added, 'but I should never order them to do anything useless or unnecessary.' 'Oh! then,' I said, 'you are wiser than God; you never order anything useless or unnecessary, but God does! And so God has no right to punish the neglect of some of *his* commands, but you may punish the neglect of any of *yours*!' This brought the colour into her face; but still she persisted in asserting that she saw no use in the Sacrament, although it might be a divine command. 'Never mind *that*,' I rejoined. 'The right conduct for *us* is to obey, and to leave the use to God; and then, no doubt, he will find some way of making our humility and faithfulness very useful to us, and of rewarding us for those virtues beyond anything that we can now imagine. And do you not think that many things may be useful to you, without your knowing how, and when?' She looked doubtfully; so I asked her if parents did not continually order their children to do things which they knew would be very useful to them, but which the children themselves thought to be only troublesome or painful? She could not deny it. 'So then,' I said, 'the superior understanding may see a use, when the inferior sees none. And is not *our* understanding as far below the understanding of God, as the understanding of a child is below that of the parent?' She supposed it was. 'Well then,' I said, 'if this be so, it would clearly be better for us to consider God as the wisest and best of parents, and ourselves as his children, whom he would train up to goodness and happiness; and in consequence to imitate the humbleness and the docility of children; obeying his will in everything, without contradiction or cavil, and without foolishly presuming that we know more than *he* does of our own wants and necessities. But, after all, am I to be understood, as if I allowed that we could not discover any use in this Sacrament? Far from it. The uses are both many and great. One has been already mentioned, or at least implied—a use which the blessed Author of the Sacrament himself pointed out—the keeping up the remembrance of his death.'—pp. 358—364.

The feeling which influenced both the woman and her husband is thus described.

"In speaking this I had assumed a very grave and solemn tone, as the subject naturally suggested to me. It thrilled the sick man with awe; he trembled exceedingly, and seemed anxious to say something; but his agitation suppressed his voice. Upon this his wife interposed, and assured me, that there was not a single human being against whom he bore any malice, and that he had never been guilty of any sin that she knew of, except one. 'And to be sure, Sir,' she added, '*that* sin has sorely beset him; I cannot deny it. He has been sorry for it every morning, and returned to it every evening. It is likely enough that he may be more sorry for it now than he has ever been before; but still, from past experience, I should fear, that if he were to recover, he would fall into the snare again. If I were quite sure that he was going to die, I would advise him to take the Sacrament.' 'Yes, yes,' said the poor man himself, faltering and scarcely articulate, 'if I were to take it, and afterwards recover, I should never forgive myself, or be at peace any more.'

“ Well, thought I secretly, this is a most extraordinary case ; how am I to understand it ? Has the wretched man absolutely determined in his own mind, if God should spare his life, to return to the very sin which has stirred up the divine anger against him, and put his life in jeopardy ? To explore this matter to the bottom, if possible, I said, ‘ it has not pleased God to bless you with the free use of your speech, but you hear readily and distinctly whatever is spoken by others ; listen, therefore, whilst I talk to your wife, and only stop us when you differ from us. You are afraid, Mrs. Turner, that if your husband recovers, he will relapse into his habits of drinking ; and he seems to have the same fear himself, or rather, to be quite sure of it. Now I ask you, if he recover, not having taken the Sacrament, and relapse into drunkenness, will he be at peace in his own mind, as he appears to insinuate that he shall be ? ’ ‘ No, Sir,’ she answered, ‘ he does not mean *that*, for he has always been troubled in his conscience about it ; but he means that it will be a more dreadful thing for him to commit the same sin after taking the Sacrament, and that his trouble will be greater than ever.’ ”—pp. 367, 368.

The effect produced by the Doctor’s patient attendance upon these people, the mercy of God in turning this attendance to their advantage, the gradual declining into their former state, their occasional returns to their Maker in the day of affliction, are all so well described, that we can only hope our readers will lose no time in making, not only this, but the preceding volumes, a part of their family library. In this volume there are parts which the parent will mark as unsuitable to the eye of his daughters, and which we hope to see expunged from the second edition. The work, as a whole, will be found a valuable study for the parochial clergy, few of whom can rise from a perusal of it without having been warmed by the example of our excellent rector.

ART. X.—*A Sermon, preached at the Church and Chapel of St. John, at Hackney, on the two succeeding Sundays, the 28th of December, 1828, and the 4th of January, 1829, on occasion of the Royal Letter in Aid of the Society for repairing, enlarging, and building of Churches.* By the Rev. H. H. Norris, A. M. *Perpetual Curate of St. John’s Chapel, Prebendary of St. Paul’s and of Llandaff, and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury.* London. Rivington. 8vo. 1829. pp. 56.

WE cannot agree with Mr. Norris, in saying that “ the true cause of that increase of crime which baffles all the expedients devised to stem its progress, and of that insubordination and licentiousness which is making such a head against lawful authority as to threaten the overwhelming of it altogether,” (preface, p. viii.) is

to be found in the multitude of *licensed*, but *unconsecrated* places for religious worship with which town and country are overrun. Our difference with him, however, is rather verbal than real. For while we attribute the increase of crime not to the existence of dissenting teachers and dissenting chapels, but to the want of church room and clergymen, we concur with our author in thinking that the meeting-house can never be made subservient to the purposes of national reformation; and that no efforts are more unsuccessful, or more mischievous, than those of persons who endeavour to promote the cause of religion, by patronizing or propagating the principles of dissent. The Sermon before us contains a detailed investigation of a part of this subject; the part, namely, which relates to 'Holy Places.' The first portion of the discourse is devoted to an examination of the various commands delivered in the Old Testament, against the desecration of the Name and House of God. The second points out the virtual conformity which exists on this as on all other subjects, between the law of the Old Covenant and of the New.

"But these were still but partial accomplishments of God's benignant purposes with reference to the heathen nations, which could only have their consummation in a general confluence of these outcasts to His sacred dwelling-place, and a general dedication of themselves within its courts to the hallowing of *His holy name*; for it was already upon record, in the writings of the prophets, that 'the mountain of the Lord's house should be established on the top of the mountains, and that all nations should flow into it;' and that it should 'be called the house of prayer for all people;' and it was soon to be annexed to these predictive intimations, that '*in every place* incense and a pure offering should be offered to *His name*.'

"Accordingly, when our Saviour came into the world, and found that portion of the Temple specially prepared for the Gentiles, made, as He strongly expresses it, 'a den of thieves,' by the traffic with which the Jews were profaning it, though He plainly intimated that 'the hour was at hand when no longer at Jerusalem should men worship the Father,' yet He expressed His zeal for His Father's house, and for that court in particular where the Gentiles were to worship Him, by cleansing it, both at the commencement and at the close of His ministry, from these profanations; and, citing the prophecy just produced, declared that it should be verified, for that 'His house should be called the House of Prayer for all nations.' Doubtless, therefore, this fiat of two of the Persons in the Godhead did take effect; and how it took effect our Lord himself proclaimed, when, appealing to the original promise in virtue of which the Temple became the dwelling-place of *God's holy name*, because God had there recorded it, he pronounced that '*where two or three were gathered together in His name*, there was He in the midst of them'—there was the Temple, not in its material substance, that being doomed to desolation, but 'in spirit and in truth'—for that, together

with the kingdom, the house of prayer was transferred over to another chosen people, 'to be taken out of the Gentiles *for His name*,' upon the Jews incurring forfeiture of both; who might, therefore, henceforward, according to Malachi's explanatory prophecy, erect '*in every place*' dwellings *for His name*, where he would record it, not with signs and wonders as in the nonage of the Church, but by His delegated representatives duly authorised 'to bear *that name*,' and to impart with it that *special presence* by which the Temple was so gloriously distinguished, together with the great and inestimable privilege, that 'His eyes would be open, and His ears attent to the prayers which should be made *in that place*.'

"Nor did our Saviour suffer His ministry to terminate without supplying a pattern to direct His followers to the true interpretation of His words; for, by a display of His omniscience, foreshewing how a particular individual would be occupied at a definite future point of time, and of His omnipotence in swaying the will of that individual, He himself selected the first Christian House of Prayer, and recorded *His own name* in it, by that solemn celebration of his which superannuated the Paschal solemnity, and elevated the Paschal grace-cup to a new and higher designation in His Father's kingdom—'to shew forth His own death till He come.' This upper room of early introduction into the houses of the Jews, not for common but for sacred occasions, was not likely now to be diverted from its hallowed appropriation, and that it was not so desecrated, the undoubted tradition of the Christian Church affirms. In it the Apostles were assembled on the evening of the resurrection, and on the succeeding Lord's day, when Jesus, in fulfilment of his promise, 'came and stood in the midst of them.' To it they retired after the ascension, 'to continue with one accord in prayer and supplication,' waiting for that power from on high which, at not many days' distance, they were to receive. Here they were 'with one accord' also when that power, the Holy Ghost, descended; and here, finally, they met daily after the Temple Service, to celebrate the Christian mysteries. As the Gospel spread, the divine precedent established at Jerusalem was copied wherever the converts to the faith were sufficiently numerous to form a congregation, some eminent disciple furnishing the upper-room for the place of solemn assembly. Thus, in the course of the apostolic annals, two other instances occur, at Troas and at Joppa—of upper rooms appropriated by converts to the Christian faith to the solemnities of their religion; and thus is incidental mention also made in St. Paul's Epistles, of Aquila, in two instances, during his residence, first at Rome, afterwards at Ephesus; of Nymphas at Colosse; and of Philemon at Laodicea; as each having a Church in their respective houses, which, we learn from St. Paul's severe reprehension of the Corinthians—'What, have ye not houses to eat and to drink in, or despise ye the Church of God?'—were considered as invested with the same sanctity that made it an act of sacrilege, in our Lord's account, 'to carry even a vessel through the temple.'

"Thus was the mountain of the Lord's house, in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, adapted to the flowing in of all nations. Thus did it 'break

forth on the right hand and on the left, enlarge its place, and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation : ' and thus did the Almighty do what belongs to him towards causing *His name* to be hallowed *in all the earth* : and though divisions were fomented, and parties formed in the apostolic age by Christians addicting themselves to favourite teachers, yet the presumptuous thought of approaching God in a *rival* edifice, unhallowed by the impress of His holy name *authoritatively recorded*, entered not into the hearts of that generation ; for St. Paul, whilst he warns the Corinthians that, by their emulations and variances, the effects of Christian communion were actually changed from ' the better to the worse,' distinctly testifies that, notwithstanding their dissensions, they did communicate ; and that ' the church was *the one place* to which they came together.' Nor will it be easy to explain what this Apostle means, when, in speaking of ' that wicked one whom the Lord will destroy by the brightness of His coming,' he states ' the Temple of God' to be the place where he will perpetrate his last desperate provocations, if, in some sense or other, to his contemplation at least, that sacred edifice was not to be preserved the *one* habitation of God's holiness to the end of time ; and what that sense can be, it will be equally difficult to discover, if we abandon the one to which our Lord's application of the last cited prophecy naturally leads us, and do not include the Christian Churches dispersed every where to open an access to converts from all nations to the throne of grace, in our interpretation. The veil is indeed removed under the Gospel, that we may with open face behold the glory of God ; but this very exception in our favour assumes the point which it has been my endeavour to prove, that the dwelling-place, thus modified, is to remain a permanent institution."—pp. 18—24.

The arguments which different writers have adduced, to prove that the room in which our Lord celebrated his Last Supper was thenceforward set apart for religious purposes, are summed up and enforced, with much acuteness and learning, in a very valuable Appendix. And if we are not convinced of the certainty of such a fact, we are at least sincerely thankful to Mr. Norris for his able and well-timed exposition of it.

ART. XI.—*The Change of the Sabbath, and the Institution of the Eucharist, illustrated from the Jewish Scriptures, for obviating the Inferences both of Jews and of Roman Catholics : with an Appendix, animadverting on a Tract by William Burgh, A. B.*
By George Miller, D. D. M. R. I. A. London. Rivington.
8vo. 1829. pp. 56.

THE object of this pamphlet may be ascertained from the following passage :

"In the controversy with the Church of Rome, it has been repeatedly urged by Roman Catholics, that the change of the sabbath, from the seventh to the first day of the week, is an instance of the authoritative tradition for which they contend, no injunction prescribing that change

being found in the sacred writings. The inference is clearly invalid, because the change was authorized, though not by an express injunction contained in these writings, yet by occurrences recorded in them, so that it cannot afford any support to a plea for the existence of an authoritative tradition, distinct from them, and independent of their authority. It may, however, be yet more satisfactory to show from the sacred writings, not merely that the change was authorized by certain occurrences, which ought to be considered as sufficient for the determination of our conduct, but that it appears to have been even required for the due accomplishment of the types of the Christian covenant, anciently instituted among the Jews, and also that satisfactory reasons may be assigned, why it should not have been expressly and generally enjoined. By showing that such a change was required for the due accomplishment of the types of the Christian covenant, it will be exhibited as a direct consequence of the original communications of the will of God, and, therefore, as needing only to be presented to our imitation at the proper time by the example and authority of our apostolic teachers. By assigning reasons, why it should not have been expressly and generally enjoined, all the force of the argument, drawn from the absence of such an injunction, is at once destroyed.

“In the controversy also with the Jews the change of the sabbath constitutes a considerable difficulty, for that people cannot easily be persuaded to relinquish for a different practice, the sabbatical observance so particularly inculcated in their own sacred books, and are on this account more unwilling to admit the authority of the Christian scriptures. But, if they could be convinced, that the fulfilment of types recorded in their own scriptures required the change, they might be disposed to acquiesce in it, as a consequence of the religious dispensation of Moses, and thus be disposed to receive that new dispensation of religion, of which it forms a part.

“Independently of these controversial considerations, it must be gratifying to Christians to discover an order and combination in the two successive dispensations, so that no change should appear to have been made in the later, except as resulting from the very nature and principles of that other, by which it had been preceded. The whole course of the divine administration will thus appear to have been consistent and connected, nothing been determined by mere contingency, nothing having been arbitrarily changed. We are led by the order and combination of the material world to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of its Author; and our pious admiration must be yet more directly excited by our observation of a corresponding harmony, as it may be discoverable in the several communications, by which he has revealed to us his will for the regulation of our conduct in this life, and the means of attaining everlasting blessedness in that which is to come.”—pp. 9—11.

Dr. Miller conceives that the sheaf of the first fruits of the harvest, or wave offering, which was to be presented “on the morrow after the sabbath,” which occurred during the week of

the passover (Levit. xxiii. 2.) was a type of the resurrection of the Messiah, and he explains and vindicates this interpretation with more ingenuity than success. His general argument however, on the change of the sabbath, is powerful and satisfactory:

“In the mother-church at Jerusalem, the Jewish sabbath, so long as the Jewish polity subsisted, could not have been abrogated without producing much confusion, the observance of it being necessarily interwoven with all the public proceedings. We may accordingly conclude, from the words of our Saviour himself, that the Jewish sabbath should continue to be strictly observed by the Christians of Jerusalem, even to the destruction of that city, since, in admonishing them of that calamitous event, he exhorted them to pray, that their flight might not be on the sabbath. We know, indeed, on the other hand, that from the time of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the disciples met for prayer on the first day of each week; and, therefore, we must conclude, that in Jerusalem the Christians observed a double sabbath,—the Jewish, through respect for the still existing laws,—and a new sabbath, in commemoration of the resurrection of their Lord.

“The observance of a double sabbath, however, does not appear to have been extended beyond the precincts of the Jewish government, for the apostle Paul wrote to the Colossians, “let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.” Here, indeed, we have an express declaration, that the observance of the Jewish sabbath was no longer obligatory, and might be discontinued without any just imputation of guilt, though the observance of a different sabbath is left to be collected from the practice of the apostles. But, so long as the Jewish state subsisted, a general injunction for abrogating the sabbath of the Jews could not properly be issued.

“The distinction here noticed, between the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Christians of other places, receives a very remarkable confirmation from the difference observable in the statements of the admonition of our Saviour, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, as given by two evangelists, addressing different churches. Matthew, who is understood to have written his gospel for Judea, represents our Saviour as exhorting his followers to pray, that their flight might not be “in the winter, nor on the sabbath;” but Mark, who addressed his narrative to the Christians of Rome, has omitted from the corresponding passage the mention of the sabbath; apparently because at Rome, the observance had been discontinued, and a reference to the Jewish celebration, for illustrating the horror of the time, would not have been understood.

“If it should be asked, why, though the Jewish sabbath had not been abrogated, was not a new sabbath enforced upon the observance of Christians? it might be answered, that enough was actually done for pointing out the observance to the practice of Christians, and a formal injunction, besides that it would have embarrassed the original church of Jerusalem, would probably have been elsewhere understood to

transfer to it the ceremonial rigour of the Jewish sabbath, instead of the spiritual character belonging to a Christian solemnity. If an apostolic injunction had been issued for constituting a new sabbath, the observance of the one day would naturally have been understood to succeed precisely into the place of that of the other, and to require the same rigour of external solemnization. The fourth commandment, by referring the observance of a seventh day to the creation, had sufficiently ascertained the general obligation of observing a sabbath. In the oblivion into which the observance appears to have fallen, the particular day designated to the Jews was invested with a character specially Jewish, as it was referred to a deliverance of that people; and it remained for the apostles to institute, under the same original obligation, a new sabbath of a Christian character, as referring to a Christian and spiritual deliverance, which should be observed with a heartfelt devotion, not burthened with a punctilious attention to outward regulation. Such a change the apostles accordingly authorized in the most appropriate manner, by the silent sanction of their own example, which would as little as possible afford a pretence for an outward formality, not belonging to the Christian character; and the formal observance of the Jewish sabbath, though not generally abrogated, because the abrogation would in the Jewish government have caused public confusion and disturbance, was quietly suffered to fall into disuse, wheresoever that government did not require its continuance.

“It is acknowledged, that the apostles and their disciples habitually assembled for religious purposes on the first day of each week; and in that treatise, which closed the series of the scriptures of the New Testament, and the author of which alone wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, we find “the Lord’s day” mentioned, as a day then known among Christians to be so distinguished, and particularised as the appropriate time, when the writer was favoured with his prophetic vision of the future trials of the church of Christ. We find also in the sacred writings much more than the mere practice of the apostles and their disciples, though the authority of such a practice should be highly estimated, even if it were not recommended by any other consideration, than that of the character of the inspired teachers of our religion.

“The solemn observance of the first day of the week has been particularly sanctioned both by our Saviour, and by the Holy Spirit. Jesus, who had appeared to his disciples on the day of his resurrection, which was the first of the week, seems to have reserved his second appearance for the next recurrence of that day, as if to mark to his followers a new selection of a day for religious celebration. The effusion also of the Holy Spirit at the first Christian pentecost, which was in that year solemnized on the first day of the week, bestowed on it a distinguished sacredness of character. Neither can it be thought that this was a merely casual coincidence, for it has been shewn, that the day of pentecost had been, in the original institution of the festival, determined by a computation of weeks from the day of an offering to be made in the paschal week, which had been expressly assigned to “the morrow after the sabbath,” so that the coincidence appears to have been prospectively

appointed in the very formation of the Jewish state. Not only, therefore, does the day of the resurrection appear to have been typically designated by that offering, but a provision appears also to have been made for sanctifying its recurrence, in the method of regulating the time of the succeeding festival.

“If it be asked, why should any change have been made in the sabbath, though it might be sufficient to reply, that it is enough for us to perceive that a change has been ordered and authorized, yet in this case we may assign a satisfactory reason. The sabbath of the Jews was a ceremonial observance, and therefore not adapted to the spiritual character of the religion of Christians. It is obvious that the necessary change of character might be most effectually introduced by transferring the observance to a different day, since in this case the influence of former practice would be interrupted and excluded. Whatever in the observance was exclusively Jewish, would naturally cease with the abolition of the Jewish sabbath, and that celebration alone would remain, which would belong to a worship offered “in spirit and in truth.” The change of reference also required that a different day should be selected, that confusion in the application might be precluded, and the minds of Christians be directed towards their proper object. If the sabbath of the Jews commemorated their national deliverance from the captivity of Egypt, it is manifest that a different day would better direct the thoughts of Christians to a commemoration of that resurrection which gave the assurance of a much more comprehensive, and a much more important deliverance, the deliverance of the human race from the penalties of sin.”—pp. 37.—43.

This answer is abundantly sufficient for the purpose of silencing the Roman Catholic, when he contends that an unwritten tradition of doctrinal truths may be proved by that change in the sabbath-day, which took place in the age and with the sanction of the apostles, and is recorded in apostolical and inspired histories. We should be sorry to abandon this advantageous position and to encounter the Romanist in the typical field, to which Dr. Miller has ventured to challenge him.

ART. XII.—1. *Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation. With an Appendix.* By Herbert Marsh, D.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A. Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Bishop of Peterborough. London. Rivington. 8vo. 1828. pp. 63. 2s. 6d.

2. *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on the Independence of the Authorized Version of the Bible.* By Henry Walter, B.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A. Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor in the East India College, Herts; and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Nor-

thumberland. *Intended as a Reply to the additional Arguments in the Appendix to his Lordship's lately published Lectures.* London. Hatchard. 8vo. 1828. pp. 54.

HAVING directed the attention of our readers to Professor Walter's first pamphlet on the authorized translation of the Bible, it is incumbent upon us to make them acquainted with the answer of the learned Bishop of Peterborough, and with the Professor's reply. The *answer* is contained in an Appendix to the Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretations, which give an account of the different modes of criticism which have prevailed from the first to the seventeenth century, and furnish a brief but useful catalogue of the principal commentators who flourished before the Reformation. The most important portion of the Appendix is contained in the following extracts.

“ Having shown the fallacy of the inference respecting the authorized version, I will proceed to the consideration of what I said respecting Tyndal's translation. And as I must beg to be judged by my *own* words, I will quote what I said at p. 296. (Part III. p. 33. 2d ed.) respecting the assistance which Tyndal derived from Luther. ‘ We may conclude, therefore, that Tyndal's translation was taken, at least *in part*, from Luther's: and this conclusion is further confirmed by the *Germanisms* which it contains, some of which are still preserved in our authorized version.’ Such was the conclusion to which I came, with respect to Tyndal and Luther: and as I am answerable for the accuracy of *this* conclusion, I will give additional arguments in support of it.

“ To conduct the inquiry with precision, let us confine ourselves in the first instance to the New Testament. Though Luther's German version contains the whole Bible, he began with the translation of the New Testament, which he published in 1522. Tyndal likewise began his biblical translations with the New Testament, which he printed in 1526. No one can suppose, therefore, that Luther's New Testament was unknown to Tyndal, when he made his own translation; especially as Tyndal, like other English Reformers of that age, went into Saxony and became personally acquainted with Luther. Angliâ relictâ in Germaniam transivit, et in Saxonîâ cum Martino Luthero et Johanne Fritho, populari suo, sermonem contulit.

“ And that he acquired a knowledge of the German language appears from his ‘ Prologue to the Epistle of St. Paule to the Romayns,’ which is chiefly a translation from a Preface to that Epistle by Luther. Since then it is evident that Luther's New Testament was not only *known* to Tyndal, but that he was able to *use* it, few persons would be disposed to doubt that he *did* use it. Where a translation so highly, and so justly esteemed as that of Luther already existed, a subsequent translator would show more vanity than wisdom, if he attempted to give a new translation, which should be altogether *independent* of the former. Nothing can be more absurd than to consider the independence of a translation as a

recommendation of it. Most persons will give me credit for a knowledge of German: yet when I translated the Introduction of Michaelis from the fourth edition, I was not too proud to consult an English translation, which had been made from the first edition. And whenever the first translator had used a word, which I thought preferable to the word which occurred to me, I always adopted the former translation. It is true, that in all such places the *independence* of my translation was destroyed; but what it lost in independence, it gained in correctness. If indeed a translator professes to give nothing more throughout his whole book, than the translation of a translation, like Wickliff's translation from the Latin Vulgate, no question can arise about dependence or independence. Such a translation is *no where* a translation from the original. But I have never asserted, and I have never meant, that Tyndal's New Testament was a *mere* translation from the German of Luther. I have no doubt that when Tyndal made his translation of the New Testament, he translated with the Greek original lying before him; for however limited his knowledge of Hebrew might be, he had the reputation of being a good Greek scholar. But I have likewise no doubt that he made considerable use of Luther's New Testament: and will now proceed to the proof.

“ Though Tyndal has no where acknowledged his obligations to Luther, no argument can be drawn from his silence on that subject. For he is equally silent on the ‘Prologue to the Romainys,’ which was unquestionably taken from Luther. And every one who has compared Luther's New Testament with that of Tyndal, must have perceived how closely in other respects the former was followed by the latter. Luther, who is known to have disliked the Epistle of St. James, removed it from its usual place at the *head* of the Catholic Epistles, and placed it immediately before the Epistle of St. Jude. In this singular transposition he was followed by Tyndal, in whose translation, as well as in that of Luther, the Epistle of St. James is the *sixth* of the Catholic Epistles. Again the Epistle to the Hebrews, which usually follows the Epistle to Philemon, as the fourteenth of St. Paul's Epistles, was transferred by Luther to the *Catholic* Epistles, and placed immediately after the third Epistle of St. John. In Tyndal's New Testament the Epistle to the Hebrews is *likewise* placed immediately after the third Epistle of St. John. At other times Luther has made alterations with regard to the *Chapters*. For instance, the first sentence of Mark ix. was made by Luther the last sentence of Mark viii. And so it was by Tyndal. Again, the first sentence of 1 Cor. xi. was made by Luther the last sentence of ch. x. And so it was by Tyndal. In another place Luther has carried two sentences forward, having removed the two last sentences of 1 Cor. i. to the beginning of ch. ii. The same transfer took place in Tyndal's New Testament. Again, the three last sentences of Heb. iv. were transferred by Luther to the beginning of ch. v. And Tyndal did the same. Now if the singular coincidences mentioned in this paragraph do not establish the fact, that Tyndal used Luther's New Testament, it will be difficult to afford a proof of any thing.

"I will now give some examples, to show the manner in which Tyndal's mode of *translating* was influenced by Luther's German Version. Luther thus begins the first chapter of St. Matthew, 'dis ist das Buch von der Geburt Jesu Christi,' though there is nothing in the Greek corresponding to *Dis ist*. And Tyndal in like manner begins with '*This is the boke,*' &c. Matth. ii. 18. *φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη* is translated by Luther, Auf dem Gebürge hat man ein Geschrey gehört. Instead, therefore, of taking Rama for the name of a city, as it is commonly understood both in Matth. ii. 18. and Jeremiah xxxi. 15. he had recourse to the Hebrew *רמה* as an *appellative*, and translated it Gebürge. In like manner Tyndal, instead of Rama as a proper name, has used the word 'hilles,' and translated the passage 'on the hilles was a voice harde.' He has here followed Luther with the greatest exactness: for Gebürge though a noun singular has a plural sense, and signifies not a single hill, but an assemblage of hills, whence Tyndal has 'hilles' in the plural. He agrees also with Luther in the *arrangement* of the words. Matth. iv. 25. *ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως* is translated by Luther 'aus Galiläa aus den zehn Städten:.' and in this passage Tyndal has 'from Galilee and from the ten cities.' Matth. viii. 18. *ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν* is translated by Luther 'hiess er hinuber jenseits *des Meers* fahren,' though there is no word in the Greek corresponding to *des Meers*. Yet Tyndal agrees with Luther, and has 'he commanded to go over *the water*.' Matth. xi. 18. *δαμόνιον ἔχει* is rendered by Luther 'Er hat den Teufel,' and by Tyndal 'He haeth *the deuyll*.' Matth. xiii. 10. *διὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς* is rendered by Tyndal 'Why speakest thou to them in parables?' but ver. 13. *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ* he translates 'Therefore speak I to them in *similitudes*.' Here Luther's translation is 'Darum rede ich zu ihnen in *Gleichnissen*,' with which Tyndal agrees even in the structure of the sentence."—pp. 52—57.

"It cannot appear extraordinary, if an English translator, who followed Luther so closely as Tyndal did, should occasionally adopt a German idiom. Now there is nothing which more distinguishes the structure of the German from that of the English language, than the position of the nominative case and verb in affirmative sentences. To make this intelligible to an English reader, and at the same time to contrast the English with the German idiom, let us take some familiar English example, for instance, 'I rode yesterday from Cambridge to Huntingdon,' which might be expressed in German by 'Ich ritt gestern von Cambridge nach Huntingdon.' But if Gestern be placed at the beginning of the sentence, the German idiom requires that the nominative be put *after* the verb, though the sentence is not interrogatory, but affirmative. A German, therefore, would say 'Gestern ritt ich von Cambridge nach Huntingdon,' though an Englishman, if he began the sentence with yesterday, would still say 'Yesterday I rode,' &c. And if he said 'Yesterday rode I from Cambridge to Huntingdon,' he would use a Germanism.

"Now there are many such Germanisms in our English Bible, though their deviation from the common English style is generally overlooked,

because we are accustomed to them from our childhood. One example has been already given from Matth. xiii. 13. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, which most English translators would render ‘therefore I speak to them in parables.’ But Luther’s German translation is ‘Darum rede ich zu ihnen in Gleichnissen,’ and hence Tyndal’s translation is ‘Therefore *speak I* to them,’ &c. which is still retained in the King’s Bible. 1 Cor. vii. 12. τοῖς ἐξ λοιποῖς ἐγὼ λέγω, is rendered by Luther ‘den andern *sage ich.*’ Hence Tyndal has ‘*speak I,*’ which is retained in the King’s Bible. 1 Cor. vii. 17. καὶ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσσομαι, would be translated into common English ‘and so *I order* in all the churches.’ But Luther, as the German idiom requires, places the nominative *after* the verb, and translates “Und also *schaffe ich,*” whence Tyndal has “so *order I,*” Coverdale has so ‘orden I,’ and hence our present reading ‘so ordain I.’ Other examples which originated in Tyndal’s translation, and were transferred to the King’s Bible, are 1 Cor. ix. 22. ‘To the weak *became I.*’—xii. 31. ‘and yet *shew I.*’—2 Cor. vii. 13. ‘exceedingly the more *joyed we.*’—xi. 24. ‘Of the Jews five times *received I.*’—1 Thess. ii. 13. ‘for this cause also *thank we.*’—Heb. v. 8. ‘yet *learned he.*’ James i. 18. ‘of his own will *begat he.*’—1 John i. 3. ‘That which we have seen and heard *declare we.*’ These examples, to which many more might be added, are sufficient to establish the fact, that there are *Germanisms* in our authorized version. In the examples, which I have selected, the verbs are all *principal* verbs: for even in English the pronoun nominative sometimes follows *auxiliary* verbs, even where no question is asked. There are likewise some principal verbs, as saith, quoth, &c. which precede their nominatives; and there are some constructions which it is not easy to define, where the nominative *may* be placed after the verb in affirmations. But the examples, which I have selected, do not appear to be warranted by the common usage of the English language: and, as they are in perfect accordance with the structure of the German language, they may be fairly ascribed to the circumstance, that Tyndal translated under the influence of the German idiom.”—*Dr. Marsh on the History of Biblical Interpretation*, —pp. 58—60.

These passages appear to contain a strong case on the part of the Bishop; but let us hear Professor Walter’s reply.

“The questions before us are, however, first, Whether Tyndal *could* make use of Luther’s German translation? And then; Whether his knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew, was so limited, as to oblige, or tempt him, to construe from the German; only checking Luther by the Vulgate, or, more rarely, from his own conception of the meaning of the original?

“I am not disposed to assert, nor is it necessary, for the establishment of my view of the subject, to maintain, that Tyndal was ignorant of German; though I pointed out to your lordship that a friend of Spalatinus, after conversing at Worms with an Englishman, whom several

circumstances prove to have been no other than Tyndal, described him as ‘ita septem linguarum peritum, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ, ut quæcumque loquatur, in eâ natum putes.’ In which list of Tyndal’s acquirements, German does not appear. And you must excuse my adding, that I cannot think your arguments to prove him acquainted with German, by any means irresistible.

“In the text of the Lectures you still speak thus:—‘What knowledge Tyndal had of Hebrew is unknown; but he of course understood the Latin Vulgate; and he was likewise acquainted with German.’ In the Appendix, where the disputed propositions of your text were to be proved, you say, ‘That he acquired a knowledge of the German language appears from his Prologe to the Epistle of Saint Paule to the Romainys, which is chiefly a translation from a preface to that epistle by Luther. Since then, it is evident that Luther’s New Testament was not only known to Tyndal, but that he was able to use it, few persons would be disposed to doubt that he *did* use it.’ But this evidence cannot be received as sufficiently decisive to allow of a conclusion being quite so rapidly built upon it; in face of the fact noticed in my Letter, that a Latin version of Luther’s Preface had been published five years before Tyndal printed his *Prologe*.

“The next assertion, to the point, repeated in your text, is, ‘He passed some time with Luther, at Wittenberg.’ The authority for this in your Appendix, is the following quotation: ‘Angliâ relictâ in Germaniam transivit, et in Saxoniam cum M. Luthero et Joh. Fritho, populari suo, sermonem contulit. Freheri Theatrum, p. 109.’ But it does not appear that this foreign writer meant to say more of the length of time which they passed together, than might be conveyed in the words which he was translating from our countryman, Fox. ‘At his departing out of the realm, he took his journey into the farther parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men.’—pp. 5—7.

“Without repeating all I said on this subject, I may be permitted to observe again, briefly, that as each had for his object the reformation of Christianity, it was surely natural that each should begin with giving his countrymen the New Testament in their native tongue; and should then turn back to Genesis, and proceed straight forward with the old, as far as Tyndal lived to continue his task. The portions of Scripture common to both translations were translated by each in this order; unless Tyndal imitated Luther, in interrupting his course to translate Jonah. An imitation which would not be fully accounted for, even by supposing him obliged to follow every irregularity in Luther’s course of translation, in order to have the advantage of using his version; for Luther translated according to the order in which the several books follow each other in the Bible, from Genesis to Canticles inclusive, before he interrupted his course to translate Jonah; whilst the publication of Tyndal’s translation of Jonah, is placed next to that of the English Pentateuch. And here I must beg to be pardoned, if I do repeat one of my remarks on the Prologe to Jonah by Tyndal: ‘Jonah, a solitary preacher, was ordered to call the people of a great city to repent of their sins; and

to reform ; and Tyndal, a persecuted individual, obliged to fly from his country, and shipwrecked whilst preparing the means for instructing and reforming a whole nation, had inducement enough to digress for a while, with Jonah and reformation for his theme.'

"In the note appended to this remark, I observed : 'It is only from the connexion between the mission of Jonah and endeavours to reform the religion of states, that I can account for the long list of separate editions of this prophet, published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Masch's *Le Long*, twenty-two editions, with Latin versions or paraphrases, are enumerated, besides the vernacular translations.'

"Had I not been peculiarly unfortunate in my endeavours to induce your lordship to think with me, you would scarcely, after reading this, have considered it worth while to say as follows : 'It is difficult to assign a reason, why a translator of the Old Testament should begin his translation of the prophetical books with that of the prophet Jonah. And it is still more difficult to explain, why *two* translators should act in the same manner, unless the latter was influenced by the former. Now Jonah was the first of the prophetical books which Luther selected for translation ; and it was the first, if not the only prophetical book, which Tyndal translated. According to Lewis, p. 72, Tyndal's translation of Jonah was published about 1531.' Instead of only *two* translators both beginning and ending their translations of the prophets with Jonah, I feel reluctant to ask your lordship to satisfy yourself, by searching *Le Long*, how many, out of the numerous editors and translators I lately referred to, did no more. But, indeed, I could wish that your researches had enabled you, without trouble, to give me some further authority than the reference to Lewis for the satisfaction of my doubts, whether Tyndal ever did translate Jonah. I had observed in my Letter, that it did not appear certain, from Lewis's language, that he had seen any thing more than the Prologue to Jonah ; a tract issued by Tyndal, as the vehicle for a very energetic diatribe against the Romish church. And that if a translation of the prophet by Tyndal was ever appended to this Prologue, which fills seventeen closely printed folio columns, 'I had never been able to meet with any such translation. It is not in Archbishop Newcome's careful list of the English translations, *Matthewe's Bible*, which contains all Tyndal's other translations, appears not to contain this.'—pp. 8—11.

"I should have no objection to leaving these coincidences, without farther notice of them, to be compared by your readers with the important examples given by me of Tyndal's coming nearer to the original, in the Hebrew, than either Luther, the Vulgate, or the LXX. But as you probably think the strongest of your instances to be that in which you found Luther and Tyndal agreeing to construe the word *Papā* hills, as if the Hebrew original רמה Jer. xxxi. 15, was the description, rather than the name, of a district ; it may not be improper to mention, that this is far from being a novel interpretation, only to be got by copying Luther. In Wicliffe's New Testament the word *Papā* had been translated in a similar manner *an high*, or, as some copies have it, *in higthe* ; and in the Anglo-Saxon gospel the clause stands thus : 'Stefn wæs on

kehnyss gehyred.' The truth is, my lord, that it was Tyndal's avowed and constant object, to leave as few words uninterpreted for the ignorant as possible. This led him, in your third instance, to render *Δεκαπόλει* *the ten cities*; and, in your last, to use *similitudes* instead of *parables*. He had employed the word *parables* in translating the corresponding clause, verse 10, where Luther had also *gleichnisse*; but, by making use of the term *similitudes* when the expression was repeated, Tyndal taught his readers a meaning of the word *parable*. After the same manner, in his 'Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue,' Tyndal says, 'Of the *similitudes* that Christ maketh in the gospel, of the kingdom of heaven, it appeareth that though the Holy Ghost is in the chosen'—; where his use of the word *chosen* instead of *elect* is another specimen of the like kind."—pp. 13, 14.

"Whilst translating Michaelis, your lordship's thoughts would necessarily be led to the subject under discussion, by his saying, that 'examples might be produced from the English bible of Germanisms that to every Englishman must appear obscure.' In your note upon this, you remarked, that 'it might appear more reasonable to conclude that those terms of expression which are no longer current in modern writings, were remnants of the Anglo-Saxon idiom, of which more traces are visible in the works of that age, than in those of the present century.' But, unhappily, though you thus anticipated the objections which some might make to the using these alleged Germanisms, as a ground for arguing that our bible owed them to the influence of Luther's version, you have not, it seems, thought it worth while to ascertain how far that objection applied to the Germanisms which you thought you had yourself detected.

"If your lordship, whose accurate knowledge of German enables you to detect any turn of expression corresponding with the German idiom quite as readily as Michaelis, could discover no more striking examples of Germanisms than the one brought forward in this Appendix, you must have smiled at the German professor's venturing to say, that 'to every Englishman these must appear obscure.'

"On first reading your Appendix, I naturally looked into Tyndal's own compositions, to see whether this post-position of the pronoun nominative might not be usual with him. And in the first page of his 'Obedience of a Christian Man,' I found the following, 'Here *seest thou*, that it is God's gift.' In the third page another, 'Whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with Christ, him *sealeth he* with his mighty Spirit, and putteth strength into his heart to suffer affliction also with Christ, for bearing witness unto the truth.' In the next page, 'When we have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean unto the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us; then *turneth he* the tyrants.'

"But as you perhaps might imagine that Tyndal, even in these cases, was copying some German divine, I thought it would be more satisfactory to look whether this supposed German idiom might not be found in Chaucer, before any translations from the German could have affected the tongue of our forefathers. I opened on fol. vii. of Thynne's edition,

at the knight's tale, in which 'there saw I,' or 'yet saw I,' occurred eight times; besides the following similar instances to our purpose:—

'Her eyen cast she full lowe adowne,
And lyke a lyon loked he aboute,
Full hye upon a chare of golde stode he.'

But lest these should be considered as cases of poetical inversion, not otherwise allowable, I turned to Chaucer's prose, and opening that long and singular sermon introduced by him as the parson's tale, I read, 'She may have mercy, this note I well.'—De Luxuria. If I go further back to the Anglo-Saxon scriptures, the beginning of Genesis supplies me with an example: 'Tha *genam* he an ribb of his sidan.' And if I turn to the gospels, the first verses, at which I have opened St. Luke, afford me several: 'Tha *comon* hig anes dæges fær,' chap. ii. ver. 44. 'Tha ne *ongecaton* hig,' ver. 50. 'Tha *ferde* he mid him,' ver. 51.

"So that you perceive, my lord, there needed no German to bias Tyndal towards the usage of a form of expression that must have been quite natural to him; though not often employed, I suspect, in English, without some intention of giving a particular emphasis to the pronoun. It was this reflection that brought to my mind the force given in the English version, by the post-position of the pronoun, to the language of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 'So *fight* I, not as one that beateth the air.' But on looking into Luther's Bible, I found that here, at least, the English translator must have the credit of employing this form by his own unbiassed choice; for the German is 'Ich fechte also, nicht als der in die luft streichet.'

"This led me to examine the cases referred to in your Appendix; for the purpose of learning, whether there was any such peculiarity about them as to make it improper to observe, that, where this form was found in both versions, it might be merely a case of coincidence in the usage of an idiom, not uncommon in either language."—pp. 20—24.

We confess that the facts and arguments contained in these extracts are to our mind decisively in favour of Professor Walter's side of the question under consideration; and we can safely refer our readers to the remainder of his pamphlet for much additional and highly interesting information.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

The Very Reverend RICHARD BAGOT, D.D. Dean of Canterbury, Rector of Blithfield and of Leigh, Staffordshire, has been nominated to the SEE of OXFORD, vacant by the death of the Right Reverend CHARLES LLOYD, D.D.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
York.			
Foston, R.	York . . .	T. S. Escott . . .	Lord Chancellor.
London.			
Allhallows, London- Wall, R.	Middlesex .	George Davys . .	Lord Chancellor.
Dunmow, Great, V. . .	Essex . . .	John Smith . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Hornsey, R.	Middlesex .	Richard Harvey .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebendary of Isling- ton in Cath. Ch. of St. Paul, London . .	Middlesex .	W. H. Hale . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Langham, R.	Essex . . .	D. Hurlock . . .	The King, as Duke of Lancaster.
Durham.			
Haltwhistle, V. . . .	Northumb.	William Ives . .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebendary in Cathed- ral Church of	Durham . .	Charles Thorp . .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebendary in Cathed- ral Church of	Durham . .	Thomas Gaisford	The Lord Bishop.
Sedgefield, R.	Durham . .	T. L. Strong . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Staindrop, R. with Cockfield, R.	Durham . .	J. W. D. Merest	Marquis of Cleveland.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Bradley, R.	Hants . .	John Griffin . .	E. B. Blackburn, Esq.
Portsea, St. Paul, P. C.	Hants . .	Samuel Slocock }	C. B. Henville, as V. of Portsea.
West Titherley, R. . .	Hants . .	W. A. Bouverie .	C. B. Wall, Esq.
Bath and Wells.			
Bromfield, P. C. . . .	Somerset .	E. T. Halliday }	Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Ross.
Combe Florey, R. . . .	Somerset .	Sydney Smith .	The Lord Chancellor.
Compton Dundon, V.	Somerset .	J. Dickinson . }	Rev. W. Bowe, as Pre- bend of Compton Dundon, in Wells Cathedral.
Lydford, East, R. . . .	Somerset .	E. Harbin . }	W. Dickenson, Esq. John Davis, Esq.
Ely.			
Dry Drayton, R. . . .	Cambridge .	Samuel Smith .	Rev. S. Smith, D. D.
Prebend in Cathedral } Church of }	Ely	E. B. Sparke . .	The Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Buriton, R.	Hants . .	C. G. Boyles . .	The Lord Bishop.
Halberton, V.	Devon . .	Sydney Smith .	Dn. & Ch. of Bristol.
Hemiock, R.	Devon . .	F. Warre, D. C. L.	Lieut.-Gen. Popham.
Holne, V.	Devon . .	J. D. Parham .	Rev. S. Lane.
St. Creed, R.	Cornwall .	J. Daubuz . . .	Richard Johns, Esq.
Prebend in Cathedral } Church of }	Exeter . .	T. Scott Smyth .	The Lord Bishop.
Gloucester.			
Elmstone Hardwick, } V. }	Gloucester .	H. B. Fowler . }	Lord Chancellor.
Treddington, C. . . . }			The Lord Bishop.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Archdeaconry of Staf- ford, and Canon Residentiaryship in Cathedral Church of }	Lichfield .	George Hodson .	The Lord Bishop.
West Bromwich New } Church }	Stafford . .	William Gordon	Earl of Dartmouth.
Whitechurch, R. . . .	Salop . .	E. Tatham, D. D.	Countess Bridgwater.
Uttoxeter, V.	Stafford . .	H. B. Fowler . .	D. & Can. of Windsor.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Lincoln.			
Caddington, <i>V.</i> . . .	Bedford . .	Wm. Mellard . .	D. & C. of St. Paul's. Clare Hall, Cambridge Archdeacon Bonney, as Preb. of Nassington, in Cath. Ch.
Datchworth, <i>R.</i> . . .	Herts . . .	E. S. Bunting . .	
Nassington, <i>V. with</i> } Yarwell, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Northampton	Hewett Linton }	
Whaddon, <i>V. with</i> } Nash, <i>Ch.</i> . . . }	Bucks . . .	W. C. Risley . .	New College, Oxford.
Llandaff.			
Llwgorg, <i>R.</i>	Glamorgan.	Calvert R. Jones }	The King, as Prince of Wales. Duke of Beaufort.
Newchurch, East, <i>P. C.</i>	Monmouth .	J. C. Prosser . .	
Norwich.			
Ashby, near Caister, } <i>R. with Oby, R.</i> } <i>and Docking, V.</i> }	Norfolk . .	Horatio Bolton }	Eton College, on no- mination of Bishop of Norwich.
Barmingham Parva, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	Edward Dewing	
Caistor, St. Edmund, } <i>R. with Trinity, V.</i> }	Norfolk . .	G. W. Steward .	G. D. Graver, Esq.
Cowling, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	S. H. Banks . .	John Steward, Esq.
Freckenham, <i>R. & V.</i>	Norwich .	Samuel Tillbrook }	Trinity Hall, Cambr.
Hollesley, <i>R.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	Henry Bathurst }	Peter-House, Cam- bridge.
Horsford, <i>V. and</i> } Horsham St. Faith, <i>V.</i> }	Norfolk . .	Octavius Mathias	Rev. Wm. Bolton and Earl Nelson.
Pensthorpe, <i>R.</i> . . .	Norfolk . .	G. Coldham . .	Vice-Admiral Stevens
Tuddenham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	William Hall . .	Rev. R. Hamond.
Weybread, St. Mary, <i>V.</i>	Suffolk . .	John Edge Daniel	Marquis of Bristol.
Oxford.			
Ewelme, <i>R.</i>	Oxford . .	Edward Burton }	Annexed to the Reg. Prof. of Divinity in the University.
Mapledurham, <i>V.</i> . .	Oxford . .	August. Fitzclarence	
Peterborough.			
Culworth, <i>R. and V.</i>	Northampton	John Spence . .	Sawyer Spence, Esq.
Grafton Underwood, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	Thomas Cooke .	The Ladies Fitzpatrick
Peakirk, <i>R. with</i> } Glington, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Northampton	{ J. H. Monk, } { D. D. . . }	The Dean & Chapter of Peterborough.
Prebend in Cathedral } Church of . . . }	Peterborough	John James . .	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Salisbury.			
Alton Barnes, R. . .	Wilts . .	A. W. Hare . .	New College, Oxford.
Castle Eaton, R. . .	Wilts . .	Thomas Bullock	T. Culley, Esq.
Dauntsey, R. . . .	Wilts . .	G. A. Biederman }	Sir C. Trotter, Bart. & Rev. M. G. Fenwick.
Fordington, V. with Writhlington, R. }	Dorset . .	M. Moule . }	Prebendary of Ford- ington in Cath. Ch.
Longbridge Deverill	Wilts . .	Lewis Tugwell	Marquis of Bath.
Sutton Courtney, V. .	Berks . .	William Tiptaft	D. & C. of Windsor.
St. David's.			
Llanylar, V.	Cardigan .	David Felix . .	The Lord Bishop.
Worcester.			
East Birlingham, R. .	Worcester .	R. Eyres Landor	A. Luders, Esq.
Ipsley, R.	Warwick .	Thos. D. Dolben	Rev. T. S. Dolben.
Oldbury, C.	Salop . .	W. Rose Holden }	Rev. G. Biggs, as Vicar of Halesowen.

CHAPLAINSHIPS, &c.

Bamford, H. L. M. A. to Price's Hospital, Hereford. Patrons, the Mayor and Corporation of Hereford.

Bower, M. to be Chaplain of Wilton Gaol.

Compton, William, jun. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Home.

Cornish, H. K. to be Domestic Chaplain to Dowager Baroness Audley.

Edwards, John Meredith, to the Chaplaincy of the ships in ordinary at Portsmouth.

Freeland, H. M. A. to the High Sheriff of Suffolk.

Hall, W. J. to be a Priest in Ordinary of His Majesty's Chapel Royal.

Harbin, C. M. A. to Hindon Chapel, Wilts.

Kemp, E. C. to be one of the Chaplains to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

La Trobe, J. A. to be Domestic Chaplain to Lord Mount Sandford.

Matthew, E. to the Readership of St. James's, Bath.

Morgan, C. A. to be a Chaplain in Ordinary to the King.

Ricketts, Wm. to be one of the Domestic Chaplains to H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.

Roberson, W. H. M. to the Chaplaincy of Oxford City Gaol.

West, M. to the Chaplaincy of Bury Gaol.

Whittenoom, J. B. to be Chaplain to the Swan River Settlement, Australasia.

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

Carter, T. to the Fellowship of Eton College.

Cooke, Joseph, Head Master of Newark Grammar School.

Hopwood, William, Master of Hitchin Grammar School.

Jacob, Edwin, M.A. Rector of St. Pancras, Chichester, to be Vice President, Acting and Resident Head of King's College, New Brunswick.

Longley, Charles Thomas, D. D. to the Head Mastership of Harrow School. Patrons, the Governors.

Shillibeer, John, Head Master of Oundle Grammar School.

Yonge, C. to the Under-mastership of Eton College.

Williams, C. K. Master of Lewes Grammar School.

ORDAINED.

WINCHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, May 17.

DEACONS.

Thomas Charles Pearson, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Francis Merewether, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Rev. Josiah James, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. John Parkinson Sill, B.A. Cambridge.

Rev. Capel Molyneux, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop, April 19.

DEACONS.

O. S. Harrison, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

E. F. Phipps, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

R. F. Gould, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

W. G. Heathman, B.A. Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

G. R. Lawson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

H. J. Williams, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

J. Woodhouse, B.A. Sidney College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

J. S. Jenkinson, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

G. R. Kensit, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

J. P. Mc'Ghie, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

J. Perry, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

G. Ross, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

C. Pickwick, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

R. Buller, M.A. Oriel College, Oxford ; by letters dismissory from the Lord Bishop of Exeter.

E. N. Braddon, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

R. C. Christie, LL.B. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

R. L. Hoppen, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

H. Moseley, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

G. P. Simpson, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

HEREFORD.

By the Lord Bishop, at Winchester, May 17.

DEACONS.

William Ricketts, M.A. Merton College, Oxford.

C. Wells, B.A. New College, Oxford.

M. G. Duncombe, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

G. T. Forester, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Rev. J. Harding, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

W. J. B. Angell, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

J. W. Downes, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

NORWICH.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Cathedral, May 24.

DEACONS.

William Bannerman, B.A. Brazenose College, Oxford.

John Alexander Blackett, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

James Mellor Brown, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

William Darby, St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

John Massy Dawson, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Charles Fonnereau, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

William Foulger, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Gunton, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Thomas Halsted, B.A. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

William Howorth, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Thomas Collingwood Hughes, B.A. Downing College, Cambridge.

John Rust Jeffery, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

John Munnings Johnson, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Augustus Wenman Langton, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Custance Leak, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Henry Spelman Marriott, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

George Horatio Nutting, B.A. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Francis George Rawlins, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Isaac Banks Robinson, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Kirby Trimmer, B.A. St. Alban Hall, Oxford.

Samuel Blois Turner, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Charles Wildbore, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Benjamin William Salmon Vallack, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Pelham Stanhope Aldrich, B.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Ernest Silvanus Appleyard, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Haygarth Baines, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Robert Bond, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Horatio Walpole Bucke, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Samuel William Bull, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Richard Catton, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Thomas Charles Chevalier, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Jonathan Blenman Cobham, M.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

George James Cubitt, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Charles Newman Cutler, S.C.L. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Edge Daniel, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Edwin Proctor Denniss, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Thomas Dix, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

William Coyte Freeland, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

William Bird Frost, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

John Savile Hallifax, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Wm. Arnold Walpole Keppel, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Edmund Kerrison, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Octavius Mathias, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Forster Maynard, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Geo. Wm. Steward, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Samuel Stone, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Henry Thos. Thompson, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

ROCHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel of Bromley Palace, April 27.

PRIEST.

Henry Montague Grovers, S.C.L. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

DEACONS.

John Drake Becker, B.A. St. John's College.

J. A. Morris, B.A. Queen's College.

J. H. Stevenson, B.A. Jesus College.

Chas. Rose, B.A. Catherine Hall.

Wm. Green, B.A. Corpus Christi Coll.

SALISBURY.

By the Lord Bishop, at the Chapel in the Palace, Mar. 29.

DEACONS.

Frederick Edward Arney, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Benjamin Morland, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

PRIESTS.

Charles Desborough Stewart, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Francis Henchman Buckersfield, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

Robert David Cartwright, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

John Henry Arnold Walsh, M.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Augustus James Brine, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, in Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge, on Sunday the 14th June.

DEACONS.

Tho. Ayres, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

John Boyle, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Joseph Brown, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Gayfere, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

George Thomas Holland, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

John Edm. Johuson, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Hutchinson King, Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

William Ludlow, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Richard John L. Maydwell, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Augustus Packe, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Henry Pearse, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Marmaduke Prickett, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Sutton, B.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

Joseph Taylor, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Caleb Whitefoord, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Aislabie Procter, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Durham.

PRIESTS.

James Appleton, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

John Byron, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

Andrew Corbett, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Joseph Deans, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

John T. C. Fawcett, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

John Gore, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Morgan, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Henry Newmarch, B.A. St. Mary Hall, Oxford.

Francis Pooley Roupell, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Thomas Sikes, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Henry Baugh Thorold, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

ELY.

By the Lord Bishop, at St. George's, Hanover Square, on Trinity Sunday.

DEACONS.

William Keeling, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

James Alexander Barnes, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Luxmoore, B.A. King's College, Cambridge.

Edward Dodd, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Henry Longueville Jones, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

William Selwyn, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

George King, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Benj. Hall Kennedy, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Richard Bethuel Boyes, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Edward Bates, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Richard Taylor, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

John Ryle Wood, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Charles Frederick Rogers Baylay, Trinity College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Rochester.

John Marshall, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

From the Bishop of Lichfield.

Tho. Dawson Hewson, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

From the Bishop of Chichester.

Samuel Edward Bernard, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Lichfield.

PRIESTS.

William Henry Hanson, M.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Humphrey Senhouse Pinder, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

Richard Wilson, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rich. Williamson, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Francis Gregory Le Mann, B.A. King's College, Cambridge.

John Gibson, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

William Waring, M.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Thomas Thorp, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Robert Bruce Boswell, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Harding, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Henry Garrett Newland, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Chichester.

PETERBOROUGH.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Cathedral Church, on Sunday, June 14.

DEACONS.

Stephen Ralph Cartwright, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Henry Flesher, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Charles Hicks Gaye, B. A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Percy Bysshe Harris, Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Robert Isham, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

Francis Michael McCarthy, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Frederick Maude, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

George Oakes Miller, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Robinson, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

George Stephens Dickson, B. A. University College, Oxford.

William Henry England, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Thomas Peach Holdich, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Daniel Baxter Langley, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

George Mason, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

John Parry, M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

Henry Walter Seawell, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

James Henry Stone, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Stopford, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

DECEASED.

On Sunday, May 31, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Right Reverend CHARLES LLOYD, D.D. Lord Bishop of OXFORD, and Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, aged 45. He took his Degree of M.A. in May, 1809; B.D. in July, 1818, and D.D. in March, 1821.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
York.			
Ampleforth, V. . . .	York . .	Anth. Germain }	Preb. of Ampleforth, in the Cath. Ch.
London.			
Alresford, R. and Ingrave, R. . . . }	Essex . .	T. Newman, jun.	Rev. T. Newman.
Dunmow, Great, V. .	Essex . .	A. Richardson, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Hornsey, R. . . .	Middlesex .	Charles Sheppard	The Lord Bishop.
Minor Canonry in Cath. Church of St. Paul, London . . }	Middlesex .	Richard Webb }	The Dean and Chap- ter of St. Paul's.
Minor Canonry in Coll. Ch. of Westm. }			
Preb. of Islington, in the Cath. Ch. of St. Paul, London, and Allhallows, London Wall, R. . . . }	Middlesex .	R. Nares, D.D. }	The Lord Bishop. Lord Chancellor.
Shenfield, R. . . .	Essex . .	Philip Salter . .	Countess de Grey.
Durham.			
Denton, C. . . .	Durham .	Thomas Peacock	V. of Gainford.
Simonburn, R. . . .	Northumb. .	David Evans .	Greenwich Hospital.
Winchester.			
Buriton, R. . . .	Hants . .	Brownlow Poulter	The Lord Bishop.
Carshalton, V. . . .	Surrey . .	Wm. Rose . .	John Cator, Esq.
Bath and Wells.			
Lydford, East, R. . .	Somerset .	Narcissus Ryall .	John Davis, &c.
Weston super Mare, R.	Somerset .	Fra. Blackburne	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Bristol.			
Broadmayne, <i>R.</i> . . .	Dorset . .	D. H. Urquhart	D. Urquhart, Esq.
Chichester.			
Westbourne, <i>R. & V.</i>	Sussex . .	W. D. Tattersall	Rev. L. Way.
Ely.			
Wilbraham, Great, <i>V.</i> .	Cambridge	John Stephenson	Rev. James Hicks.
Exeter.			
Hemiock, <i>R. with</i> } Culm Davy Church }	Devon . .	James Sparrow .	Mrs. Hutton.
Prebend in Cath. Ch. of	Exeter . .	} J. H. P. Polson	Dn. & Ch. of Exeter.
St. Mary Major, } Exeter, <i>R. and</i> } Upton Helion, <i>R.</i> }	Devon . .		Jos. Polson, Esq.
Gloucester.			
Alderley, <i>R.</i> . . . } and Brimsfield, <i>R.</i> }	Gloucester .	James Phelps . }	Mr. and Mrs. Hale. E. Mount Edgcumbe.
with Cranham, <i>R.</i> } Wootton-under-Edge, } <i>V.</i> }	Gloucester .	W. D. Tattersall	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Aldridge, <i>R.</i>	Stafford .	Wm. Scott . .	Sir E. D. Scott, Bart.
Archd. of Stafford, and } Canonry in Cath. } Church of }	Lichfield .	Rob. Nares, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Wednesbury, <i>V.</i> . . . } and Wore, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Stafford . .	A. B. Haden . }	Lord Chancellor. R. of Mucklestone.
Lincoln.			
Kensworth, <i>V.</i>	Herts . .	Richard Webb }	D. & C. of St. Paul's, London.
Osbourne, <i>V.</i>	Lincoln . .	John Corrie . .	Duke of Rutland.
Saddington, <i>R.</i>	Leicester .	A. B. Haden .	Lord Chancellor.
Woodstone, <i>R.</i>	Hunts . .	J. Bringhurst .	J. Bevis, Esq.
Landaff.			
Caerleon, <i>V.</i>	Monmouth	John Thomas .	Archd. and Chapter.
Norwich.			
Campsey Ash, <i>R.</i> . . . } and Barnham, <i>R.</i> } with Euston, <i>R.</i> . . }	Suffolk . .	G. F. Tavel . }	Sir J. Woodford, Bt. Duke of Grafton.
Horsford, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	Geo. Kent . .	Lord Ranelagh.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Peterborough.			
Barnwell, All Saints, R.	Northampt.	R. Roberts, D.D.	Lord Montagu.
— St. Andrew, R.			
and Waddenhoe, R.			Rev. Robert Roberts.
Morcott, R.	Rutland	John Corrie . . .	Rev. E. Thorold.
Rochester.			
Beckenham, R.	Kent . . .	William Rose . .	John Cator, Esq.
Dartford, V.	Kent . . .	Geo. Heberden . .	The Lord Bishop.
Salisbury.			
Fordington, V. with } Writhlington, R. . . }	Dorset . . .	John Palmer . . .	Pr. of Fordington in C. C. of Salisbury.
Longbridge Deverell, V. and Castle Eaton, R. }	Wilts . . .	H. Goddard, D.D. .	Marquess of Bath. Rev. T. Shepherd.
Minor Canonry in } Coll. Ch. of Windsor }	Berks . . .	Richard Webb . .	Dean and Canons of Windsor.
Worcester.			
Ipsley, R. and } Tanworth, V. . . }	Warwick . .	Philip Wren . . .	Rev. T. S. Dolben. Earl of Plymouth.
Wellsbourne, V. with } Walton Devile, R. }	Warwick . .	J. H. Williams . .	Lord Chancellor.

Name.	Residence.	County.
Breynton, J. H.	Clifton	Gloucester.
Buckham, P. W.	Oundle	Northampton.
Bussell, W.	Henley-upon-Thames	Oxford.
Best, George	Archdeacon of New Brunswick.	
Bradford, J. M. A.	Wallingford	Berks.
Chichester, Geo. A. F.	Northland	Sussex.
Clarke, Wm.	Mast. of East Bergholt Gram. School.	Suffolk.
Cookes, Denham, J. J.	Gatcombe House	Devon.
Evans, John	Chaplain of H. M. Ship <i>Java</i> , Madras Roads.	
Hall, J.	Minister of Eng. Ch. at Rotterdam.	
Hall, J. K.	Kettering	Northampton.
Hawkes, Samuel	Fellow of Trinity College	Cambridge.
Keysall, C. W.	Breedon	Worcester.
Lloyd, Richard	Towerhill	Limerick.
Luxmore, C. C.	Tavistock	Devon.
O'Grady, James	Rockbarton.	
Parker, Thomas	Edinburgh.	
Pugh, John	Hereford	Hereford
Rennell, William	Tarcross	Devon.
Smyth, C. W.	Norwich	Norfolk.
Waldron, George	Bayswater	Middlesex.
Ward, Joseph	Newport Pagnell	Bucks.
White, E.	Epperston	Notts.
Winterbotham, Wm.	Nailsworth.	
Witham, George	Durham	Durham.

MARRIED.

- Battiscombe, W., M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, to Elizabeth, third daughter of the Rev. J. Randolph.
- Belcher, Andrew, to Julia Letithea, third daughter of Ralph Wilson, Esq. of Islip House, Northamptonshire.
- Bell, Edward John, Vicar of Wickham Market, to Fanny, seventh daughter of the late Rev. J. Eyre, Rector of St. Giles's Reading.
- Brodrick, William John, to the Hon. Harriet Brodrick, third daughter of Viscount Middleton.
- Brownlow, William, M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, to Fanny, only daughter of R. S. Chambers, Esq. of the Middle Temple.
- Bushe, Charles, Rector of Castlehaven, in the diocese of Cork, second son of the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice, to Fanny Elizabeth, second daughter of the late James Bury, Esq. of St. Leonard's, Essex.
- Campbell, John, of Kingsland, to Miss Sturch, late of Newington-green.
- Cardwell, Edward, B.D. Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, Camden Professor of Ancient History, and Rector of Stoke Bruern, Northamptonshire, to Cecilia, youngest daughter of the late Henry Feilden, Esq. of Witton House, Lancashire.
- Clinton, C. J. F., Rector of Cromwell, Notts, to Rosabella, youngest daughter of J. Mathews, Esq. Tynemouth, Northumberland.
- Coupland, W., Rector of Acton Beauchamp, Worcestershire, to Mary Ann, only child of the late Mr. Bourne, of Blackbrook, Staffordshire.
- Croker, Thomas, youngest son of Edward Croker, Esq. of Ballynegarde, county of Limerick, to Eliza, third daughter of Joseph Haigh, Esq. of Spring Wood, Yorkshire.
- Dod, Henry Hayman, M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford, to Frances Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Holland, Precentor of Chichester, and granddaughter of the late Lord Chancellor Erskine, K.T. &c.
- Fosbroke, Yate, to Mary Ann, only child of Joseph Pain, Esq. of Neithrop, Oxfordshire.
- Freeland, Henry, Rector of Hasketon, Suffolk, to Georgiana Frances, second daughter of Charles Round, Esq. of Birch Hall, near Colchester.
- Harvey, R., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Ramsgate, to Mary Harriett, daughter of Mr. Thomas Wood, of Billericay.
- Hook, Walter Farquhar, M.A. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, to Anna Delicia, eldest daughter of Dr. John Johnstone, of Galabank, N.B. and of Monument House, Edgebarton.
- Holmes, William Anthony, Rector of Moyne, in the county of Tipperary, to Sarah Caroline, second daughter of John Bond, Esq. of Cavendish-place, Bath.
- Hoper, H., M.A. of Portslade, Sussex, to Sarah, only daughter of the Rev. Richard Constable of Cowfield.
- Jackson, W., B.D. Rector of Lowther, in the county of Westmoreland, Vicar of St. James's, Whitehaven, and late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, to Julia Eliza, daughter of T. G. Crumpe, Esq. of Liverpool.
- Jenkins, Evan, of Dowlais Iron-works, Glamorganshire, to Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of the late John Fothergill, Esq. of Tredegar Iron-works.
- Knipe, J., of Aldermaston, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of William Stephens, Esq. of Padworth.
- Lathbury, Thomas, M.A. of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, to Sarah, fifth daughter of Daniel Connor, Esq. of Norfolk Crescent.
- Long, Walter, M.A. of Oriel College, Oxford, Rector of Calloes, Wilts, youngest son of John Long, Esq. of Monckton Farleigh, Wilts, to Sarah Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. Peter Gunning, Rector of Newton St. Loe, and of Bathwick.
- Lyne, Charles, son of the Rev. Richard Lyne, Rector of Little Petherick, Cornwall, to Harriet, fourth daughter of A. F. Nunery, Esq. of Basing Park, Hants.
- Marrington, Frederick, of Dummer, to Olivia, eldest daughter of Wm. Cox, Esq. of Wingrave.
- Maynard, Foster, eldest son of Capt. Maynard, of Melton, Suffolk, to Sophia, second

- daughter of the late John Clarkson, Esq. of Woodbridge.
- Nicholson, H. J. Boone, M.A. of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and one of the domestic chaplains to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, to Mary, youngest daughter of James Donaldson, Esq. of Bloomsbury Square.
- Owen, H. J., M.A. Minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea, to Angelica Francis, youngest daughter of John Bayford, Esq.
- Perceval, Charles George, third son of Lord Arden, and Rector of Calverton, Bucks, to Mary, only daughter of the Rev. Primate Knapp, Rector of Shenley, in the same county.
- Phillips, W. Spencer, B.D. Fellow and late Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Minister of St. John's Church, Cheltenham, to Penelope, youngest daughter of the late Commodore Broughton, and niece of Sir John D. Broughton, Bart. of Doddington Hall, in the county of Chester.
- Redhead, J. R., of Ramalldkirk, Yorkshire, to Miss H. Bradfield, of Saffron Walden.
- Ross, G., M.A. of Lincoln College, Oxford, to Jane, daughter of the Rev. R. F. Gould, Rector of Luckham.
- Scott, J., B.A. of St. Edmund Hall, to Jane, daughter of Mr. Walker, of Holywell.
- Thackeray, F., M.A. to Mary Anne, the eldest daughter of the late J. Shakespeare, Esq.
- Toplis, J., Rector of South Walsham, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr. William Smith, merchant, of that place.
- Tucker, W. M., M.A. late Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, and Rector of All Saints, Colchester, to Agnes Sophia, youngest daughter of John Bax, Esq. of West Malling, Kent.
- Wenn, J. W., M.A. to Marianne Elizabeth, youngest daughter of John Benjafield, Esq.
- Wheat, C. C., to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart.
- Whitmore, C. B. C., M.A. Rector of Stockton, Salop, to Anne Barbara, fourth daughter of the late Thomas Giffard, Esq. of Chillington Hall, Staffordshire.
- Wilder, Henry, eldest son of John Wilder, Esq. of Purley Hall, Berkshire, to Augusta, eldest daughter of the late Charles Smith, Esq. of Sutton, Essex.
- Withey, Henry, M.A. to Christian Dottin, fourth daughter of the late Hon. Sir John Gay Alleyne, Bart. of Barbadoes.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY

(*by diploma*).

March 25.

John Matthias Turner, M.A. Christ Church, Bishop of Calcutta.

April 30.

Charles T. Longley, late Student of Christ Church.

May 14.

Rev. James Webber, Christ Church, Dean of Rippon, and Prebendary of Westminster, Grand Compounder.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

April 11.

Rev. Francis Warre, Rector of Cheddon Fitz-Payne, Somerset, and Prebendary of Wells, of Oriel College, Grand Compounder.

April 29.

J. W. Buller, late Fellow of All Souls' College.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

April 29.

Rev. Charles Thomas Longley, late Student of Christ Church, now Head Master of Harrow School.

Rev. C. Dethick Blyth, Fellow of St. John's College.

Rev. W. A. Bouverie, Fellow of Merton College.

Rev. C. L. Swainson, Fellow of St. John's College.

May 20.

Rev. Herbert White, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

June 18.

Rev. Alfred Butler Clough, Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College.

BACHELOR IN CIVIL LAW.

April 11.

Rev. John Cecil Hall, Student of Christ Church.

May 7.

Rev. John Flory Howard, M.A. Trinity College.

June 10.

W. H. Smith, Queen's College.

Mr. Edwards, B.C.L. of Cambridge, was admitted *ad eundem*.

June 18.

William Evans, Jesus College.

HONORARY MASTER OF ARTS.

April 11.

Thomas Pycroft, Esq. Commoner of Trinity College, (the successful candidate for the Wynn Writership).

MASTERS OF ARTS.

March 25.

Rev. A. Everingham Sketchley, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. John Downall, Magdalen Hall.

April 2.

Rev. John Sayer, Merton College.

April 11.

Rev. George Henry Stoddart, Queen's College.

Rev. Nathaniel Wodehouse, Merton College.

April 29.

Rev. R. Barton Robinson, Queen's College.

Rev. Henry Demain, Queen's College.

Rev. Wm. Orger, St. Edmund Hall.

Hon. Lloyd Kenyon, Christ Church.

Rev. P. Hansell, Scholar of University College.

Rev. Chas. Stone, Scholar of University College.

Rev. Wm. Ives, Balliol College.

Rev. Wm. Blundell, Brasenose Coll.

Robt. Price Morrell, Fellow Magdalen College.

Rev. James Peter Rhoades, Wadham College.

Henry Jas. Louis Williams, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. John Simon Jenkinson, Magdalen Hall.

Henry John Hutton, Magdalen Hall.

May 7.

Thomas Brown, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. W. Cartwright Kitson, Worcester College.

Rev. J. Hadley, Scholar of Worcester College.

George Clive, Brasenose College.

Wm. Rhodes Bernard, Balliol College.

May 14.

Rev. J. Jenkins, Merton College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. W. Lockwood, University College, Grand Compounder.

Thos. Percy Meade, Fellow of All Souls' College.

Rev. Richard Brickdale, Christ Church.

Rev. Hen. Oldershaw, Brasenose Coll.

Fretchville Lawson B. Dykes, Oriel Col.

Rev. Henry Richards, Magdalen Hall.

May 20.

Thomas Ogier Ward, Queen's College.

Rev. H. J. Buckoll, Michel Scholar of Queen's College.

Rev. E. Girdlestone, Scholar of Balliol College.

Rev. Thos. Peach Holdich, Balliol Col.

David Stott Meikleham, Balliol Coll.

Hon. J. Chetwynd Talbot, Student of Christ Church.

Rev. W. Dann Harrison, Worcester College.

Rev. Horace Chavasse, Worcester Col.

May 27.

William Allfree, Exeter College, Grand Compounder.

William George Lambert, Scholar of Corpus.

Francis John Moore, Exeter College.

Stephen Love Hammick, Christ Church.

Rev. Robert Henry King, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, Oriel Coll.

Charles Henry John Anderson, Oriel College.

June 6.

The Rev. J. Missing, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. F. Annesley, St. John's College.

Rev. E. Trueman, Worcester College.

H. H. Bobart, Christ Church.

L. B. Wither, Oriel College.

June 10.

J. Johnes, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. A. Neate, Trinity College.

Rev. J. B. Gwyn, Jesus College.

J. Jones, Jesus College.

Rev. J. Price, Jesus College.

Rev. J. Trevelyan, St. Mary Hall.

Rev. N. Small, St. Mary Hall.

W. Jones, Christ Church.

Rev. J. Kynaston, Christ Church.

Rev. A. Browne, Christ Church.

Rev. R. Lewis, Magdalen Hall.

E. Ray, Brasenose College.

Rev. C. W. Pitt, Brasenose College.

Rev. G. Wylie, Queen's College.

Rev. S. Bellas, Queen's College.

Rev. J. West, Worcester College.

W. S. Bricknell, Worcester College.

Rev. C. Reed, Exeter College.

Rev. J. F. Hone, University College.

Rev. J. C. Campbell, University Coll.

J. L. Lamotte, Wadham College.

Rev. G. Lea, Wadham College.

Rev. R. Whitelock, Lincoln College.

Rev. H. M. Spence, Lincoln College.

D. Badham, Pembroke College.

W. J. Trower, Fellow of Oriel College.

June 18.

Rev. John Olive, Worcester College. (Grand Comp.)

Rev. Geo. Heron, Brasenose College.

Rev. Hen. Fowle, University College.

Rev. Wm. May Ellis, Christ Church.

William Dowdeswell, Christ Church.

Francis Valentine Woodhouse, Exeter College.

Rev. William Scott Robinson, Exeter College.

Rev. George Gregory Gardiner, Exeter College.

Rev. John Ley, Exeter College.

Rev. Hugh Willoughby, Exeter Coll.

Rev. Rich. Wilson Kemplay, Queen's College.

Rev. Wm. Tahourdin, Fellow of New College.

Rev. Peter Maurice, Chaplain of New College.

Rev. Heathfield Weston Hicks, Pembroke College.

Edward Benbow, Pembroke College.

Rev. Dan. Wilson, Wadham College.

William Purton, Trinity College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

March 25.

Chas. Brandon Trye, Brasenose Coll.

May 7.

David Vavasor Durell, Christ Church, incorporated from Trinity College, Cambridge, Grand Compounder.

William Fisher, St. Edmund Hall.

Richard Fawcett, Lincoln College.

John Swainson, Brasenose College.

May 14.

Christopher Alderson, Magdalen Hall.
Marmaduke Robert Jeffreys, Christ Church.

Joseph Bonsor, Exeter College.

Robert Armitage, Worcester College.

John Richard F. Billingsley, Lincoln College.

Laurence Armistead, Lincoln College.

George Bellamy, Lincoln College.

John Cobbold Aldrich, Lincoln Coll.

Andrew Douglas Stacpoole, Fellow of New College.

Robert James Mackintosh, Fellow of New College.

Wm. Geo. Duncombe, Brasenose Col.

Wm. Wilbraham Johnson, Brasenose College.

James Armistead, Wadham College.

Chas. David Badham, B.A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, was incorporated of Pembroke College.

May 20.

Charles Dowding, Queen's College.

George Weare Bush, Queen's College.

John Dinning, Queen's College.

Rev. Arthur Bromiley, St. Edmund Hall.

Chas. Egerton Dukinfield, Magdalen Hall.

Charles Kyd Bishop, Magdalen Hall.

William Brown Clark, University Coll.

Geo. Herbert Cotton, Worcester Coll.

John Clervaux Chaytor, Worcester Col.

Wm. Wilcox Clarke, Wadham College.

Wm. York Draper, Wadham College.

Edw. Thomas, Wadham College.

Chas. Jno. Birch, Fellow of St. John's College.

Jno. Garratt Bussell, Trinity College.

Sir John T. B. Duckworth, Oriel Coll.

Harris Jervoise Bigg Wither, Oriel Coll.

May 27.

Wm. Nigel Gresley, St. Mary Hall.

Thos. Farebrother, Queen's College.

Richard Croft, Scholar of Balliol Coll.

James Dennis, Exeter College.

Francis Ossian Durant, Worcester Coll.

Henry Davison, Scholar of Trinity Coll.

Howel Gwyn, Trinity College.

Chas. Powell, Trinity College.

June 6.

W. Webb Ellis, Brasenose College.

E. A. Waller, Brasenose College.

B. V. Townshend, Brasenose College.

E. N. Orme, St. Mary Hall.

W. Lloyd, Jesus College.

C. Lloyd, Jesus College.

W. Bowling, Jesus College.

T. Lewis, Jesus College.

J. Forbes, Oriel College.

J. H. Hallett, Oriel College.

O. C. Huntley, Oriel College.

G. R. Marriott, Oriel College.

R. B. Wilson, University College.

W. H. Roper, University College.

H. Matthie, Pembroke College.

J. Lister, Worcester College.

C. Marriott, Queen's College.

J. Lawson, St. Alban Hall.

H. Mogg, Exeter College.

A. C. Bridge, Exeter College.

C. Moore, Exeter College.

T. W. Martyn, Exeter College.

W. Littlehales, Exeter College.

W. H. Mackworth, Balliol College.

W. S. Lendon, Christ Church.

Sir Thos. F. Boughey, Bart. Christ Church.

Sir Jno. Mordaunt, Bart. Christ Church.

E. Hulse, Christ Church.

C. J. Laprimandaye, St. John's Coll.

H. Flesher, Lincoln.

June 10.

Hon. A. J. Ashley Cooper, Christ Church.

C. O. Mayne, Christ Church.

S. C. J. Berdmöre, Christ Church.

W. Moore, Christ Church.

R. Heelis, Queen's College.

W. Leech, Queen's College.

W. Hutton, Queen's College.

M. Burnham, Queen's College.

H. T. Streeten, Queen's College.

J. Tardiffe, Queen's College.

H. Sweeting, Queen's College.

J. K. Simpkinson, Balliol College.

C. T. Dawson, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

C. T. Cary, Magdalen Hall.

E. Bagnall, Magdalen Hall.

F. Reyroux, St. Edmund Hall.

R. Stranger, Pembroke College.

W. Gilkes, Pembroke College, (Grand Comp.)

E. Williams, Jesus College.

T. Davies, Jesus College.

W. D. Phillips, Jesus College.

J. Roberts, Jesus College.

R. Suckling, Exeter College.

C. T. James, Exeter College.

Hallorshead, Exeter College.

G. Kennard, St. Alban Hall.

E. E. Blencowe, St. Alban Hall.

A. Stewart, St. Alban Hall.

D. Lang, St. Alban Hall.

E. Lilley, Worcester College.

G. J. Quarmlly, Lincoln College.

G. J. Gould, Lincoln College.

E. Meade, Wadham College.

A. T. Corfe, All Souls College.

J. Pope, St. John's College.

H. Horn, St. John's College.

G. E. Smith, St. John's College.

June 18.

Samuel Hooper Whittuck, St. Mary's Hall.

Alfred Hadfield, St. Mary Hall.

James Fletcher West, Scholar of Brasenose College.

Henry Champion, Brasenose College.

John Samuel Williams, Jesus College.

William Williams, Jesus College.

Septimus Henry Palairot, Worcester College.

Edward Fitzgerald, Balliol College.

John Ekins, Balliol College.

Harry Buckland Lott, Balliol College.

Jacob Wood, Postmaster of Merton College.

Edward Martin Atkins, Demy of Magdalen College.

Rob. Jones, Oades' Exhibitioner, Pembroke College.

Brooke William Robert Boothby, Student of Christ Church.

Cha. Baring, Student of Christ Church.

The Earl of Ossory, Christ Church.

Wm. Rob. Freemantle, Christ Church.

William Syms, Wadham College.

Henry Wells, Trinity College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

The *Encaenia*, or Celebration of Founders and Benefactors, in the Theatre, has been fixed by the Board of Heads of Houses and Proctors, for Wednesday the 1st of July. The Professor of Poetry (Mr. Milman) will deliver the *Crewian Oration*.

March 25.

In Convocation the sum of £200 was voted from the University Chest, in aid of certain improvements and repairs about to be made to the apartments occupied by the Professor of Chemistry in the Ashmolean Museum.

April 2.

Francis Pearson Walesby, Esq. B.C.L. Fellow of Lincoln College, was elected Professor of Anglo-Saxon, in the room of the Rev. Arthur Johnson, M.A. Fellow of Wadham College, who has vacated by marriage.

April 11.

In Congregation this day the following gentlemen were respectively nominated Public Examiners:—

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

Rev. Augustus Page Saunderson, M.A. Student of Christ Church.

In Literis Humanioribus.

Rev. Renn Dickson Hampden, M.A. late Fellow of Oriel College.

Rev. John Carr, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College.

April 24.

Thomas Mozley, Esq. B.A. and John Frederick Christie, Esq. B.A. of Oriel College, were elected Fellows of that Society.

May 4.

The nomination of the Rev. Ashhurst Turner Gilbert, D.D. Principal of Brasenose, to be a Perpetual Delegate of Privileges, was approved in Convocation.

May 7.

Richard Michell, Esq. M.A. of Wadham College, was nominated a Public Examiner in *Literis Humanioribus*.

May 9.

The Electors appointed to decide on the respective merits of the candidates for the three Craven Scholarships, lately vacated by lapse of time, declared their

choice to fall on the following gentlemen:—

Wm. Hen. Johnson, Commoner of Worcester College, as of kin to the Founder.

Jno. Thomas, Commoner of Wadham College.

Fred. Rogers, Commoner of Oriel Col.

May 19.

The Rev. Chas. Kevern Williams, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, was nominated a Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*.

May 20.

The Rev. John Collier Jones, D.D. Rector of Exeter College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, was elected Curator of the Sheldonian Theatre, in the room of the Very Rev. the Dean of Exeter, resigned.

June 5.

In Convocation, this day, the new plan for the establishment of an efficient University Police was approved of, and will be carried into effect in the next Michaelmas Term. Its chief feature is the appointment by the Vice-Chancellor (under the Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 97.) of fifteen constables (or Vice-Chancellor's men) who will be required to keep watch and ward in their respective rounds, to prevent burglaries, breaches of the peace, &c. &c., as well as to assist (when called upon) in putting down any disturbance in the daytime, and in preserving order at public academical celebrities. The funds requisite for this establishment are to be raised by a tax of one shilling per quarter on every member of the University whose name is on the books.

June 11.

The annual election of Scholars from Merchant Taylor's School to St. John's College took place, when the following gentlemen were nominated:—

Jno. Saltwell Pinkerton, Edw. Wm. Vaughan, and John Joseph Pratt, to be Probationary Scholars; Seth Benj. Watson, and Jno. Francis Boyes, to be Andrews's Exhibitioners; and Francis Jno. Kitson, Stuart's Exhibitioner.

The Regius Professorship of Divinity in the University, to which are annexed a Canonry of Christ Church and the Rectory of Ewelme, Oxfordshire, has been conferred on the Rev. Edw. Burton, B.D. late Student of Christ Church, and Chaplain to the late Bishop of this diocese.

The Proctors for the ensuing year have been admitted by the Vice-Chancellor.

SENIOR PROCTOR.

The Rev. Jas. Thos. Round, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College, presented by the Rev. Dr. Jenkyns, Master of Balliol College.

JUNIOR PROCTOR.

The Rev. Robt. Alder Thorp, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, presented by the Rev. Dr. Bridges, President of Corpus Christi College.

The Pro-Proctors respectively nominated are:—By Mr. Round—the Rev. Geo. Fuller Thomas, M.A. Worcester College, and the Rev. Jno. Mitchell Chapman, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College. By Mr. Thorp—The Rev. William Glaister, M.A. Fellow of University College, and the Rev. Jno. Wm. Hughes, M.A. Trinity College.

The Rev. Edward Dunkin Scott, M.A. of Queen's College, has been admitted actual Fellow of that Society.

Mr. Geo. Waddington has been admitted Scholar of New College.

The Rev. Hen. Soames, M.A. of Wadham College, has been appointed by the Heads of Colleges to preach the Bampton Lecture Sermons for the year 1830.

June 15, (being Trinity Monday).

The following gentlemen were elected Scholars of Trinity College:—Messrs. Thomas Legh Claughton, Trinity College; Alfred Menzies, Worcester College; Nutcombe Oxnam, Oriel College; William Laxton, Trinity College; — Richards, from Eton School, Scholars on the Old Foundation: and Mr. Guillemand, from Tiverton School, Blount's Scholar. The Rev. J. M. Echallaz, M.A. elected Probationary Fellow.

June 18.

The nomination by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of the Rev. Edward Burton, B.D. of Christ Church, to be a Delegate of the University Press, in the room of late Bishop of Oxford, was approved in Convocation.

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS.

Easter Term.

The names of those candidates who, at the close of the Public Examinations in Easter Term, were admitted by the Public

Examiners into the three Classes of Literæ Humaniores et Disciplinæ Mathematicæ et Physicæ respectively, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each Class, prescribed by the statute, stand as follow:

LITERÆ HUMANIORES.

First Class.

Baring, Charles, Christ Church.
Dayman, Edw. Arthur, Exeter College.
Jacob, Geo. Andrew, Worcester Coll.
Porah, Francis, St. John's College.

Second Class.

Armitstead, James, Wadham College.
Clarke, Wm. Wilcox, Wadham College.
Croft, Richard, Balliol College.
Dennis, James, Exeter College.
Huntley, Osmond Cha. Oriel College.
Lawson, John, St. Alban's Hall.
Meade, Edward, Wadham College.
Nicholson, William, Trinity College.
Palairt, Septimus H. Worcester Coll.
Pigott, John Dryden, Christ Church.
Richardson, John, Queen's College.
Sealy, John, Exeter College.
Syms, William, Wadham College.

Third Class.

Abbott, William, Queen's College.
Aldrich, John, Lincoln College.
Berdmore, Samuel Cha. James, Christ Church.
Corfe, Arthur Tho. All Souls' College.
Duckworth, Sir John T. B. Bart. Oriel College.
Ellis, Wm. Webb, Brasenose College.
Forbes, James, Oriel College.
Horn, Henry, St. John's College.
Jones, Robert, Pembroke College.
Lang, Dashwood, St. Alban's Hall.
Laprimandaye, Charles John, St. John's College.
Philpotts, Wm. John, Oriel College.
Worsley, William, Magdalen Hall.

R. D. Hampden,
Daniel Veysie,
J. Loscombe Richards,
Thomas T. Churton,
J. Carr,
R. Michell.

EXAMINERS.

DISCIPLINÆ MATHEMATICÆ ET PHYSICÆ.

First Class.

Baring, Charles, Christ Church.
Corfe, Arth. Tho. All Souls' College.
Johnson, Wm. Wilbraham Brasenose College.
Madan, George, Christ Church.

Second Class.

Dennis, James, Exeter College.
Webb, Thomas Wm. Magdalen Hall.
Winterbottom, Rich. Townsend, Balliol College.

R. Walker,
A. P. Saunders,
C. R. Willams. } EXAM.

The number of the Fourth Class, namely, of those who were deemed worthy of their Degree, but not deserving of any honourable distinction, was 138.

PRIZES.

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.

[Three of £20 each, for the best compositions in Latin verse, Latin prose, and English prose.]

Subject (Latin Verse):—

"M. T. Cicero cum familiaribus suis apud Tusculum."

Adjudged to
Mr. Wilmot, Scholar of Balliol College.

English Essay:—

"The power and stability of federative governments."

Adjudged to
Mr. Denison, Fellow of Oriel College.

Latin Essay:—

"Quibus potissimum rationibus gentes a Romanis debellatæ ita afficerentur, ut cum victoribus in unius imperii corpus coaluerint."

Adjudged to
Mr. Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College.

SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.

English Verse.—Subject:—

"Voyages of Discovery to the Polar Regions."

Adjudged to
Mr. Claughton, Scholar of Trinity College.

REV. DR. ELLERTON'S THEOLOGICAL PRIZE.

[Of £21 annually for the best English Essay on some doctrine or duty of the Christian Religion, or on some of the points on which we differ from the Romish Church, or on any other subject of Theology which shall be deemed meet and useful.]

Subject:—

"What were the causes of the persecutions to which the Christians were subject in the first centuries of Christianity?"

Adjudged to
Mr. Wm. Jacobson, B.A. Lincoln College.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

May 6.

The Rev. Joseph Allen, Trinity College,
Prebendary of Westminster.

At the same congregation, Dr. Chas.
R. Elrington, Professor of Divinity in the
University of Dublin, was admitted D.D.
ad eundem.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

April 3.

Robt. Black, Trinity College.

May 6.

Rev. Jas. Blomfield, Emmanuel Coll.

Rev. Chas. Wesley, Christ College,
Alternate Minister of St. Mary's Chapel,
Fulham.

June 11.

Rev. Edw. Duncan Rhodes, Fellow of
Sidney College.

Rev. Edw. Boteler, Fellow of Sidney
College.

Rev. Chas. Smith, Fellow of St. Peter's
College.

Rev. Thos. Hartwell Horne, St. John's
College.

Rev. Geo. Hull Bowers, Clare Hall.

Rev. Wm. Thomas, Jesus College.
(Comp.)

Rev. Thos. Jones. St. John's College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

April 3.

Rev. R. Adolphus Musgrave, Trinity
College.

Geo. Luxton, St. Peter's Coll.

Rev. Edw. Bethell Cox, Christ College.

May 6.

Rev. Paul Ashmore, Christ College.

May 27.

Rev. Richard McDonald Caunter, Sid-
ney Sussex College.

June 11.

Richard Cargill, Catharine Hall.

Frederic Trotter, Christ College.

HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

April 3.

Hon. Thomas Hugh Nugent, Corpus
Christi College, second son of the late Earl
of Westmeath.

May 27.

Lord Wriothlesley Russel, Trinity Col-
lege, son of the Duke of Bedford.

Lord Norreys, Trinity College, son of
the Earl of Abingdon.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

May 6.

Henry Ashington, Trinity College.

Howard Elphinstone, Trinity College.

William Keeling, Fellow of St. John's
College.

W. Hallows Miller, Fellow of St. John's
College.

Rev. Henry William Crick, Jesus Coll.

Henry Alexander Brown, Christ Coll.

Thomas Kenyon, Christ Coll. (Comp.)

Rev. A. H. Small, Fellow of Emmanuel
College.

May 27.

Rev. John Gautier Milne, St. Peter's
College.

Rev. Edward Murray, Trinity College.

Francis Ford Pinder, Trinity College.

Frederick Osborne, Trinity Hall.

Rev. John Phillips, Sidney College.

Rev. Samuel Bagnall, Downing Col-
lege. (Grand Comp.)

At the above Congregation the Rev.
Samuel Smith, M.A. of Christ Church,
Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem* of this
University.

June 11.

Rev. William Metcalf, Fellow of St.
John's College.

J. A. D. Meakin, St. John's College.

Rev. C. W. Hughes, Corpus Christi
College. (Comp.)

Rev. William Powley, Jesus College.
(Comp.)

Rev. Abr. T. R. Vicary, Jesus College.

M. A. INCEPTORS.

April 3.

William Law, Fellow of Trinity Coll.
John Hodgson, Fellow of Trinity Coll.
Marmaduke Prickett, Trinity College.
Henry Collins, Trinity College.
Rev. E. Bowyer Sparke, Fellow of St. John's College.
John Hymers, Fellow of St. John's College.
Henry Jesson, St. John's College.
Rev. Charles Dilmott Hill, St. Peter's College.
Rev. Robert South, Pembroke College.
Richard Trott Fisher, Fellow of Pembroke College.
Rev. W. H. Hanson, Fellow of Caius College.
Rev. Robert Willis, Fellow of Caius College.
Rev. Henry Clinton, Fellow of Caius College.
Rev. Ralph Clutton, Fellow of Emmanuel College.
Rev. John Gibson, Fellow of Sidney College.
William Gurdon, Downing College.

LICENTIATES IN PHYSIC.

April 3.

William Crosbie Mair, Jesus College.
Heneage Gibbs, Downing College.

May 27.

Wm. Joseph Bayne, Fellow of Trinity College.
Nicholas Francis Davison, Caius Coll.

BACHELORS IN PHYSIC.

May 27.

Alexander L. Wollaston, Caius Coll.
James F. Bernard, Corpus Christi Coll.
Francis Ker Fox, St. John's College.

June 11.

Alexander Murray, St. John's College.
Algernon Frampton, St. John's College.
Thomas Briggs, Caius College.
Frederick Johnstone, Jesus College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

April 3.

Robert Forsayeth, Trinity College.
Charles Longuet Higgins, Trinity Coll.
H. Fullelove Mogridge, St. John's Coll.
Solomon Gompertz, St. John's Coll.
John Samuel Scobell, St. Peter's Coll.

Horatio Nelson William Comyn, Caius College.

Hippesley Maclean, Caius College.
Adam Fitch, Christ College.

May 6.

George Henry Feachem, Trinity Coll.
Robert Devey, Trinity College.
Calnady Pollexfen Hamlyn, Trinity College.
Cha. Henry Templeton, Trinity Coll.
William Henry Tudor, Trinity College.
Thomas Moore, St. John's College.
William Geo. Nott, St. John's College.
Thomas Storer, St. John's College.
Francis J. Courtenay, St. Peter's Coll.
William Ludlow, St. Peter's College.
Thomas Moore, St. Peter's College.
Horace Pitt Shewell, St. Peter's Coll.
Thornhill Heathcote, Clare Hall.
Edward Ethelstone, Pembroke College.
Charles Fox Chawner, Corpus Christi College.

John Hooper, Corpus Christi College.
Geo. Wm. Straton, Corpus Christi Coll.
Jas. King Went, Corpus Christi Coll.
Richard Bethel Boyes, Queen's Coll.
James Mellor Brown, Queen's College.
Joseph Brown, Queen's College.
Charles Clark, Queen's College.
John Hodgson Steble, Queen's College.
Richard Taylor, Queen's College.
Bryan S. Broughton, Christ College.
James Penfold, Christ College.
Allen Allicock Young, Magdalen Coll.
Thomas James Roche, Downing Coll.

May 27.

John Wolvey Astley, King's College.
Charles Luxmore, King's College.
Thomas Phillpotts, King's College.
Charles Waymouth, Trinity College.
Henry Bowyer, Trinity College.
Francis Rodd, Trinity College.
Charles Bigsby, Trinity College.
George Gordon, Caius College.
James Richard Holden, Christ College.
John Gwalter Palaint, Christ College.

June 11.

William Whitear, St. John's College.
Frederick Elwes, Pembroke College.
James Abbott, Queen's College.
George Kember, Queen's College.
Henry William Stuart, Queen's Coll.
Thomas Brand, Magdalen College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

JUNIOR SOPHS' EXAMINATION, LENT TERM, 1829.

EXAMINERS.

William Joseph Bayne, M. A. Trin. Coll.
Charles Smith, M. A. St. Peter's Coll.
James Amiraux Jeremie, M. A. Trin. Coll.
John Frederick Isaacson, M. A. St. John's Coll.

FIRST CLASS.

Adams, R. B. Trin.	Clay, Trin.	Flowers, Jes.	James, Joh.
Alcock, Joh.	Clutterbuck, Pet.	Forster, Tr. H.	Jebb, Trin.
Alderson, Joh.	Cockerton, Joh.	Fosbrooke, Trin.	Jebb, Pet.
Aldis, Trin.	Codrington, Jes.	Foster, Trin.	Jenner, Trin. H.
Amphlett, Pet.	Colville, Trin.	Fraser, Pet.	Jerwood, Joh.
Anderson, Trin.	Cookesley, Trin.	French, Caius	Johnstone, Caius
Askew, Emm.	Corfield, Clare.	Frost, Cath.	Jones, Cath.
Atkinson, Joh.	Cottle, Cath.	Gallichan, Joh.	Jones, J. Joh.
Bacon, Corpus.	Cox, Emma.	Gardener, Qu.	Jones, sen. Trin.
Baker, Corpus.	Crossley, Magd.	Gaskell, Corpus	Keeble, Joh.
Bainbridge, Cath.	Crotty, Pet.	Gaskin, Joh.	Kennedy, Trin.
Baldwin, Trin.	Crutchley, Magd.	Geary, Trin.	Kirkness, Qu.
Ball, Qu.	Curtis, Chr.	George, Sid.	Klannart, Pet.
Banning, Tr. H.	Daniell, Chr.	Gilpin, Qu.	Knipe, Qu.
Bateman, Joh.	Darby, Pet.	Gleadow, Chr.	Laurie, Pet.
Bayford, Tr. H.	Dashwood, Trin.	Gonne, Trin.	Lees, Joh.
Bedford, Joh.	Davies, S. J. Trin.	Good, Qu.	Le Gros, Down.
Bedingfield, Tr.	Dawkins, Cath.	Gossip, Trin.	Leigh, Qu.
Bennett, Corpus.	Degex, Jes.	Gould, Magd.	Lendrum, Trin.
Bernall, Trin.	Delamare, Caius	Gouthwaite, Cor.	Lewis, Qu.
Birch, Joh.	Delap, Trin.	Graham, Chr.	Liardet, Qu.
Blade, Magd.	Dixon, Corpus	Grazebrooke, Jes.	Lister, Trin.
Blakesley, Corp.	Dodson, Trin.	Greville, Clare	Lloyd, Trin.
Blane, Trin.	Doveton, Down.	Grey, Job.	Lloyd, Magd.
Bond, Qu.	Douglas, Joh.	Gome, Pemb.	Lockwood, Trin.
Bounin, Qu.	Drake, Trin.	Groom, Tr. H.	Long, Chr.
Booty, Trin.	Dudley, Cath.	Harman, Caius	Longhurst sen. Qu.
Borron, Trin.	Eade, Jesus	Harrison, Trin.	Longhurst jun.
Borton, sen. Cai.	Earnshaw, Joh.	Harrison, W. Caius	Longmire, Pet.
Borton, jun. Cai.	Eaton, Joh.	Harvey, Clare	Lord, Trin.
Brome, Trin.	Ebden, Trin. H.	Hasted, Magd.	Lowndes, Trin.
Brown, Qu.	Ellis, Joh.	Havens, Corpus	Lowthorpe, Qu.
Brown, Trin.	Entwisle, T. Tr.	Heaton, Cath.	Lugard, Trin.
Budd, Caius	Entwisle, W. Tr.	Hesketh, Trin. H.	Luttrell, Pemb.
Bull, Qu.	Essen, Qu.	Hicks, Magd.	Lyne, Sid.
Bull, Joh.	Evans, Qu.	Hill, Clare	Maber, Clare
Bullock, Clare	Evans, Qu.	Hill, R. L. Joh.	M'Clintock, Trin.
Burgess, Qu.	Ewen, Corpus	Hillyard, Trin.	M'Lachlan, Sid.
Butler, Magd.	Eyres, Caius	Hine, Corpus	Mackereth, Cath.
Cantis, Chr.	Favell, Qu.	Hoare, Joh.	Mann, Joh.
Carlyon, Pemb.	Fearon, Cath.	Hockin, Joh.	Marsh, Qu.
Charlton, Joh.	Fell, Pet.	Hockin, Pemb.	Marsh, Pemb.
Chatfield, Trin.	Fellowes, Joh.	Hudson, Cath.	Matthews, Sid.
Cheadle, Qu.	Findlater, Chr.	Hulkes, Joh.	Mason, H. Trin.
Child, Joh.	Finley, Trin.	Hunt, de Vere, Tr.	Mason, H. P. Trin.
Childe, Joh.	Fisher, Jesus	Hutchinson, Clare	Mason, W. Trin.
Choppin, Joh.	Fisher, Chr.	Hutton, Trin.	Mayhew, Trin.
Churton, Down.	Fitzroy, Trin.	Isaac, Trin.	Moller, Trin.
Clarke, Sid.	Fletcher, Joh.	Jackson, N. T. Chr.	Meryweather, Tr.

Mills, sen. Pemb.	Poole, Emman.	Spooner, Clare	Wallace, Trin.
Mills, jun. Pemb.	Porteous, Chr.	Stacye, Chr.	Waller, Qu.
Minty, Caius.	Powell, C. Trin.	Stanton, Chr.	Walpole, Trin.
Morey, Trin.	Powell, R. Trin.	Stephens, Clare.	Walsh, Trin.
Morgan, Sid.	Power, Joh.	Stoddard, Corp.	Ward, Trin.
Morris, Sld.	Price, Joh.	Street, Qu.	Warren, Trin.
Mort, Sid.	Pricket, Trin.	Swann, Emman.	Warren, Qu.
Nash, Trin.	Rhodes, Tr. H.	Symons, Corpus	Watts, G. Qu.
Nelson, Corpus	Richardson, Joh.	Tate, Magd.	Webster, Clare
Nettleship, Corpus.	Richmond, Qu.	Tatham, Magd.	Wegg, Joh.
Newall, Trin.	Rickards, Chr.	Tebbutt, Cath.	Weguelin, Emman
Newby, Joh.	Rigge, Corpus.	Tenison, Corpus	Wells, Trin. H.
Nicholson, Joh.	Riley, Joh.	Tennant, A. Tr.	West, Trin.
Norgate, Caius.	Rimell, Joh.	Tennyson, C. Tr.	Westmacott, Cor.
Oakes, Emman.	Rock, Joh.	Tennyson, Trin.	Whiston, Trin.
Okes, Sid.	Rogers, Trin.	Thomas, Down.	Whitaker, Emman.
Oldacres, Emman.	Ross-Lewin, Cath.	Thompson, Trin.	Whittington, Pemb.
Oliver, S. Pet.	Rough, Trin.	Thomson, Jes.	Whytehead, Joh.
Oliver, W. Pet.	Roupell, Trin. H.	Thomson, J. R. Joh.	Wilde, Corpus.
Oldham, Jes.	Scott, Trin.	Tidmore, Tr. H.	Wiley, Joh.
Oldknow, Chr.	Selwin, Joh.	Tollemache, Pet.	Wilmer, Chr.
Orme, Jes.	Serjeant, Qu.	Tottenham, Joh.	Wilson, Emman.
Otter, Chr.	Shadwell, J. E. Joh.	Touzel, Sid.	Wingfield, Emman.
Otley, Caius.	Sharply, Emman.	Tripe, Corpus	Winter, Corpus.
Owston, Qu.	Sheppard, Trin.	Turner, Chr.	Wood, Trin. H.
Paget, Caius.	Simpson, Trin.	Tyrrell, Joh.	Worledge, Trin.
Paton, Trin.	Skinner, Trin.	Vawdrey, Joh.	Wormald, Trin.
Pawsey, Emman.	Skinner, Qu.	Venables, Emman.	Wyche, Qu.
Pearson, A. H. Qu.	Slade, Caius.	Vidall, Caius	Yelloly, Trin.
Peill, Qu.	Smith, E. F. Chr.	Wade, R. C. Trin.	Yorke, Chr.
Perry, Trin.	Smith, sen. Sid.	Walker, S. Trin.	
Pickwood, Pet.	Smythies, Trin.	Walker, Chr.	
Pitman, Trin.	Spedding, Trin.	Walker, Tr. H.	

SECOND CLASS.

Adams, P. B. Trin.	Carew, Downing.	Handley, Trin.	Plummer, Jesus.
Barker, Cath.	Cookson, Corpus.	Hawkins, Joh.	Proctor, Chr.
Baylis, Sid.	Dixon, Cath.	Hildyard, Clare.	Radclyffe, Pemb.
Beaumont, Trin.	Drinkald, Chr.	Hole, Pemb.	Read, Trin.
Bedwell, Trin.	Edgell, Joh.	Hollon, Corpus.	St. Aubin, Trin.
Biddulph, Pet.	Fenn, Qu.	Lawrence, Trin.	St. John, Down.
Bird, Corpus.	Garlike, Clare.	Mogg, Caius.	Taylor, Trin. H.
Blackburn, Jes.	Gisborne, Pet.	Moore, W. Joh.	Westbrook, Cath.
Bowen, Pet.	Granville, Trin.	Oxley, Pemb.	Wharton, Trin.
Bower, Pet.	Griesbach, Trin.	Pardoe, Caius.	Woodward, Joh.
Brocklebank, Qu.	Harris, Trin.	Pigot, Joh.	Woodyear, Chr.

April 3.

The Syndicate appointed to treat with the Provost and Fellows of King's College, for the purchase of their *Old Court*, having reported to the Senate "That the College have expressed themselves willing to accept from the University £12,000 for the Site and Buildings of the Old Court, and the Syndicate having strongly recommended the University to agree to those terms, a Grace to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To adopt the recommendation of the

Syndicate appointed to treat with the Provost and Fellows of King's College for the purchase of their Old Court, to empower the Vice-Chancellor to take the requisite steps to complete the purchase, and to affix the University Seal to the deeds of transfer.

Also a Grace to the following effect:—

To affix the University Seal to a receipt for a legacy of £5000, left to the University by the late Rev. John Manistre, Fellow of King's College, to purchase books for the Public Library.

Same day W. H. Miller, B.A.; W. Keeling, B.A.; C. Yate, B.A.; E. Peacock, B.A.; and W. Selwyn, B.A. were elected Foundation Fellows, and F. E. Gretton, B.A. Platt Fellow, of St. John's College.

April 21.

George Thackeray, Scholar of King's College, was admitted Fellow of that Society.

April 22.

In Convocation for the election of Proctors, the offices having become vacant by resignation, the Rev. Henry Kirby, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall, and the Rev. Joseph Power, M.A. Fellow of Trinity Hall, were elected Proctors for the remainder of the year.

April 30.

The following gentlemen of Trinity College were elected Scholars of that Society:

Carey	Burcham	Spedding
Tate	Walker	Tennant
Myers	Wilkinson	Kennedy
Mann	Meller	—
Taylor	Dashwood	Westm. Schol.
Quayle	Chatfield	Dyott
Ponsonby	Worlledge	Allen.

May 2.

The Rev. Robert Willis, M.A. Junior Fellow of Caius College, was elected a Senior Fellow; Joseph Henry Jerrard, B.A. a Frankland Fellow; and Robert Murphy, B.A. a Perse Fellow of that Society.

Same day the Rev. Alexander Henry Small, M.A. was admitted a Fellow on the foundation of Sir Wolston Dixie, at Emmanuel College; and William Royde Colbeck, B.A. Scholar of Emmanuel College, was elected a Fellow of that Society.

May 6.

Graces to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To appoint Mr. Dawes of Downing College, and Mr. Green of Jesus College, Pro-Proctors for the remainder of the year.

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Master of Catharine Hall, Professor Haviland, Professor Whewell, Mr. Carrighan of St. John's College, Mr. Hustler of Jesus College, Mr. Peacock of Trinity College, Mr. Shelford of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Lodge of Magdalen College, and Mr. King of Queen's College, a Syndicate to consider

of the arrangements to be made concerning the Old Court lately purchased of King's College.

May 27.

Graces to the following effect passed the Senate:—

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Jesus College, Dr. Turton, the Public Orator, Mr. Peacock of Trinity College, Mr. Shelford of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Graham of Christ College, Mr. Thorp of Trinity College, and Mr. Crick of St. John's College, a Syndicate to consider what alteration it is expedient to make in the mode of conducting the Previous Examination, and to report thereupon to the Senate before the end of the present Term.

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Catharine Hall, the Master of Clare Hall, Mr. Carrighan of St. John's College, Mr. Hustler of Jesus College, and Mr. Hildyard of Trinity Hall, a Syndicate to confer with the Provost and Fellows of King's College respecting the laying out of the ground in the front of King's College and the Public Library.

June 11.

In Congregation a Grace passed the Senate to allow the Assistant at the Observatory a salary of £80 a year.

John Tinkler, George King, and James Goodwin, Bachelors of Arts, of Corpus Christi College, have been elected Fellows of that Society.

Henry Philpott, Esq. B.A. has been elected a Foundation Fellow of Catharine Hall.

June 16.

The election of a Representative for this University, in the room of Sir N. C. Tindal, now Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, commenced this day, and terminated at five o'clock on the 18th, when the numbers were, for

Mr. Cavendish.....	609
Mr. Bankes.....	462

Majority in favour of Mr. Cavendish 147

The total number of votes polled at this election exceeds that at the last contest in the year 1827 by 214.

The following gentlemen are appointed Barnaby Lecturers for the ensuing year:

Mathematical.—Rev. Joseph H. Harris, M.A. Clare Hall.

Philosophical.—Rev. William Hildyard, M.A. Trinity Hall.

Rhetorical.—Rev. Cha. Currie, M. A. Pembroke College.

Logical.—Rev. C. H. Maturin, M. A. King's College.

The Observatory.—The Syndicate appointed by Graces of the Senate on the 27th of February and the 18th of March last, having inspected the Observatory, in company with several members of the University, and strangers distinguished by their knowledge of astronomy, have published the following Report:—

“That the condition of the books and instruments is very satisfactory, the Professor having marked and registered them, so as effectually to secure the property of the University. The transit telescope and clock, which are the only capital instruments at present erected, are highly approved of by the Professor. The mural circle, in the hands of Mr. Troughton, is in a forward state, its completion being solely delayed by the difficulty of procuring proper materials for the object-glass. The equatorial is in progress. Several valuable instruments, including an excellent forty-six inch achromatic telescope by Dollond, with a triple object-glass, were purchased at the sale of Professor Woodhouse's effects on terms highly advantageous to the University.

“The whole time of Professor Airy has been devoted to the duties of the Observatory, except those portions occupied by the Plumian Lectures, and by a scientific expedition to Cornwall, to which he was pledged previously to his appointment.

“A volume has already been published containing observations made in 1828, with the results deducible from them, which are of the highest value. An attentive examination of this volume can alone give an adequate idea of the labour and skill bestowed upon it. The instrumental errors have been measured by independent methods, and each observation reduced to the true meridian. In the standard catalogue of some of the principal stars, Polaris for instance, the Professor conceives that he has discovered errors. The right ascensions of several smaller stars have been determined, but the want of assistance has greatly limited this class of observations.

“Numerous observations of the Sun, Moon and Planets have been reduced and compared with the calculated places given in the Nautical Almanack, and in Schu-

macher's Auxiliary Tables. The differences are exceedingly minute, a proof of what has hitherto been doubted, that the motions of the brighter planets are known with sufficient accuracy for determining the longitude at sea.

“The Syndicate wish to express their sense of the great industry and judgment shown by the Professor in the discharge of his duties, and their conviction that the Cambridge Observatory is likely to fulfil the highest expectations of those who interested themselves in its establishment.”

BELL'S SCHOLARSHIPS.

April 3.

The election to these Scholarships has been determined as follows:—

John Edw. Bromby, St. John's, } *æq.*
Jas. Williams Inman, St. John's, }

TYRWITT'S HEBREW SCHOLARSHIPS.

May 12.

The following gentlemen were elected Scholars upon this foundation:—

First Class.

Rev. Wm. Dodd, B. A. Corpus Christi College.

James Gorle, B. A. Clare Hall.

Second Class.

W. B. A. Raven, B. A. Trinity College.

The Vice-Chancellor and other official electors of Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Scholarships have announced, in pursuance of the 13th Regulation of the Senate, bearing date the 14th of March, 1826, that a Premium of £50 will be given for the best Dissertation on “*The nature and extent of the Hebraisms found in the writings of St. Paul, including the Epistle to the Hebrews.*”

TRINITY COLLEGE EXAMINATION.

Alphabetical List of the First Classes:

Senior Sophs.

Birkbeck	H. Pearson	Travis
J. M. Heath	Steel	W. Walker.
Myers	Tate	

Junior Sophs.

Meller	Sheppard	Whiston
Nash	Wallace	Worlledge.
Paton	West	

Freshmen.

Alford	Gowring	P. Pickering
Allen	Hamilton	Shilleto
Mr. Chisholm	Hawfrey	Thompson
Ellis	D. Heath	Webster
Garnett	Lushington	Williams.

PRIZES.*CHANCELLOR'S GOLD MEDALS.*

[For the two best proficient in classical learning among the Commencing Bachelors of Arts.]

Adjudged to

Wm. Aldwin Soames, Trinity College, and
William Martin, St. John's College.

[For the best English Poem by a resident Undergraduate.]

Adjudged to

Alfred Tennyson, Trinity College.

Subject:—"Timbuctoo."

SEATONIAN PRIZE.

Subject, for the present year:—

"The Finding of Moses."

PORSON PRIZE.

[For the best translation of a passage from Shakspeare into Greek verse.]

Adjudged to

Charles R. Kennedy, Trinity College.

Subject:—

"Henry VIII. Act IV. Scene II."
beginning, "This Cardinal," &c., and
ending "Peace be with him."

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1829.

- ART. I.—1. *Letters on the Church.* By an Episcopalian. 1826. 7s.
2. *An Inquiry concerning the Means and Expedience of proposing and making any Change in the Canons, Articles, or Liturgy, or in any of the Laws affecting the Interests of the Church of England.* By William Winstanley Hull. Oxford. 1828. 7s.
3. *Church Reform.* By a Churchman. London. 1828. 6s. 6d.

WE have seldom met with a publication which has reduced us to greater perplexity in the attempt to ascertain the true character, disposition, and design of the author, than the above *Letters on the Church*. We have sometimes been tempted to suppose that the writer must belong to some one of the multiform varieties of Dissent which the vigorous soil of this country produces in such rank abundance: for the avowed object of his whole work is to recommend a scheme of discipline and government which resembles theirs in one main feature,—namely, its high disdain of all connection between the Church of Christ and the powers of this world. But then, on the other hand, we find that the author writes himself *Episcopalian*; and moreover, that he is potent and uncompromising in his vindication of tithes, and of every species of ecclesiastical property, to a degree that might be thought well nigh treasonable to the cause of separation. At other times we have been almost lured into the belief that we had to deal with a Papist in disguise: and to this conjecture we were led partly by the recollection, that shortly after the publication of these *Letters*, the incomparable Dr. Doyle* was found labouring to persuade the Protestant world, that the only duty of a Christian state towards the Christian religion, is to treat all modifications of that religion with magnanimous impartiality, and to extend to them all the fullest

* In the Reply by J. K. L. to the Charge of the Archbishop of Dublin. 1827.

protection from insult and aggression, and nothing more. With this recent instance in our memory, we could not, for some time, feel confident that we had not, in the writer before us, a concealed advocate for the scheme of reducing Protestant Episcopacy to the same dead level of religious liberty and equality, which is now the lot of every form of dissent in these kingdoms; and this, in order that the ground might thus be better cleared for the operations of the Queen and Mother of Churches, who has never yet renounced her claim of dominion over all principalities and powers, whether temporal or spiritual. From our apprehensions, however, of the writer's attachment to Popery, we must confess that we were speedily driven by the good set terms in which he rails against the Lady of the Seven Hills, and reprobates the doctrine of the deposing power as subversive of society. For though it is not beyond the perfidy of an accomplished Jesuit to assume this sort of language, as a mask for treacherous hostility, yet one is unwilling, on any but the strongest grounds, to ascribe to any writer the turpitude of such double-dyed imposture. There remains, therefore, nothing but the supposition that the author is, really, what he gives himself out for—both Protestant and Episcopalian. But, as it is evident that he is not Episcopalian after the Anglican use and fashion, we are compelled to seek in some other region for the school in which he has learned his principles of Ecclesiastical Government. We must direct our thoughts to a land, in which Episcopacy is not allowed to claim the supremacy due to an immediate derivation from Apostolic usage; and in which, consequently, the government of bishops is regarded merely as one among many modes of administering the Church, and consequently as having a right, in common with the rest, to nothing more than bare protection at the hand of the civil magistrate. We know not, therefore, well where to look but across the Atlantic for the quarter from which these accents of solemn urgency have issued, calling upon the English Church to abjure her post in the British constitution; or (if she cannot, by any exertion, rid herself of her splendid servitude) at least to lift up the voice of a perpetual protest and testimony against it, as an intolerable grievance and degradation.

We hope to be forgiven, if we venture just to state as a fact, that when the surmise first occurred to us, that this work might probably have its origin in a country where the Church and the State were totally severed from each other, there did start up in our remembrance the ancient story of a certain sagacious animal, who had accidentally been disencumbered of his goodly brush. Immediately upon this casualty, it will be recollected, he was seized with a prodigious impatience to persuade his brethren that they would find inexpressible relief and comfort from the absence

of that most inconvenient and unseemly appendage; and that they could not better consult the dignity of their species than by unanimously consenting to its amputation. And if the course of lectures had fortunately been preserved to us, whereby this eminent reformer attempted so great a revolution, we should doubtless have seen it proved, for the satisfaction of the astute fraternity, that nature never had disgraced their aboriginal generations with such an ignoble incumbrance—that this excrescence had been produced in the course of ages by ease, and sloth, and unnatural diet, and luxurious habits—and that, if they were desirous of recovering the activity and the comeliness of their forefathers, they must begin by casting away that piece of pòmpous deformity. The brotherhood were, however, most provokingly obstinate. In spite of all the patriot could urge, they left him to the solitary honours of his own discovery; they continued to glory in their shame; and to this day their posterity remain incorrigible. We are sadly fearful that the anxiety of the Episcopalian, to reduce our Church to primitive simplicity and succinctness, will be no better rewarded than the labours of the illustrious projector in question. The *operation* he recommends is, in truth, an exceedingly desperate and perilous one: and we can scarcely persuade ourselves that it would have been urged by one who had successfully studied our *constitution*.

We shall, however, weary our readers with no further surmises or conjectures as to the country or the Church which claims the honour of this production. Whether its author be Protestant or Papist—whether he be Prelatist or Sectarian—whether he be British or Transatlantic—whether his intents be wicked or charitable—one thing we hold to be clear:—namely, that either he has a singular inaptitude for all exercises of the reasoning faculty; or that the culture bestowed by him on that faculty has been remarkably infelicitous. And in order that our readers may be enabled to ascertain whether or not this judgment of ours be rash and hasty, we shall proceed to lay before them the process by which he endeavours to establish his main position—that there is something unlawful in any connection, union, or alliance between the Church of Christ and any temporal government on earth.

It must be remembered, then, that when our Saviour appeared on earth, his countrymen, after the flesh, were wrapped up, with all their souls and faculties, in the persuasion, that their Messiah would be a warrior and a conqueror—that he would found a splendid empire upon the ruins of heathen states—that he would fulfil the promise, that *the sons of the alien should be ploughmen and vine-dressers to the children of Israel*—that he would be prepared to sweep away all resistance with a mighty hand and an

uplifted arm—and that they, who should attempt to arrest his course, would have nothing to expect but fire and steel as the chastisement of their presumption. All these visions of grandeur and of vengeance were dissolved by the command of the holy Jesus, that his followers should put up their swords into their scabbards; and by his declaration, at the judgment-seat of Pilate, that his kingdom was not of this world!

The import of these words of our Saviour is too obvious to be mistaken. We have only to advert to the views and expectations of the persons in the midst of whom they were uttered, and we are instantly in possession of a key to their exact meaning.* The object of the speaker was not indeed to disclaim the title of a king, but rather to claim that title in a more august and mysterious sense than it ever entered into their hearts to conceive. The dispensation he came to establish would have for its object the moral regeneration of the world, and the salvation of immortal souls; and this blessed purpose would be carried on under his personal controul and mediatorial sovereignty, even until the end of time.

Now, from these very simple premises, what is the conclusion derived by this writer? He is not satisfied with contending that the Messiah's sovereignty has for its objects the glory of God, and the moral and spiritual interests of man; but he maintains that this great design is to be kept totally and scrupulously free from all contact of secular interest or polity; Christ's kingdom, he iterates throughout his pages, is not of this world; *therefore* his Church, though planted *in* this world, is to have no sort of connection with the civil or temporal authorities of the world. It is to accept of nothing more than mere protection; such protection as every other society of men, and every other class of interests, are entitled to receive at the hand of the magistrate: but it is to accept of nothing more than this. It is positively to reject all special aid, or countenance, or support from the state: and, above all things, it is to shrink—as it would from infamy and contamination—from all such assistance as might imply the slightest right to interfere in the humblest or most ministerial

* "My kingdom is not of this world are very indeterminable words, and capable of several meanings if we consider them in themselves. But as soon as we consider them as an answer to a particular question, they take one determinate sense. The question was, whether our Saviour was the (temporal) king of the Jews? Jesus answered, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Now, as these words may signify no more than the denial of what was asked; as there is nothing in them that necessarily implies more than that he was not a king, as the Jewish or other temporal kings are; as the question extends the answer no farther than this meaning, so if we enlarge it, or fix any other meaning on it, it is all human reasoning without any warrant from the text."—*Law's Second Letter to Bishop Hoadley.*

department of the Church's polity. The temporal prince, it would seem, has no right to lay so much as a finger upon the staves of her ark, even though it were to save it from downfall; and the intruder would deserve but little else than the cleaving curse of a perpetual leprosy for his inheritance. And as for the servile and mercenary priests who should tamely endure such profanation, we know not well what retribution could be adequate to their treachery, unless the ground should be cleft asunder to swallow up them and their children. All this he has said, not perhaps exactly in the language in which we have here set it down, but in terms which cannot fairly be held to imply any less formidable and portentous conclusion.

Now we protest, without hesitation, that we do not recollect to have met, in the whole course of our critical labours, with a more prodigious paralogism than that which we have just set forth. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world: therefore the kings of the world are, *as such*, absolved from all obligation whatever to support, encourage, or advance the religion of Christ. Whenever the rabble wanted to make Jesus a king, he escaped from their ignorant zeal; and therefore princes and magistrates must forbear to desecrate his Church by any outward attributes of honour and veneration. Our Lord forbade his followers to fight for him: therefore it is but profane usurpation for a temporal sovereign to style himself Defender of the Faith. One can hardly imagine it needful to commence a serious refutation of this strange extravagance. If it were necessary, however, we know not how it might be more effectually accomplished than by resorting to a supposition, which may surely be made without the slightest impropriety or irreverence. Let us but venture for a moment to imagine that He, who uttered the words which form our author's text, had seen fit to follow them up by something of an explanation or commentary, and this for the purpose of guarding those words from all possible misapprehension. And let us conceive him to have taken for the basis of such commentary that illustrious Scripture which foretold that kings should be the nursing fathers to his visible Church, and that queens should be its nursing mothers; and to declare that this oracle pointed out to the great ones of the earth the duty which, in all climes and in all ages, they would owe to that holy assembly:—that they would not be called on to spread her dominion with bow or with spear, but that it would be at their peril that they stinted her of the honours which were due to her; that she must be regarded as a sacred portion of the charge consigned to them as powers ordained of God; and that they must consider her interests as indissolubly woven with those of their earthly domains;—in short, that in every realm where the Gospel

should be embraced, the state and the Church should, for many purposes, be one with each other. Let it, we repeat, be only imagined for a moment that a solemn charge like this had been given at the very same time that the words were spoken, which claimed for the Messiah a kingdom which *was not* of this world; —would there, we confidently ask, have been anything in the tenor of that charge which could righteously be said to point to a kingdom which *was* of this world? Could it have been plausibly said, by the most intrepid adversary of revelation, that the Nazarene took up with one hand what he had thrown away with the other? And would the most scrupulous interpreter of Scripture have found the slightest difficulty in perceiving, or in maintaining, the difference between a kingdom, secular in all its objects and all its administrations, and a dispensation which, however spiritual in its nature and its purposes, demands nevertheless the reverence, the service, and the support of monarchs and of states?

By way of further, though perhaps almost superfluous, elucidation, let us have recourse to another imaginary case. When Socrates propounded at Athens his principles of moral philosophy, he may, truly enough, be said to have proposed to himself an Empire of the grandest sort over the *minds* of men; an empire incomparably more noble than any mere political domination that can be imagined. Now, let us imagine that the people of Athens, after having murdered their benefactor and instructor, had tardily awakened to a sense of his worth, and of the glorious properties of the wisdom which he taught. We may, then, easily conceive them, in conformity with these new views and feelings, resolved to spare neither exertion nor expense in propagating it through their country. We may fancy them lavishing honours, privileges, and emoluments upon its teachers, and even regarding them as worthy of a seat in their National Councils. We may conceive them founding schools and institutions for the perpetuation of this doctrine, and ranking its protection and encouragement as among the primary objects of their polity. We may figure them to ourselves as giving the amplest license and permission to other sects, but as treating this peculiar class with the distinction due to persons devoted to the highest interests of mankind. We may, in short, imagine them giving, in the fullest sense, an *establishment* to the Socratic philosophy, and considering that establishment as the Palladium, in which was wrapped up the virtue of their citizens, and the *true* prosperity and grandeur of their country. And if they *had* felt and acted thus, what entertainment are we to think that they would have given to one of their orators, who should have risen to tell them, that all these proceedings were but an incumbrance to the very cause which they were so anxious to

honour and to advance—that they were converting a moral influence into something akin to political authority and sovereignty—that they were departing from the spirit, if not from the positive injunction, of the Founder of this renowned school—that if he were living he would be the first to deprecate and abjure this monstrous mixture of civil and moral controul: nay, that he would absolutely disdain that his philosophy should hold divided empire with the mere visible and tangible expedients of human government or patronage! What, we would again ask, would be the reception to be expected by the ingenious propounder of these notions from the *Socratic* Legislators and Judges of Athens? Their first impulse, we apprehend, might be to order the reformer a draught of the same *cicuta* wherewith they had destroyed the Martyr; and the utmost that he could hope from their clemency would surely be, that they might agree to commute it for a most tremendous dose of hellebore!

Now, to say the truth, the symptoms exhibited by our Episcopalian appear to us to *indicate* a mode of treatment somewhat similar to that which would possibly have been the lot of the Attic Puritan whom we have imagined above. For, let us once more advert to what it is which throughout his work he is incessantly urging us to accomplish. For ages we have been living under a system in which man is treated as a being to whom religion is indispensable: a system which embraces his eternal as well as his perishable interests. We have been under the protection of a constitution which contemplates the whole community as Christian; which regards the ancient primitive Episcopal Church as an integral part of itself, but which at the same time gives ample security and protection to those who may unhappily have fallen away from her. We have been reared in the firm belief that such a constitution is, under Providence, a most powerful instrument for the preservation of religious faith and knowledge, and is in essential conformity with the discernible purposes and dispensations of the Almighty. But we are now to learn, that up to this moment we have been egregiously and fatally in error; that we have been impiously yoking a celestial courser to one of mortal race; that our career has, as might be expected, been perpetually wavering between heaven above and earth beneath; and that this unequal pairing must be discontinued, or that we shall incur the displeasure of God, and the contempt of man. We are told that there must be a total separation between profane and sacred things; that, in short, the State and the Church must fairly be divorced from each other, and released from a union, which to the one is desecration, to the other weakness and danger! And when we ask for what reason it is, that we are to venture

upon this tremendous experiment,—upon a change which *makes void the counsel*, and discredits the piety of former ages? the answer is—because, truly, the Founder of Christianity declared expressly that he had no thoughts whatever of dragging Cæsar from his throne,—forbade his followers to take up arms in his defence when his persecutors laid hands upon him,—and disclaimed all intention of employing fire and sword for the establishment of his faith or his dominion! Christ's kingdom is not of this world,—therefore our princes and rulers are, in their public character and station, to give themselves no thought for Christ's disposition; they are to institute and to cherish no establishments for its diffusion and preservation; they are to render it no honours; they are to do nothing which can show that they think it a concern worth their attention, or within their province! That Christ forbade his followers to draw the temporal sword, is one proposition—that the Church and the State are to continue, to the end of time, two perfectly distinct and independent Societies, is another proposition; but it is beyond our sagacity to imagine what may be the connection between them, unless it may be represented to us by the ingenious comparison between the river in Macedon and the river in Monmouth. To be sure, it *may, by possibility*, turn out that the union between our Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity is an unnatural and monstrous anomaly; it *may*, perhaps, be shown that the bond which has hitherto connected them is no better than the effect of some vile sorcery; and the time *may* come when that unholy spell shall be broken for ever: but, if this *is* ever to be accomplished, we may very confidently pronounce that the Episcopalian is not the champion for whom the adventure is reserved.

It is, however, here necessary to apprise the reader, by way of caution, that he may possibly find himself, at first, a good deal perplexed in his endeavours to detect the infirmities of this writer's logic; because he has contrived, with some ingenuity, to identify, to all appearance, his own views with certain principles which find an echo in every humane and honest heart. The feelings of every Protestant in the present age are up in arms at the very mention of religious persecution; that is, of persecution merely for any set of opinions, which may be deemed *theologically erroneous* by the party which is *strong* enough to oppress: and these generous and truly Christian emotions he has attempted to enlist against religious establishments, as if they were all, by their very nature, the nurseries of persecution; as if persecution in some of its forms and gradations entered, unavoidably, into the discipline, constitution, and essence of every Church, which had desecrated and prostituted itself by any connection with the Civil Power! Now

this is a doctrine against which, with all our faculties, we protest. Persecution for mere religious opinions, is not necessary to the existence, the strength, or the honour of any Established Church; and the Established Church of our own country exists at this moment, in strength and honour, without it. For the truth of this statement we might, very safely and confidently, appeal to the Dissenters themselves; the most enlightened and intelligent of whom scruple not to allow that the existing system provides most nobly for freedom of conscience; and who are ready to avow, without hesitation or reserve, that they should bitterly deprecate the destruction of our Establishment, because that Establishment affords a protection, to all the peaceable varieties of religious persuasion, more complete than they could reasonably hope for under any other scheme of polity. Such, we firmly believe,—such, we might almost say, we positively know,—to be the sentiments of the most reflecting and best-informed among those who are separate from our communion. But what of that? The most explicit testimony to that effect from the whole body of Dissenters would probably go for nothing, in the estimate of a head bewildered with the reveries of the Episcopalian. Whatever the English Church may be *in practice*, in *theory*, he contends, she is still as much a persecuting Church as the Church of Rome. “The Inquisition,” he tells us, “is no *part* of Popery. Why then should it not exist in a Protestant country? And what disclaimer is there in the Articles of the English Church of all right to erect or to sanction such a tribunal? What denial of all authority in Christian princes to restrain religious offenders by the civil sword?”* And where on the face of our Articles, we may just as reasonably ask, is any disclaimer to be found, of all right to burn aged, poor, and solitary females for the crime of witchcraft, an offence which is very nearly as much of an ecclesiastical and spiritual nature as heresy or schism? And where is there, in her formularies, a sentence which condemns this remnant of a stupid and merciless superstition? And how is she, therefore, to defend herself against the charge of betraying, by her silence, the cause of humanity and common sense? The true and substantial answer to all such objections will occur, in an instant, to every mind not absolutely perverted by hatred of the existing system: the practice of roasting misbelievers, as well as crazy old women, has long been abolished by our *Christian* legislature; and measures for completing the great scheme of religious freedom have been in constant progress from the period of the Reformation till the present day. To these measures the Church, as an integral portion of the State, must, in all justice, be considered as a party;

* P. 42.

so that both Church and State have by this time fully redeemed themselves from whatever infamy may attach to the practice of enforcing uniformity by the dungeon, the faggot, or the rack. Every candid reader of our ecclesiastical history will recollect that, at the period of our reformation, the privilege of defection from the national belief was not recognised by any Christian government in Europe. The disregard of the rights of conscience was quite universal. The principle of persecution, therefore, was a fiery plague, some touch of which our Church inherited from her corrupt and sanguinary mother. Her better regimen, however, and her improved temperament, have gradually worn out this accursed pest, till not a particle of the infection can fairly be supposed to lurk in her constitution. Ill, then, betide that most uncharitable, most unnatural jealousy, which can gaze into her eye, and search there for a speck of the same earth-born passion which once dimmed its serenity! Ill betide the unkindly spirit which can peruse her countenance, in hopes of finding, here and there, an ingrained spot, to testify of the disease which once inflamed her vitals!

That he may not be thought, however, to confine himself wholly to uncharitable offices, the Episcopalian in another part of his work* benevolently tenders to us a most ingenious suggestion, by virtue of which the Church may instantly entitle herself to full emancipation from her thralldom, and to an entire deliverance from all sinister suspicions. He has discovered that the supremacy of the civil magistrate was originally admitted on the condition that he should prohibit and punish all deviations from the established faith; that he should allow of no other religion; and that he should consider an offence against the Church, as an offence against the State. And he contends that this condition having long been violated on the part of the State, by the discontinuance of all coercive enforcement of conformity, the civil powers have lost all claim to control or supremacy over the ecclesiastical body; that, consequently, the Church is, *de jure*, invested with all her original freedom and independence, and that she cannot do a more wise or virtuous thing than instantly to reclaim her ancient rights. In other words, the Church is gravely recommended to address the State thus:—"Our connection began in a compact, by which I consented to become a slave, on condition that you would consent to become an executioner. Since, however, you have broken your part of the contract, and have ceased to honor me by the proscription of sectarians, all connection between us is of course at an end, and I am now my own mistress

* P. 147, &c.

once more." And this is the language which is counselled by one who stands forward as the friend of the Church, and the champion of her dignity, and as the sworn enemy of all violence in matters pertaining to the conscience! Rather than fail in regaining her independence, the Church is openly to proclaim her own infamy, to avow that she is still at heart a dear lover of oppression, and to sue for a separation, on the ground of having been defrauded of her stipulated indulgence in this particular. We really know not how the keenest adversary of the Church could well have assailed her with more sarcastic and biting mockery. Her true friends, however, will be at no loss for a reply to these ironical and insidious solicitings. They need not scruple to concede, that in former days the freedom of conscience was not so much respected, either by Church or State, as it is at this day. But then they may also contend, irresistibly, that even if such a compact ever existed, as that which is here described, the Church has virtually waved all right to claim the execution of it. In every measure for the relief of conscience she has fully acquiesced, and she has no longer the power, even if she retained the will, to call for the performance of such hateful stipulations. She is therefore still bound—and she is still content—to continue, not in base subjection, but in dignified allegiance, to the powers that be ordained of God.

So much then for the ingenious discovery, that the elements of persecution are still floating in the seemingly mild and innocuous compound of our ecclesiastical polity, and that unforeseen casualties may even yet operate as a test which shall detect their existence, and even throw them into all fearful shapes and pernicious combinations. So much for the profound surmise, that the principles of the Inquisition are yet lurking in the British Constitution, and that we cannot be quite certain that they will never again be embodied, and brought forth into action. To indemnify the Episcopalian, however, for the demolition of this fancy, we shall, with exemplary candour and integrity, help him to another consideration, which he may possibly find in some degree more serviceable to his cause. We will honestly invite his attention to the system of our ecclesiastical judicature as it exists at this moment, founded, as it seems to be, upon the presumption, not only that every man, woman, and child in England is a member of the English Church, but that not a soul of them is at liberty to consider themselves as otherwise. It is the wisest way to be candid in this matter; for it cannot be disguised that such is the true state of the case. The process of our Spiritual Courts issues on the supposition that the persons who are the objects of it are members of the Christian community; and that the Chris-

tian community is identical with the national Establishment: and no person in the realm, be it remembered, is at liberty to plead to their jurisdiction, and to say, that he has quitted that communion; that he has entered some other religious society, to whose moral and spiritual discipline he submits himself, and that he no longer acknowledges the right of the Established Church to inflict censures or punishments upon him, for the amendment of his manners, or for the health of his soul. No person is at liberty to say this. Process of excommunication, for instance, with all its temporal consequences, may still in some instances go forth, not merely against the Churchman, but against the Quaker or the Independent, or the Presbyterian, or the member of the "*Free-thinking Church of God.*" And it will be to no purpose for them to proclaim, that to individuals of their communion a sentence of excommunication must be altogether inapplicable, since they have already separated themselves from the society which proposes to expel them. Now here, it must be allowed, we have something which looks like a formidable departure from our scheme of toleration and liberty of conscience. For certain purposes, a man is, with us, no more permitted to renounce his churchmanship, than he is to abjure his allegiance. If, therefore, the Episcopalian prefers a good palpable anomaly to a phantasmagoria of horrors, we should by all means recommend him to take his stand here; for it is here, and here only, that he will be able to find any ground for the assertion, that our *theory* of religious freedom has not yet attained its full perfection and coherency.

We advert, however, to this anomaly, without the slightest apprehension that it will be found, on examination, to involve any substantial impeachment of the Church's character for liberality and toleration; for, after all, it is quite notorious, that at present our Spiritual Courts exert, in reality, little or no power over religious opinion. A man may feel their pressure upon his time, or his patience, or his purse; but he seldom, if ever, feels it upon his conscience. Complaints, whether just or unjust, against our Ecclesiastical Law, we doubtless are accustomed to hear, and those conceived in no measured or respectful terms: but these outcries are directed, not against its bigotry and intolerance, but against its interminable process, its endless expense, and its labyrinth of chicanery. No one ever thinks about it as a spiritual grievance. As the jurisdiction of the Episcopal Courts embraces a variety of merely temporal matters, its proceedings have, in the public estimation, well nigh lost the character of spiritual inquest or infliction. Whatever it may be in theory, in practice it is, nearly to all intents and purposes, a temporal judicature. The pre-

sumption that every mortal in the realm is, whether he will or not, a member of the Church is, at the present day, often little better, in effect, than a sort of legal fiction. For the purposes of a civil action, a man is brought within the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, by a suggestion that he has broken the peace of our Lord the King, and violated his crown and dignity: but it never enters into any man's head that, by this technical falsehood, he is ever treated as a criminal. Now, the case is, in truth, not wholly dissimilar with our ecclesiastical process. In matrimonial, testamentary, and various other causes, a man is brought before the Bishop's Court, not, indeed, by an express averment, but by a tacit and theoretical presumption, that he is in communion with the national religious establishment. And yet, though he may most heartily wish himself out of the gripe of that jurisdiction, it is very seldom an afflicted conscience that is the cause of his impatience. So little of an exclusively spiritual character* is supposed to adhere to those Courts at the present day, that the parties brought before them are often scarcely more conscious of being under a spiritual jurisdiction, than a man brought before the King's Bench, in a civil action, is conscious of being under criminal jurisdiction.

But if this be so it may possibly be asked, why is this anomaly tolerated an instant longer? why is a liberal and enlightened age burdened with the machinery of a system adapted in its forms to an ecclesiastical constitution, which recognises no liberty of dissent from the national belief and discipline? And why must the Church thus bear the discredit of adhering to a form of spiritual regimen, while the power of it, as to matters really spiritual, is forgotten or denied? And why, we may ask in return, are not all reforms, of every description, carried on at once to their completion? Why is it that in all projects for the improvement of mankind, the performance often halts so lamely after the design?

* "Our Ecclesiastical Courts are so taken up with matters of a civil nature, and such as concern temporal property, that spiritual matters, and those which concern the order and government of the Church, are always in danger to be overlooked, and lost in the crowd. Or, if they happen to be regarded, and punished with spiritual censures, yet the same censure being so commonly inflicted in causes of temporal profit, and those oftentimes very trivial, have, by such mean applications, and such frequent and unseemly use, lost their force and authority in spiritual matters. It cannot be expected that a separation from the communion of the Church should affect the minds of sinners with any degree of terror or remorse, when they see persons of most unblameable lives put into the very same state by the very same hands, upon occasions merely civil and secular, in causes which terminate wholly in temporal profit and have not the least reference to religion and the souls of men."—*Gibson on Visitations; Preface*, p. vii. viii.

Something has been done to remedy the evil here adverted to, by substituting the writ *de contumace capiendo* for process of excommunication, in temporal matters. But this still leaves untouched the objection to the constitution of our Ecclesiastical judicature, as essentially at variance with the principle of toleration.

Why is it that human casualties, and human passions are so often allowed to intercept the blessings which kindly and capacious spirits have meditated for their species? And why is it that the mightiest enterprises of benevolence, and wisdom, and piety, must, after all, be indebted, for their full maturity, to the influence of that greatest of all innovators, Time? Every one, surely, who is familiar with the history of our Reformation, knows that it was left imperfect. To this hour

——— pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes.

It is likewise notorious, that many of our most illustrious Churchmen have put up their ardent vows for the completion of the great work: and that to no one object have their prayers, and occasionally their efforts, been more intensely directed, than to a complete revision of our Ecclesiastical laws and discipline. By their voice the Church may be most righteously considered as protesting against the unfinished and ineffective condition of this department of her system. And if, to this moment, her wishes and attempts have been abortive, it must be a most censorious and narrow spirit which could ascribe the failure solely to an inveterate prepossession in favour of abuse. The truth is, that our Ecclesiastical System of Law has, in a long course of ages, become so intricately interwoven with the whole scheme of our Jurisprudence, that human perseverance and sagacity have hitherto shrunk from the task of their separation, lest aggravated confusion, instead of salutary reform, should be the result of their labours.* And we advert to this consideration, not, most certainly, for the purpose of dissuading all future exertions for the accomplishment of this object, but in order to repel the obloquy, which identifies an attachment to our Established Church, with a stupid fondness for some remaining irregularities of the Structure.

It is a consolatory reflection, in the midst of all the difficulties which involve this subject, that there is nothing in the present constitution of our spiritual judicature which is absolutely *necessary* to the safety of the church, as an integral portion of our social fabric. The whole system, for any thing that we can perceive, might undergo considerable modifications, without dissolving the connection between the Ecclesiastical and the Civil powers. The King might still retain his supremacy as head and representative of the whole Christian community. Every subject in the kingdom might still be regarded as a member of the national church, until he should choose, by some formal and recorded act,

* "Should an alteration be attempted," says Blackstone, "great confusion would probably arise in overturning long established forms, and new modelling a course of proceedings that has now prevailed for seven centuries."—*Comm.* vol. iii. p. 99.

to abjure her communion, and thus entitle himself to exemption from the purely spiritual and disciplinary jurisdiction of her tribunals. The cognizance too, of those tribunals might, if necessary, be more confined than it now is to cases of a strictly spiritual nature, leaving to the temporal courts the exclusive administration of many secular matters, respecting which they have at present only a concurrent jurisdiction. All this, we conceive, might be done without any fatal dislocation of the present order of things. Whether the benefit to be derived from such a change would be worth the labour and the hazard incident to all innovation, is doubtless a grave and momentous question, which we do not feel ourselves called upon to decide. What we are now contending for is, that, if the experiment were thought advisable, the Church would have no interest in obstructing it. The Church does *not* contemplate her present forms and principles of spiritual judicature as instruments of oppression and intolerance. She does not value them as the means of keeping up a *continual claim* to absolute authority over the conscience of every layman in the realm. In common with every member of the State, she feels that the reform of ancient institutions ought always to be attempted with a reverent and filial caution. But she likewise feels that, if the difficulties of this reform could once be overcome, she might still retain the essence of a national establishment, and might enjoy at the same time, the advantage of a comparatively effective discipline.

This, however, is high matter, and much too various and comprehensive to be effectively discussed in a brief and fugitive essay like this. Our more immediate business is with general principles; and we accordingly return to our Episcopalian, whom we left triumphing in the notion that our Church is at variance with the laws of Christ, because her formularies do not distinctly renounce the right of torturing and burning heretics. And we revert for one moment to this department of his subject, because his treatment of it seems to furnish strong reasons for distrusting the soundness of his judgment and the worth of his speculations. We are not, indeed, quite confident that we fully comprehend his reasonings respecting the application of force in matters of conscience: but, as we understand them, their tendency is to establish thus much—namely, that persecution for religious opinion is to be reprobated—not because it does not answer, or answers only when carried to remorseless extremities, the very thought of which makes humanity sicken—not because it is an instrument which, if allowed at all, may be grasped by error as well as by truth, and be employed by societies of men for their mutual extermination;—but, *solely*, because our Saviour renounced expressly all

secular jurisdiction, authority, and power. We have here a signal instance of the tyranny which an hypothesis is sometimes able to exercise over the understanding. A mind free from any such sinister possession could hardly fail to perceive, that no oracle from heaven could be required to pronounce the reprobation of a system which arrays the terrors of this world against the freedom of the conscience. If Jesus Christ had never uttered one syllable which could be construed into a condemnation of it, the practice would still have remained utterly incapable of vindication. Every *unbiased* understanding would have revolted against it as a gross absurdity; it being (to use the somewhat homely illustration of Jeremy Taylor) almost as unnatural to guide the opinion by corporeal infliction, as it would be "to cure the colic by brushing a man's clothes, or to fill a man's belly with anthems, or syllogisms, or long orations."* Our *unperverted* moral sense would have revolted at it, as an insult to the God of all peace and mercy, who never can be well pleased in seeing his own Truth enforced by instruments which extort tears, and shrieks, and groans, or in witnessing our attempts to bring down his Spirit upon earth, not in the form of the gentle dove, but of the ravening vulture.† Needful it cannot be that any one should *ascend into heaven to bring down these truths from above, or descend into the deep, and bring them up to us from below: the Word is nigh unto us, even in our mouths, and in our hearts.*‡ An express revelation from heaven would, doubtless, be requisite to authorize the enforcement of religious uniformity by the secular arm; but no superhuman sanction can be wanted to justify an abstinence from such unnatural modes of discipline.

We cannot wholly dismiss this part of the subject without proclaiming our dissent from certain notions adopted by this writer from Warburton, and applied by him to the illustration of the difference between the Jewish and the Christian Churches. § Jehovah, he contends, being the Supreme Magistrate of Israel, was entitled, not only to their religious adoration, but to their civil allegiance; and it was on this ground, and this only, that, with them, religious offences were visited with secular infliction. Now, with all the respect which is justly due to so great a name as that of Warburton, we must honestly confess that, to us, this view of the subject seems full of obliquity and affectation. There is an air of pedantic technicality about it, wholly unworthy of so solemn a matter. Every one, surely, must feel his conceptions of the intercourse between the Supreme God and his chosen people miserably lowered on being told, that with them the sin of

* Jeremy Taylor's Lib. Proph.

† Deut. xi. 11—14.

‡ Bacon.

§ Letter 1.

blasphemy was merged in the offence of sedition—idolatry, and the worship of false gods, in that of high treason—the violation of religious ordinances in that of rebellion—and that the service of Baal was, in truth, a transfer of their *civil* allegiance from their own rightful sovereign to a stranger, an offence which is made *capital* by every prudent government. Who can endure the thought, that among the Jews, a blasphemer of the everlasting Jehovah was to be punished by the State, merely on the same principle as that upon which, with us, a man is indicted for a libel upon the king? or, that an Israelite found among the worshippers of Moloch, was to be treated just as we should deal with a traitor, who would be hanged or shot if found fighting in the ranks of the enemy? All this must appear very strange and very trifling to ears accustomed only to the awful and majestic statements of Scripture. It would be far more just and becoming to affirm—not that religious offences, under the theocracy, were lowered into civil ones—but rather, that even civil delinquencies were heightened into religious ones; and that religious delinquencies, as well as civil, were visited with secular penalties, *simply and solely*, because the Almighty had expressly declared that so it should be. This view of the matter disposes of all difficulties in the simplest way; in the way which is most fitting, when the Deity bares his own right arm, and utters his own mighty voice. On the one hand, it tramples down the audacity of those who presume to murmur against the intolerant and unsparing character of the Mosaic system. It repels, on the other hand, the rashness which, on the authority of that system, would invest Christian potentates with such unlimited discretion in religious matters, as could be safely exercised only under the immediate direction and control of heavenly wisdom. And, lastly, it pours contempt upon the folly which bewilders itself with interminable speculations upon the mysterious contrast between the hard and severe dispensation of the Law, and the mild and indulgent system of the Gospel. The plain truth of the matter is simply this; abstinence from the penal enforcement of religious uniformity by the secular arm, is the general rule; the use of such enforcement is the exception; and nothing can fully sanction or justify the exception, short of the positive institution of such a principle of government by the Deity himself. Such an exception occurred under the Jewish Theocracy: and until such shall occur again, the temporal sword must never be drawn for the control of conscience. To this result every candid and intelligent reader of the Old and New Testament can hardly fail to arrive; and he may most certainly arrive at it without fetching a compass through the regions of Warburton's fantastic theory respecting the authority of Jehovah as the *first Civil Magistrate* of the commonwealth of Israel.

The fourth and longest of these letters is devoted to a consideration of the alliance between the Church and the State; and we gladly take the opportunity it affords us of declaring, that after the most patient consideration of the subject, we agree decidedly with our author in his condemnation of the theory of Warburton. We wish, however, to have it clearly understood that our dissent from the system of that great writer rests on grounds entirely distinct from those which are occupied by the Episcopalian. The original position taken by both is in fact the same, namely, that the religious and the temporal interests of a people are essentially separate; and that the Religious Society and the Civil Society are in their nature two distinct communities; but, setting out as they do from this common point, they contrive to reach very opposite conclusions.

A full examination of the ingenious hypothesis of Warburton would betray us into much greater prolixity than could be endured in these pages. We shall therefore content ourselves with declaring that our very souls revolt from the representation it gives of the Church and the State, as two independent and sovereign powers, driven by their mutual necessities into a most undignified compact, miscalled an Alliance; an agreement, by virtue of which the Church surrenders her independence in exchange for protection, and the State confers protection in exchange for the advantage of possessing a powerful engine of social order and stability. By this scheme it is virtually maintained, that earthly rulers would be quite at liberty to omit religion altogether in their original scheme of polity, and to dispense with it till the end of time, if the civil and temporal concerns committed to their charge could be preserved from havoc and confusion without its aid. Religion, according to this notion, is introduced into the commonwealth by a sort of after-thought, and not till experience has shown it to be an essential element in the social fabric. It is regarded as a sort of supplementary contrivance, not as a fundamental principle; as a buttress added for the support of a building imperfectly and unskilfully constructed, not as the imperishable rock which is to sustain the edifice, and enable it to defy the tempest and the flood. The gigantic powers of Warburton himself could never give firmness and dignity to a system like this. There is something in it so degrading and injurious to the Church, and so libellous towards the State, that every honest heart must be satisfied of its unsoundness. Even they who may be unable to detect its fallacies by any reasoning process, will yet be prompted almost instinctively to reject it. It is a system which positively afflicts every soul sincerely interested for the glory of God, and thoroughly persuaded of the immortal

destinies of man. It represents the two contracting parties as brought together by a sort of low-minded sordid compromise, instead of being indissolubly united in a holy league for the temporal and eternal welfare of the human species.

But if the hypothesis of Warburton be so exceptionable, how shall we describe that of his present examiner? Warburton, indeed, contends for the original distinctness of the two societies, but then he perceived that it would scarcely be possible for them to continue long separate without the worst consequences; and that, somehow or other, they ought to come together. And though he does not contrive to unite them upon terms very creditable to either, yet the alliance he has patched up between them is a scheme which, in the course of time, might practically work well, especially when the circumstances, in which he supposed the compact to originate, should have been put out of sight and forgotten. But our present reformer is not content with asserting their original independence on each other; he stoutly maintains that they ought to have remained for ever separate: that any coalition whatever between them must be pernicious to both, and more especially fatal to the Church, whose language ought always to be "*Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.*" He affirms, in short, that religion is an affair with which the civil power has nothing to do but barely to give it protection; that the magistrate is, in his public capacity, to appear totally blind to any difference of value between different modes of faith; and, in short, that the state as such is to be *of no religion at all*. Now, we do solemnly protest that we are unable, without feelings approaching to dismay and abhorrence, to contemplate such a state of society as that which he here recommends as most favourable to the cause of religion. If the principles of this writer are to be admitted, our rulers are not only to abstain from coercion, but to maintain the strictest neutrality between every imaginable variety of faith. They are not only to view with perfect indifference the various forms of Christianity, but to appear utterly unconscious of all religious distinctions whatever. They are not only to refrain from all discouragement of Popery or fanaticism, but they are to know no difference between the Bible, the Koran, and the Veda. As public functionaries, they are not to encourage Christianity, under any shape whatever, by the exercise of their public influence, for this would be a violation of the maxim, that the state is a sort of abstraction, incapable of all religion! And if this were so with us—if the Church were in no sense whatever a part and parcel of the State—if the Christian religion were in no acceptation whatever to be a portion of the law of England,* what would be our

* The author asks, what are we to understand by the assertion that Christianity is a

condition?—what security should we have for the principles of the legislature and the government? The civil magistrate, and his whole body of counsellors may be Papists or Protestants—Buddhists or Brahmins: nay—there is nothing to prevent an open and avowed Atheist from mounting the throne. For anything that the constitution would provide to the contrary, the impious tyrants of revolutionary France, or the worshippers of the strumpet-goddess of reason, might be just as lawfully entrusted with the management of our national interests, as our Protestant legislature, and the Protestant princes of the House of Brunswick. If all religious tests whatever be, as this writer seems to think, positive encroachments on the spirituality of the Saviour's dominion, we are quite unable to perceive why every variety of belief, or unbelief, beneath the sun, might not have its representative and its advocate in our houses of parliament. We know not whether the author can contemplate these consequences with serenity; whether he imagines that they can be acceptable to God or man; or whether he will allow such consequences to result from his theory. To us they appear unutterably frightful: and moreover, to result by inevitable inference from his premises. He evidently conceives that the Church and the State ought to be as completely separate and independent at this moment, as they were in those days when Paganism was on the throne, and Christianity *whispered out of the dust*. Whether the civil rulers profess the Gospel or not, there is to be, on that account, no difference in the Church's condition with respect to them. Whether heathens or believers, they have no more right to a voice in any of her concerns, than Nero had a right to meddle with the ecclesiastical discipline and administration of the primitive societies of Christians. The Church, as a body, is to look on the secular commonwealth as a being without religious capacities, and of which a religious character or profession can be no more predicated than temperament, stature, or complexion. And if so, the only legitimate frame of Christian society must be that, which leaves it a matter of indiffe-

part of the law of the land? On the authority of one of the first lawyers now living we will inform him.

The expression was first used by Lord C. J. Hale in passing sentence on one Taylor, upon an information against him, for preaching that religion was a cheat, and uttering very gross and profane language respecting Christianity. 1 Ventris, Rep. 293. From that time it has been acknowledged as a principle, and was acted upon in *Rex v. Woolston*, Strange's Rep. 834, and in *Rex v. Williams*, before Lord Kenyon in 1797; and in many other cases. And the extent of it is understood to be, that any attempt to subvert Christianity, either by writing or preaching blasphemous, contumacious, or scandalous matter against Christianity in general, or against its particular doctrines, or against its proofs, is an offence against the common law, and punishable in the temporal courts.

In other words, the common law regards the community as professing the Christian religion, and therefore does not allow that religion to be treated with mockery and insult.

rence whether the Church is to exist under a government which professes to act on the principles of Christianity, or on those of infidelity or of downright atheism.

To our apprehensions, we repeat, this would be a state of things full of direst augury to the cause of religion; and therefore with all our strength to be deprecated and abominated. Whether circumstances may not occur in which the difficulty of establishing any particular form of religion may be so great, as to virtually absolve the government from the duty of attempting it, we will not confidently undertake to pronounce. But let us for a moment grant that this might be so; let us concede, for instance, that the social fabric in the United States of America grew up under circumstances which compelled the government to stand absolutely neutral, amidst the varieties of religious persuasion which were imported by her subjects from the Old World—and which placed the government under the hard necessity of leaving the commonwealth without any authoritative provision for the preservation and promotion of Christian knowledge—let us concede all this: what use can be made of such concession to the disadvantage of a frame of society which has grown up under other, and (as we contend) much happier auspices? If it is the good pleasure of Providence, in some cases, to deprive his Church of advantages and supports which, in others, he graciously supplies, it is in his power to indemnify her by some gracious but hidden measure of compensation, and to show that with him *it is no restraint to save by many or by few*. But what could be said of us, if we were violently to rend asunder what for ages have been joined together, and to trample on the securities which, from immemorial time, have been gathering round our national Church? What could be said of us, if we were to cry out to our rulers, that we cared not to have their authority any longer engaged on the side of religion—that their apathy or their zeal was to us a matter of no account—that we only desired them from henceforth to meddle no more with sacred matters? If we were to raise this outcry, now that the state and the Church have, as it were, grown into each other's substance, what could be said of us but that we were flying in the very face of Providence—betraying the Church into unknown perils and temptations—and possibly bringing down a curse upon the state? And what should we deserve for such ungrateful precipitation, but to have our candlestick removed from its place, and to be consigned to the glare of some strange and unhallowed fire? From such fearful experiments we shall, by God's help, most assuredly abstain, until we are impelled by reasons much more potent than that which is incessantly iterated by this reformer—

namely, that Jesus Christ was a conqueror and a king of a very different stamp from Sesostris or Alexander !

We are not, indeed, forgetful of the glories which surrounded the Church of Christ in the days of her agony and persecution. Neither do we doubt that if at this day she were driven out from courts and palaces to sojourn in the wilderness, and compelled to exchange the purple and the fine linen for sackcloth and ashes, that the Lord would still *clothe her with the garment of praise*, and, in his own good time, would take away from her *the spirit of heaviness*. We are well assured that He who sent the ravens to Elijah would appoint his agents and ministers for her support. But though we are firmly persuaded that, even if she were in the midst of the furnace, He could preserve her untouched by the fire, we yet know that it would be impious presumption for her to cast herself into the flames.

It is not a little surprising that in framing his system the writer should not have been startled by the circumstance, that Christian communities have so rarely caught the true spirit of our Saviour's maxim;—if that indeed *be* the true spirit which his alchymy has extracted from it. From the days of Constantine to the present hour, the notion seems almost universally to have prevailed, that the Christian religion is a concern from which the secular powers are never at liberty to keep themselves aloof; that it forms one department of their responsibility; and that to neglect it in their scheme of polity, would be to give to their governments an air of absolute impiety. The author will doubtless here be ready to turn upon us with the reply, that there is one illustrious exception to this general and ancient abuse. There is one country, at least, for which the saying of our Lord has not been too hard; where, conformably to his declaration, religion has resisted all the incumbrance of temporal aid, and all the encroachment of civil power and control: and where religion, accordingly, enjoys that most precious of all privileges, the liberty of administering her own interests, without the slightest interference from the magistrate, either in the shape of impediment or help. Now, we protest that nothing can be further from our thoughts than to breathe a syllable of disrespect towards the institutions of our Trans-Atlantic brethren, whether political or religious. We hope, however, that we may be pardoned for once more suggesting, that the present condition of Christianity in North America may rather be considered as the result of imperious circumstances, than of any enlightened views, originally and systematically entertained, relative to the full import of our Saviour's declaration. A religious establishment, in the *Anglican* sense of that word, might, all things

considered, have been next to an impossibility in the United States. And if the present system, or want of system, should in the end be found to succeed; if the various, irregular, and unconnected schemes, actually employed in that country for the preservation of genuine Christianity, should finally prosper, we know not but that this result ought to be ascribed to a gracious Providence, extracting good out of evil, giving to weakness all the triumphs of strength, and working wonders of mercy, rather in spite of the existing state of things, than by its instrumentality. But however this may be, there can be nothing unreasonable or uncharitable in the assertion, that, as yet, we are in no condition to pronounce on the wisdom of this policy. The trial of half a century is by no means sufficient to decide so mighty a question. Ages must elapse before we can be certain whether the Founder of the Church will send down his blessing on this practical interpretation of the saying, that *his kingdom is not of this world*.

To revert, however, to the consideration of our own country. We greatly suspect that the substantial merits of the question respecting our ecclesiastical polity have often been confounded and obscured by the phraseology, by which it has so long been commended to the affections of Englishmen. The very words—Church and State—are apt to present to the mind the notion of two essentially independent communities. When a man is swallowing a bumper to Church and State, or to Church and King—provided he is in a condition to think at all—the probability is, that he thinks of a sort of partnership concern, which, in some way or other, is exceedingly beneficial to the public, and in which the Church is one separate and distinct party, and the King or the State is another; just as the members of a commercial house constitute one firm, and yet may at any time dissolve their connection, and confine themselves each in future to the care of his individual interests. But who can fail to discern, on a moment's reflection, that this is a view of the matter which is utterly erroneous when applied to countries where the religion is nearly co-extensive and identical with the civil community? In heathen states, where Christianity is only tolerated, the commonwealth and the Church may, indeed, be to all intents and purposes distinct. But when the commonwealth professes Christianity, its distinction into two separate societies is naturally at an end; and the terms Church and State then indicate, not two distinct interests, but rather the self-same community under different aspects, and exercising different functions. “When we speak of the commonwealth separately,” says Hooker,* “we speak of the community with reference to the public affairs thereof, religion excepted; and by

* B. viii.

the Church we mean the same society, with reference solely to religion. The two words, indeed, import things different: but those things are accidents which may, and always should, dwell lovingly together in one subject." But in the disquisition before us, the appellation of *the Church* seems often tacitly restricted to the clergy alone: and it appears to have been forgotten that the laity enter into the composition of the ecclesiastical body as well as those who exercise the spiritual functions; and that the laity have, accordingly, an unquestionable right to a certain share in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. The real question, therefore, is—not whether the State, as one body, has a right to interfere in the concerns of the Church as another body,—but whether the Christian community *in general* have, or have not encroached unduly on the privileges and functions of the more strictly spiritual portion of it. If it should be found, on examination, that the laity and the clergy have either of them invaded the province of the other, it would of course be needful that their mutual relations should be carefully readjusted, and that each should, in future, be confined to their appropriate department of authority and duty. But this sort of reform would imply nothing like an obligation to take to pieces the constitution, which has so long held together all the interests of the community, both civil and religious. The maxim, that our Saviour's is no worldly kingdom, might, in such case, be very properly produced to warn the clergy against the guilt and danger of secular ambition, and to deter the rest of the society from the introduction of worldly principles into the administration of their Church affairs. But we are quite unable to comprehend with what reason or justice it could be alleged, for the purpose of excluding the laity from all powers of action or deliberation, as a part of the *Christian* community; whether such powers were exercised in their own persons, or in those of their civil governors and representatives.

In order to the attainment of just conceptions respecting the relative conditions of the ecclesiastical and civil authority in our constitution, it may be advisable to have recourse to a conceivable case, out of which a state of things would lawfully and naturally grow, very much resembling that which, at the present day, is exemplified in this country. Let us, then, figure to ourselves a small community or colony of emigrating Christians, taking possession of a vacant territory, and carrying with them the primitive faith and discipline in all its purity, and with it the divine, or at least the Apostolic institution, of episcopal government. In this simple condition of society the whole body of the laity would, of course, retain that share in the management of their religious concerns which would belong to them according to the primitive

constitution of every Christian Church; and so long as the community should continue limited in number, so long, perhaps, they might, without intolerable inconvenience, exercise those rights in person. And in this stage of the society no human being would ever think of complaining of the rights and privileges of the laity as encroachments on those of the spiritual pastors and rulers. Such a state of things, however, for obvious reasons, could not possibly remain long unchanged. The increasing magnitude of the commonwealth would render it absolutely impracticable for the business, either of ecclesiastical or civil administration, to be conducted otherwise than by some of those methods of substitution or representation, which are always resorted to as society advances and becomes more complicated. That which was done by the multitude originally, will, in process of time, for the sake of peace and order, be done by that assembly, or that individual, to whom the authority and the voice of the multitude is transferred. In any civil community whatever, power may lawfully be derived from the whole, either to a part, or to an individual, from a variety of causes, and with incalculable benefit to the general interests; and there is no imaginable reason why this should not be true of the same community, considered in its religious capacity. When, therefore, our colony had expanded into a nation, what should we naturally expect to see?—should we not look for the acts of councils or senates or parliaments, where before we had only the tumultuary proceedings of ignorant and turbulent bodies of men? Should we not expect to find the laity's consent to ecclesiastical measures emanating from deliberative assemblies, instead of coming from assemblies incapable of all deliberation?—should we not expect to see the decisions and the regulations of pastors and of bishops, as to spiritual matters, receive the acceptance and the sanction of the whole body, through the medium of that portion of it to whom the administration of all other interests had been entrusted? And should we, finally, have reason to be surprised, if, in process of time, we found, in some instances, the selection of ministers, and of spiritual governors made, not, as in simpler times, by disorderly meetings of the people, but by some body, to whom that trust had been delegated, or, peradventure, by the executive head of the whole realm? And if this should be so, what should we say to a reformer, who, with uplifted hands and eyes, should deplore the degeneracy of the Church, and complain that it had been reduced to slavery by the State? What should we think of one who could see in the lay members of an infant society only a portion of the Church itself; but should look with dismay on the lay-functionaries of an

advanced and populous community, as powers distinct from the Church, and arrayed against its dignity and independence?

Hitherto we have supposed the community in question to have preserved a perfect uniformity both of faith and discipline, to have remained a stranger to heresy or schism, to have been afflicted with no variance from her creed, or defection from her communion; so that the commonwealth and the church would be, up to this point of time, strictly and personally identical: and in that case the Christian and orthodox legislature or government could never be regarded by the most jealous churchman as looking with an evil or indifferent eye towards the religious interests of the community. Of course it will now be needful to introduce the correction to this pleasing hypothesis, and to imagine that the spirit of dissent has begun to do its work, and to seduce multitudes from their allegiance and duty to their spiritual mother. Let us then accordingly conceive that this inevitable process has actually ended in the production of various and organized societies, separated from communion with the church, either in discipline or in doctrine, or in both; and that the various controversies incident to that course of revolution are nearly at an end; and that, in the fermentation, the spirit of intolerance and coercion has at length been thrown off; and that there remains behind, on the part of the church, little but an honest and hearty zeal for primitive truth, sweetened, however, and tempered by the influences of enlarged charity and improved intelligence:—what will be the state of the church in this altered condition of things? Will she have lost her *essential* union with the general community, in consequence of the revolt of certain of her children? Is it to be endured that the falling-away of some disaffected members should instantly alter her position, disengage her, as it were, from her union with the whole state, exhibit her in the form of an insulated religious association, and reduce her to the same level with the multitudes of sectarian congregations, which have been formed out of the deserters from her pale? Could it be maintained for a moment, that the rise of non-conformity would work a forfeiture of her superior dignity and privilege, degrade her from her post in the constitution, and extinguish her claim to *especial* honour and support at the hand of those powers, who are entrusted with all the various interests of the commonwealth?

Now this hypothetical case furnishes us, we contend, with an apt representation of the present condition of the Church of England—a condition which might have been the lawful result of circumstances such as we have supposed; a condition, therefore, in which, (though it may not have been actually attained by a

process altogether so simple as that which we have imagined above,) she may still rightfully maintain herself. The English Church claims to be no less than a branch of the primitive Episcopal Church of Christ, from time immemorial incorporated with the state; a union which was strengthened at the Reformation, and which subsequent desertions from her communion have not dissolved. In asserting, however, her own supremacy, her charity moults no feather of its wing. She holds, indeed, that hers is *the* way in which it is promised that men shall have access unto God. But then she abstains from harshly judging those who have wandered into other ways. She laments the alienation of those who have deserted her; but whether by their separation they have incurred the guilt of heresy or of schism, she leaves, for the most part, to the judgment of Him who seeth in secret, and shall recompense openly. She claims from the State the distinctions and the privileges which belong to her, as derived from the primitive community of Christians; but she most gladly acquiesces in the amplest provisions which can be required, for securing feeble consciences from violation. And, lastly, she sees in the rulers of the commonwealth, not a band of adverse controllers and inspectors, but rather the brethren of her own communion, engaged with her in promoting the highest interests of mankind.

The above representation of the Church's essential union with the commonwealth, will surely be sufficient to expose the stupid malice which speaks of ours as a religion of mere parliamentary enactment; which chuckles over the idea of men who are Christians as the act directs, and who pray and worship, and seek salvation, according to the statute in such case made and provided: sallies of almost profane merriment, which this author has not scrupled to retail with an appearance of disgraceful satisfaction. If indeed the lay portion of the community, or, in other words, either the legislature or the executive government, were to take upon themselves to frame confessions of faith, and to settle liturgies and offices of worship, and to issue orders for the observance of religious solemnities—and all this, without consulting the spiritual authorities, and acting conformably to their suggestion and guidance—there might be something to provoke the imagination to indulge itself at the expense of our *statutable* piety and *established* devotion. But we cannot believe that any candid and intelligent inquirer can be blind to the true theory of the existing system, as it relates to matters involving the belief and the practice of members of the Church. Such a person could not possibly fail to see, that though, as Hooker remarks, Bishops and Pastors are the fittest persons to draw up creeds, and to prescribe the forms of religious service, and to frame canons for the regulation

of the Church, yet these acts must be accepted by the general body of the Christian commonwealth, and receive their sanction and adoption, before they can be invested with the character of public acts; and how, we ask again, in the present state of society, is that consent to be given, but by those to whom the same general body have delegated all their powers? And, in this country, how is it to be done but through the medium of the legislature or the Crown, which concentrate in themselves the will and authority of the people? One would really imagine, to hear some persons talk, that it was the regular practice in England for country gentlemen, and merchants, and stock-brokers, and bankers, and naval and military officers, to meet together, and to draw up articles of belief, and formularies of devotion, and ecclesiastical rules, solely according to their own good pleasure, and without hearing a syllable upon the subject from bishops, or from divines of any rank or description—without admitting them even to the slightest co-operation—and then to send forth these oracles of religious legislation, as binding upon the conscience or the practice of every human being throughout the realm; and that these enactments could no more be escaped than the provisions of a stamp act or a general inclosure bill! All this while, they who speak thus must surely know, that the spiritual ordinances do in effect always issue from the spiritual rulers, and then are invested with the authority of law by general consent, expressed by the representative body. They must know too, that these acts have generally no operation except on those who remain in communion with the Church, and on those who choose to enter her ministry, and to partake of its privileges and emoluments. Where then can be the pretence for affirming that the consciences of men are enslaved by statutes and proclamations, and that our faith is regulated, as the Roman calendar was, *ex edicto*? In the present state of the constitution, at least, no man in England has his conscience so oppressed, or his faith so regulated; and those who adopt the enacted and parliamentary religion, do so from their own free choice, just as much as they would do if the articles of faith, and the rules of worship came forth, as this writer would have them, upon the sole authority of their clergy. And that the actual operation of this system does not make any frightful havoc with the faith and the devotion of churchmen, seems to be distinctly conceded by the Episcopalian himself, when he allows that our *parliamentary* liturgy and offices far exceed any thing which is to be found in the worship of dissenting congregations!

The supremacy of the King is another abomination which severely discomposes the Episcopalian, and which, in former days, inflicted equal disturbance of spirit upon the champions of the

Holy Discipline,—(who, however, be it always remembered, held that the King was authorized to interfere for the establishment of that very Discipline, and for the suppression of the episcopal ministry; in other words, that he might hold and exercise his headship and supremacy, until *they* were entered who should ease and disburden him of it! *). But here it may be reasonably asked, if the King is *not* to be head of the Church, who is? Before the abolition of the papal authority in this realm, the Bishop of Rome was, or claimed to be, the head of the English Church, as well as of all other churches. When that yoke was shaken off, the Christian community of England, that is, the English Church, became in all respects independent of foreign jurisdiction and power. To whom, then, could the vacant jurisdiction be so properly transferred as to the chief magistrate of that same community? How could it do otherwise than revert to that depositary with whom it was originally lodged, in Saxon times, before the Romish usurpation had laid waste our independence? The case is simply this: In the plenitude of the pontifical tyranny, our Church was governed by the Pope; it is now governed by *itself*, and the highest functionary in that government is the King. And in this sense it is that the King is the head of the Ecclesiastical Society. The King is the head of the Law, though he is unable to sit in decision upon “a controversy of threepence.” The King is head of the Army, and would be equally so, if the letter of the constitution forbade him to take the field, or to command a battalion. The King is head of the Church, though he is unable to confer the lowest spiritual function on one of his subjects. He is head of the Church, and enjoys the prerogatives attached to that character, as the chief, and in some sort the representative, of the whole body of his Christian subjects. We suspect that in all the discussions on this subject, the very word, supremacy, has exercised that strange influence which mere words are sometimes found to possess; and that it has filled the heads of some well-meaning but shallow thinkers with dismay, at the image of a secular ruler, supreme over the spirits and consciences of all Christian men. Their agitation might surely be composed, by recollecting that the domestic *supremacy* was a title defensively adopted, in order to fill up the void which had been left in the public mind by the destruction of the *foreign* supremacy; and that if the *thing* could have been quietly assumed without insisting so much upon the *name*, we should probably have heard comparatively little of the outcry with which it has been assailed. It should most carefully be kept in mind, that though the King is supreme, as being the

* Hooker, vol. iii. p. 349, 350. Oxf. ed.

first officer of a people which professes Christianity, he interferes with nothing which is strictly of a spiritual nature; that he is supreme, because he *presides* over a society which is itself sovereign and independent, and mistress of all her own concerns, ecclesiastical as well as civil. And if it should be suggested that the Primate of all England ought to be supreme head of the Church of England, the Primate himself will tell the reformer, that the Church consists of laity as well as clergy; and that the only supremacy which can befit a spiritual person, is the chief eminence among the spiritual orders of the realm.

The next subject of reprobation is the royal prerogative of nominating to bishoprics, a right which naturally results from the Royal Supremacy, and which the Episcopalian condemns as utterly subversive of all notions of a spiritual kingdom; and he does not scruple to aver that the nomination of the King by the bishops would scarcely be more monstrous than the nomination of the bishops by the king. Why, where can this reformer have read ecclesiastical history? He must surely know, that in ancient times, bishops were nominated by the community in general,—*per populum et clerum*? What, then, would he have said had he lived in those times? How would he have been able to reconcile with his notions of a *spiritual* reign, the spectacle of an election of the chief pastors of the church by a tumultuary rabble? Can the imagination picture to itself a fouler violation of the spirituality of Christ's dominion at the present day, than that which would be inflicted by the assimilation of the proceedings in the choice of bishops to those of the county hustings? Is it possible that the author could wish any thing so disastrous for this country as the revival of such practices? If he answers that he would have bishops nominated solely by the clergy, (the Deans and Chapters, for instance, of their respective Cathedrals,) we reply, that he is helping himself to just so much of the primitive practice as may suit his own theory, and rejecting the rest. If the body of the laity are now to be excluded from the *personal* exercise of their original right, with what justice can that right be wholly transferred to the clergy *in person*? What can be more equitable, or more expedient, than that the elective right of the people and the clergy should be made over to the Government, which represents the Christian public, both lay and clerical, and should be exercised by the highest functionary of that government? And what can there be in this arrangement more destructive of the Saviour's spiritual dominion, than in a practice which, had it been preserved, must have been (as for some time it actually was) a constant source of turbulence, confusion, and profligacy?

We may here be permitted to add, without the slightest failure

of respect towards the clerical body, that we are very doubtful whether, as a mere matter of expediency, the appointment of bishops would be necessarily improved by conferring the sole power of nomination on the clergy attached to their Cathedrals. The clergy themselves, we are quite certain, will have the candour to allow, that even clerical societies, however exemplary their individual members, are not always inaccessible to the spirit of party and intrigue. And experience actually comes to our aid in confirming these views. The Colleges of our Universities, though not, strictly speaking, ecclesiastical foundations, have yet a very close connection with the Church; and their Heads, with very few exceptions, must be spiritual persons. And we believe it to be universally felt and acknowledged, that those colleges, whose headships are in the appointment of the crown, are, to say the least, not worse supplied with able and honest presidents, than those where the election to that office rests with the members of the society.

If the Author had contented himself with saying, that for the monarch to confer the spiritual function and character would be as monstrous as for bishops to elect and appoint the monarch, he would have said nothing more than would have been echoed with entire consent by his readers. But can he gravely expect their consent to the assertion, that the nomination of bishops by the crown virtually, though not in form, amounts to this prodigy of usurpation? And will it be believed, that he endeavours to support this position by the following most felicitous argument?—"If a patron could compel the bishop to ordain the person he wished to present, this would be a virtual ordination of the priest. So, because the king can compel the dean and chapter to elect a bishop he may be said to ordain him."—p. 115. Now, is it possible that this writer could have persuaded himself that there exists the slightest similarity between these two cases? Must he not have seen and felt the difference at the very moment he was penning the comparison? The bishop elect is a presbyter already. He has, once for all, been set apart for the service of the altar. The spiritual character has been indelibly conferred on him, solely by clerical authority and ministration; for, neither king, nor parliament, nor any other human power, can ordain, or lawfully compel the ordination of a deacon or a presbyter. All therefore—(must we repeat it once more?)—all which is done by the king is nothing more than that which was originally done by the Christian community. He fixes on the presbyter, on whom the higher spiritual office and dignity is to be conferred; and the consecrated bishop, be it remembered, is a presbyter still; that is, he does not lose that character by his promotion to a higher :

“*in Episcopo*,” says Jerom, “*Presbyter continetur*.” But what would be the case, if the patron could compel the bishop to ordain? Is it not obvious, that then a layman might dictate, not who should be advanced to a higher function in the Church, but upon whom the bishop should originally lay his hands, in order to his being set apart for the preaching of God’s word, and for the administration of his Sacraments?

Another grievous violation of the Saviour’s spiritual dominion is that which thrusts upon the prelates the secular duty of legislation, and the worldly rank and title of peers of parliament. Of all the groans extorted by the enormities of our Church, this certainly has, to our ears, the deepest intonation of dogged and sullen opposition. It seems to indicate a resolution to discover that whatever is wrong. That learned, thoughtful, and reverend men, invested with high spiritual office, should sit among the counsellors of their sovereign, appears to carry on the face of it nothing fatally repugnant even to the heavenly character of the Christian dispensation; nothing that an Apostle would condemn if he were to revisit the earth, for the purification of the Church. The Author himself seems to allow that there is nothing in the spiritual function itself to disqualify a man for a seat in deliberative assemblies, whose labours are directed to the most solemn interests of our species; and he would, accordingly, have no objection to an occasional and accidental conjunction of the ecclesiastical office with the temporal dignity: but he cannot endure the constant and regular combination of the two. And yet, if it be once allowed that there is nothing in the episcopal function which unfits a person for a place in the great council of the realm, surely it must require a most microscopic eye for abuse to discover any desecration of that office in the present practice of the constitution,—that, namely, which calls the prelates to the House of Peers, at the same time that it confers the spiritual dignity.

We by no means feel it necessary to enter into a discussion of the technical reason usually assigned for this practice, viz. that the bishops are lords of parliament, merely by virtue of the baronies which they hold, or are supposed to hold, of the crown. We, however, most peremptorily deny the Author’s assertion, that this is nothing better than a quibble. It may, at least, be relied on, to show that the dignity of a peer has not, in the theory of our constitution, any necessary or indissoluble connection with the dignity of a bishop. If the Conqueror had suffered a certain number of the bishops to retain their lands on the ancient tenure of frankalmoigne, instead of imposing upon all, the tenure of feudal baronies, we might at this day have seen a part only of our

prelates sitting as lords of parliament, and the remainder excluded from that privilege; just as, in ancient times, there was a limited number of abbots and of priors who had seats in the house of peers, while the rest were left without any right whatever to that distinction. The case of the Bishop of Sodor and Man might be produced as an example *almost* in point. By courtesy he enjoys a seat within the place of meeting of that assembly; but it is merely as an auditor, and without the privilege of deliberation or vote.

It is exceedingly well worth remark, that the Author distinctly allows that clergymen may, without any invasion of their spiritual character, vote *for* members of Parliament; and thus, without seeming at all conscious of it, he causes the charge of quibbling to recoil upon himself: for if the rector may exercise the temporal right of voting at the hustings, by virtue of his freehold, why may not the bishop exercise the temporal right of voting in parliament, by virtue of his barony? If it should still be insisted that the bishop in reality votes in parliament *purely as a spiritual person*, it may also be insisted that the incumbent votes for representatives *as a spiritual person* likewise; for the freehold is quite as intimately connected with the spiritual office of the one, as the barony is with the spiritual office of the other. The objection, therefore, will be equally strong, or equally weak, in either case. In either case, too, the anomaly, if any, is equally glaring. The only difference is, that the spiritual lord acts in person, the spiritual commoner by his representative, each in his respective house of assembly. From the beginning to the end of it, the whole is a miserable cavil: and after this, we must object, by peremptory challenge, to having the Episcopalian, or any who resemble him, put into a commission for considering of a reform in the Anglican Church. If, indeed, he remains true to his own principles, there is but little danger of his ever being tempted seriously to engage in so desperate an undertaking: for he contends that our bishops are *virtually ordained* by our king, and that it is no better than sophistry to say that they are not. And, if this be so, it would seem that our episcopacy is radically vitiated, and our ecclesiastical system reduced to a mere nullity; so that a whole Humane Society of reformers might work upon it for ever, without bringing back to it one particle of the breath of life.

And now—must we go on with the detail of this examination? Must we drag our readers through the whole circuit of this writer's extravagancies? Will it not be better to tell the public at once to look into his system for themselves; but to do so with the following cautions constantly in their recollection:—First,

that he begins from that *πρωτον ψευδος* which we are weary of exposing, namely, that because our Saviour did not come to fight his way to an earthly throne, therefore the king, or the parliament, have no more to do with the Church than they have with the celestial hierarchies. Secondly, that in speaking of the Church he generally seems to think only of the clergy, and to be ignorant or forgetful that the laity also form a part of the ecclesiastical society; and, accordingly, that in maintaining the entire independence of the Church he must be understood to assert, in defiance of all history, that ecclesiastical affairs are the sole province of the clerical body, and that the lay members of the Christian community are destitute of all right to meddle with them. Thirdly, that he absolutely revels and wantons in that most commodious, popular, and tempting of all sophisms, the fallacy of objections! He collects together every imaginable abuse; every conceivable anomaly connected with our ecclesiastical polity; every instance of undue assumption or encroachment on the part of the secular powers; all these he produces with every term of contumely and aggravation; and, under this fire of sarcasm and invective, he marches very comfortably towards his conclusion. We are fully persuaded that no institution, no form of government, no frame of society on earth, could stand for a moment, if the legitimacy of this mode of attack were once to be allowed. Every one knows the brilliant ingenuity with which the abuse of the argument from objections has been exposed by Burke in his celebrated *Vindication of Natural Society*; and if a friend of the Church were to write with a similar design, it would be scarcely possible for him to improve upon our Author's choice of topics, and selection of materials. With some modification, his exposure of the evils and abuses of the existing system might pass for a respectable imitation of Burke's incomparable irony. It might, in like manner, be called "*A Vindication of Religious Independence: or a view of the mischiefs arising from a connection between Church and State*:" and most assuredly, like the performance of Burke, it might be produced as an effective *reductio ad absurdum* of the principles which it affected to support.

Fortunately, the defenders of the establishment have their battery of antagonist objections in readiness. Of these there is one which we have already produced, and which alone might be sufficient to demolish the scheme of the Episcopalian, namely, that this scheme tends to impress upon all governments the features of impiety. If his reform were fully accomplished it would exhibit the detestable spectacle of a Christian country utterly indifferent, in their political capacity, to God's revelation.

Another fearful effect of the separation here recommended,

would be the probable ruin of the existing apparatus for the diffusion and preservation of religious knowledge and principle throughout the land. If the views of the author were carried into execution, the government and the legislature would have no more concern in providing Episcopalian places of worship, or in assisting to guard them from dilapidation, than they now have in keeping the chapels and the tabernacles of nonconformity in repair. The secular arm, in short, must never, on any account, be put forth in support of what is now called the Establishment; all religious bodies must alike be abandoned to their own resources; and our ancient and parental Church left, among the rest, to perpetuate her sanctuaries, as she best might, by an unaided struggle against the caprice, the selfishness, and the apathy of squires and farmers and shopkeepers and mechanics. The almost inevitable consequence of this loss of power would be, that our parish churches would gradually fall into decay; till at last, in the course of a few generations, "Christian cultivation would be found only in rare and occasional spots over the face of extended territories; and instead of the uniform distribution of the word and ordinances, which it is the tendency of an establishment to secure, there would be dreary unprovided blanks, where no regular supply of instruction was to be had, and where there was no desire after it on the part of an untaught and neglected population."*

In order to obtain a distinct view of certain other blessed results, for which we should have to thank the projects of our reformer, let us imagine that the separation he recommends is safely and successfully completed: that the Church and the State are actually torn asunder, and that the laceration and bleeding consequent upon the process are happily remedied. What should we then have before our eyes but a corporation *collectively* powerful and wealthy, the influence of which is widely diffused throughout the land, and yet forming an interest totally distinct from that of the commonwealth? We say a wealthy corporation;† for be it remembered the author professes no design to sacrifice the property acquired by the Church. On the contrary, his vindication of her endowments is masterly and irresistible. And if such endowments were all that entered into the notion of an *establishment*, establishments, he assures us, would have no adversary in him. Here, then, would be an association, from whose influence no corner of the realm would be free, and with which the government would yet have no more connection than it has with

* Chalmers's *Christian and Civil Economy of large Towns*, vol. i. p. 91.

† We call the Church wealthy purely with reference to the aggregate of her resources. But if those funds be considered with reference to the whole number of her ministers, she would be found to be in a state of almost primitive poverty.

the Linnæan Society, or with the Agricultural Society, or with the fraternity of Freemasons—a body with which the state would have no other concern than to protect it from insult or aggression, and to take the best care they could that its proceedings kept clear of faction or sedition. Under these circumstances one of two things would inevitably take place. Either the Church would remain *as a city that is compact together*, and would preserve itself in concord and uniformity: or, being relieved from the pressure of all external controul, it would split into factions and divisions till it had lost all character of unity. In the one case we should have to encounter the danger, or at least the trouble and confusion, incident to an *imperium in imperio*; in the other we should be condemned to witness the gradual destruction of the Church's dignity and usefulness.

In the former of these events we should probably soon have to learn, by bitter experience, that the supremacy of the legislature is the only condition on which a large and extended religious society can be endowed and established by any prudent commonwealth; a truth most amply illustrated by the early history of Presbyterianism in Scotland, which exhibits a fearful picture of the conflict which may follow when the ecclesiastical affects a total independence of the civil authority;—a truth which has long been awfully confirmed by the present condition of Ireland, where a vast religious society exists in total exemption from the controul of the legislature or the crown. We have here a proof of the utter insanity of those views which would *recommend* to us an abandonment of all preventive controul over any large, and almost national religious body, that has a strong principle of unity within itself. The danger may, indeed, be fearfully aggravated by the acknowledgment of a foreign supremacy. But still the claim of entire self-management, and of perfect immunity from restraint, on the part of such a society, might alone be sufficient to disturb the quiet and security of any government on earth. And if so, what words can adequately stigmatize the folly of maintaining—as this author in effect maintains—that, because the King or the State are not at the head of the Antiquarian Society, or the Club of Odd Fellows, therefore it is safe for them to renounce their supremacy over a compact and well-organised body, which has perhaps upwards of two millions of revenue,—which is spread over the face of the land,—and whose professional members alone amount to twelve or fifteen thousand persons!

But if, on the contrary, it should happen that a spirit of disunion should get possession of this *emancipated* community—if, on missing the *high pressure* to which it was before exposed, the elastic vapour of religious enthusiasm should burst through all feebler restraints, and scatter its “concealing continent” into

fragments—who can think without anguish and dismay on the consequences that would ensue? Who can reflect without bitterness of soul on the scene of anarchy and confusion and weakness that would soon follow such a crisis? Who could look unmoved on the dissolution of that harmony which now pervades the Church, on the probable loss of all uniformity in faith and discipline, and on the erection of every diocese, perhaps of almost every parish, into the seat of some new variety of regimen or doctrine? Who, in short, can fail to deprecate, with heart and voice, the operation *within* the bosom of the Church of all these causes, which are at this moment producing such a succession of fantastic changes throughout the regions of Nonconformity?

We are entirely persuaded that the venerable body of the English clergy will liberally and candidly admit the justness of these apprehensions. They will clearly perceive that their total separation from the rest of the community must inevitably expose them to the temptation and the peril we have here described; and that so long as human nature remains unchanged, such independence or emancipation as the Episcopalian would offer, would be the most pernicious of all gifts that could be conferred upon their body—ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα—fatal as the boon of disguised and perfidious enmity.

We are further satisfied that they will forgive us for suggesting, on the other hand, that something valuable is to be learned even from the unfriendly admonitions of the Episcopalian. That man is but a very dangerous advocate of our Establishment who is prepared to maintain that all attempts at reparation and improvement must inevitably end in its ruin. We cannot persuade ourselves that the fabric is so crazy and ill-constructed, that its stability must be endangered by the process of removing, here and there, a portion of its masonry, for the sake of examining the progress of decay, or of introducing sounder materials, or better workmanship. It is absolutely libellous to our constitution, either in Church or State, to tremble at the very name of innovation; as if the structure must necessarily fall to pieces at the first touch of reform. We firmly believe that

“Our castle’s strength would laugh a *siege* to scorn.”

And being prepared to look without dismay even upon the artillery of the foe, we are not to be discomposed by the appearance of the architect and the artificer. With these feelings of perfect reliance on the solidity of the fortress, we have attended the Episcopalian throughout his survey. We have returned from the examination with undiminished courage; but, at the same time, with a deep conviction that much might still be done for the beauty,

the grandeur, and the strength of the edifice, without the slightest hazard either to its foundation, or to any essential portion of its superstructure. Under this persuasion it is that we have ventured almost to invite the spirit of improvement to exercise itself upon our system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which at present does perhaps exhibit too great a mixture of profane and sacred things, and thus practically abandons, in a great degree, the character of a purely spiritual judicature. With the same intrepidity, and with an entire freedom from apprehension for the results, we now call upon our rulers, ecclesiastical and civil, to look boldly in the face of certain other exceptions to the existing state of things, which, though produced by this author in a tone of most injurious exaggeration, are yet, in truth, of magnitude sufficient to claim the notice of all who really love and venerate the Establishment. It is not to be questioned that the clergy are burdened with certain trammels and restrictions which would seem to indicate an ungracious jealousy on the part of the temporal authorities—that services are sometimes exacted from them which are calculated to encroach on their spiritual engagements, and in some measure desecrate their spiritual character*—in short, that the laity have, in certain respects, “taken too much upon themselves,” and have occasionally approached, with too little reverence, that region of responsibility, which should be trodden by none but consecrated footsteps. We are very far from believing that these encroachments have often been prompted by anything worse than that passion for legislating, which is the constitutional malady of representative governments, and which, in its restless impatience to be doing and managing, spares neither secular nor holy things. It is perpetually spinning its web, and enveloping functionaries of every sort and of every size in the intricacies of its entangling designs. The Established Church, of course, could hardly expect exemption from the manipulations of this busy and importunate spirit; and she has accordingly experienced them till she has at times been almost ready to fancy herself reserved for a species of novel and puny persecution, which inflicts molestation, but not martyrdom. Whether she has, as this author affirms, acquiesced too easily in these exactions, and has failed to lift up the voice of an emphatic protestation against them, it is now of little importance to inquire. To us this representation of the matter appears decidedly invidious and exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded. But however that may be, a time is now come in which she may safely manifest her confidence in her own resources; proclaim that she has nothing to fear from any experiment (conducted in a

* The evil of these secular interruptions is stated with admirable vigour and deep feeling by Dr. Chalmers, *Christian and Civil Economy*, &c. vol. i. p. 31—40.

spirit of friendship and honesty) for completing whatever her reformers may have been compelled to leave unfinished. She has prelates upon her bench eminent for learning, and zealous for every good work; she has a clergy, perhaps beyond the example of all former times, intelligent, active, and exemplary; and she is, we are persuaded, still strong in the confidence and the affections of the people. She is therefore in a state to hail, and to welcome, every indication of a wish to give her powers their full effect upon the piety, the virtue, and the happiness of the empire.

We must abstain from any attempt to enter upon an examination of the various projects which may have been occasionally put forth, for a modification either in the offices, discipline, and jurisdiction of the Church, or in the state of her relations with the rest of the commonwealth: and we have placed at the head of this article the titles of two small works relating to such matters, not with any view of discussing all the questions they embrace, but rather for the purpose of indicating, that these two pilot-balloons have been sent up, apparently, to ascertain the current of public feeling and opinion relative to this subject. There are, however, one or two points which seem irresistibly to demand immediate notice. Is it then fitting, we would ask, in the first place, that the Rubric of the Church should enjoin the minister to refuse the sacrament to notorious evil livers, and yet should expose him to ruinous vexation if, according to the best of his conscience and belief, he should venture to comply with that injunction? Is it not a burning disgrace to our Ecclesiastical History, that the apostolic Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man, should have been almost reduced to poverty by the litigation in which he was involved by his conscientious discharge of this duty? And can it be too deeply lamented that the Church is thus effectually deprived of an instrument of discipline which was so powerful in the earlier ages; and which is still possessed, in its full vigour, by every dissenting community in the kingdom? In the second place, is it possible to reflect, without sorrow and indignation, on the present mutilated condition of episcopal authority? If any crying scandal occurs in the Church—if a Deacon or a Presbyter disgrace his sacred calling by personal dissoluteness, and thus make the service of the Lord to be abhorred—the clamour instantly arises—Where is the bishop? Is he slumbering upon his cushion of purple velvet? What can be the use of prelates if they suffer such abominations to pass with impunity? The bishop all this while, instead of reposing upon his cushion, is probably vexing his righteous soul with the thought that the constitution deprives him of all power of summary and effective interference; that it esteems the temporal

rights of the clergyman as far more precious than the spiritual welfare of the people committed to his charge; and places in the way of retribution the gorgon-head of a terrific law-suit. And if, on the other hand, any one should propose to remedy this shameful defect, and to strengthen the hands of the spiritual censor, we are forthwith assailed with a loud and full chorus of deprecation, against the iniquity of surrendering the property and character of individuals to the discretion of arbitrary churchmen. If any thing could convert us to the views of the Episcopalian, it would be this vexatious denial of common justice to the cause of religion: and we gladly seize this opportunity of proclaiming our conviction, that more would be done for the honour, the efficacy, and the real sanctity of the Establishment, by the application of a remedy to this enormous evil, than by almost any measure of reform that could be imagined. As for the danger of depositing too large a share of discretionary power in the hands of individuals, there is one obvious answer to all such objections: discretionary power must, in many cases, be lodged somewhere; and, in this case, the best possible security against its abuse, would be a deep sense of responsibility on the part of those, who are entrusted with the choice of the highest functionaries of the Church.

But we very plainly foresee, that our readers will be heartily sick both of Church and State, if we detain them much longer with our speculations; and as we have no sort of intention to excite disaffection against either, we shall speedily draw our meditations to a close. Sundry things we shall leave unsaid, which we had intended to say; and, perhaps, we shall give to the Episcopalian the triumph of some unanswered objections which we have omitted to notice, partly that we might not abuse the patience of the public; partly, because we are fully persuaded that the view we have given of his main principle and argument will be amply sufficient to enable any attentive reader to demolish the remainder of the system for himself. Before, however, we finally retire from the subject, we must beg permission to revert, for one moment, to the precise position occupied at this day by our Established Church; and to offer one or two observations respecting her rights, which strike us as not wholly irrelevant or unimportant.

The Church of England then claims to be a branch of the true primitive Apostolic Church, and, as such, holds herself to be rightfully and immemorially entitled to the spiritual allegiance of the people of this realm. Whether this claim be well or ill-founded, is of course a separate question: but (without undertaking to pronounce on the condition or the fate of those who have withdrawn their allegiance from her,) this we conceive to be *the* claim which she must be understood at all times to prefer on her own behalf:

and if so, she clearly cannot recognise in her princes and rulers any right to remain neutral respecting her, and to regard her merely as one out of a multitude of Christian associations. Still less can she be expected to join the Episcopalian in calling upon *the powers that be* to profess and act upon this principle of absolute neutrality. In her estimate, such a principle is hardly to be reconciled with the character and the duty of nursing fathers to the Church. But here we are sure to be encountered by a difficulty. What, it may be asked, is to be done, supposing the defection from the Establishment should become much more widely diffused than it ever yet has been, and should be so far extended as to be almost universal? Is the state to continue, in spite of such defection, her special countenance and support to the Anglican Church, and to maintain her in her present elevation above all other religious communities? Are kings to remain the nursing fathers of a Church which appears to be passing away, while they still maintain an aspect of neutrality towards every other form and denomination of Christianity?

Now we scruple not to avow that *we are not careful to answer in this matter*. As Churchmen we are not bound to answer it. We are no more bound to answer this, than the heads of a legitimate government are bound to answer in a case not *wholly* dissimilar. No government can be called upon to declare and to define, precisely under what particular combination of circumstances, resistance to their power ceases to be identified with opposition to the will of God. It is His express declaration that *whoso resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and that they who resist shall receive to themselves condemnation*: and we hold it not expedient or pious that human legislatures should presume, by express enactment, to make exceptions from that general and sovereign command. But yet, on the other hand, no one, who is not enamoured of obsolete prejudices, ever thinks of denying, at the present day, that extremities may arise which shall convert allegiance to the monarch into treason against human nature. And if an emergency so calamitous should come upon any people, that emergency would itself unquestionably be regarded—not as a repeal of the general law of non-resistance—but as a practical suspension of it in a case of overpowering emergency;—a dispensation as plain as if it were written legibly in the skies, or pronounced audibly by a voice from heaven. And if it be said that an entrance is hereby ministered abundantly to the spirit of anarchy and revolution, our reply must be, that this cannot be helped; that men must judge and act in such cases at their peril; that it is a part of their moral probation; and woe be to them who *use that liberty as a cloak of maliciousness*, instead

of remembering that, under all trials and vicissitudes, they are *the servants of God*. We consider the merits of the question respecting the duty of the government towards our established religion to be, *in some respects*, analogous to this. We, who are members of the Church, conceive it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to uphold the Church; to cherish and support her, and to give her an honourable, though not a despotic, supremacy above other persuasions; to treat her, not as one of many sects, but as the venerable parent from whom numbers of her children have unhappily, and in some instances most undutifully and wilfully, seceded. We ask for no persecution of the deserters and recusants; neither are we provoked to malevolence or jealousy by the thought, that the divine goodness *may* open the gates of mercy much wider than seems clearly promised in the written word, and may ultimately admit them all to sit down with her in the kingdom of heaven. But yet we do confidently demand for her more abundant honour, and more distinguished protection and support, than is granted to Christian societies of different discipline and constitution, because we believe her to be descended from the ancient and primitive communion, and derived by unquestionable succession from the apostolic age. And if it should be asked, what is the State to do, if the revolt from her should become nearly general? Must her establishment and her supremacy still be continued, notwithstanding those in communion with her should dwindle down into a mere remnant of the *whole Empire*? Must almost the whole population still wear the badge of non-conformity, for not adhering to a society which appears, by almost universal consent, to be abandoned? If this question should be asked, we reply, once more, that we are not bound to answer it; or, at least, that we are bound to answer it only by allowing that a period of such overruling exigency *may* possibly arrive, as shall bear down all ordinary rules and principles of duty. The tide of circumstances *may* be overwhelming. The current of necessity *may* be irresistible. The ruling powers *may* be absolutely compelled to abandon the episcopal and primitive establishment; but if they should be so compelled, it would be, not because it had ceased to be their duty to uphold it, but because emergencies have rendered the performance of that duty an absolute impossibility. The obligation would not be abolished, but *for the time* dispensed with; and the difficulties of the period might, of themselves, be considered as forming that dispensation. But we are not under compulsion to state beforehand, on the requisition of every dealer in systems and theories, what is the exact point up to which the civil government might be expected to persevere in its adhesion

to the Established Church, and what are the exact circumstances which would justify a capitulation to her adversaries. Of the governor of a fortress it may be said, in general terms, that he must defend his charge to the last: of the commander of a ship, that he must never strike while there is the faintest hope of victory: of the Head of our Church, that he must never abandon her unless a season should come, which would seem almost to indicate that she had been deserted by heaven itself. In no one of these cases can the extremity be defined which is to terminate the resistance of the party who bears the responsibility of defence. The crisis, when it comes, must provide for itself. To provide for it previously to its arrival, would only be to plant snares in the path of the Christian magistrate, and perhaps to invite the dæmon of revolution to rush in, where angels should almost fear to tread.

By way of further exposition of our views, we may state, that conformably to those views, we conceive it to be the duty of our government to uphold and to establish the Anglican Church in all the dependencies of Britain. But then we hold that there may be situations and predicaments which present insurmountable difficulties to the execution of that duty, and which, so long as they continue, virtually absolve the state from the guilt of a breach of it. But this is very different from the concession, that in such cases, the civil power is to assume an aspect of perfect indifference to every variety of discipline or persuasion. In India, for instance, considered as a dependency of the British empire, we conceive (speaking as churchmen) that it is the duty of the British government there, to labour for the establishment, not only of Christianity, but of the Anglican doctrine and regimen throughout those vast regions. But though this may be true as an abstract proposition, we scruple not to allow that this obligation is virtually suspended and postponed by the present condition of society in Hindostan. The attempt to make Christianity, in any form, at once the national and established religion of that country, and to treat the natives as if they were dissenters from it, would most probably be attended with nothing but havoc and confusion. The project, in the existing state of things, would be chargeable with downright insanity. The government is therefore compelled by overpowering impediments to assume, in some respects, an appearance of neutrality as to religion, which nothing but irresistible necessity could fully justify. If, however, circumstances should ever occur to place it within their power not only to spread the Gospel throughout India, but with it completely to establish the English Church, and to make it supersede every other mode of faith, worship, and discipline; we of the Church hold clearly, that they would be without excuse, should they neglect such opportu-

nity, *provided always* that the object could be attained without any forcible invasion of the rights of conscience. We cannot imagine that in such case it could be competent to them to continue neutral. The establishment of an episcopal Christian Church, we contend to be one of the objects which a Christian government should constantly keep in view, to be accomplished either immediately or remotely, as circumstances may prescribe.

We are, of course, distinctly aware of the endless perplexity introduced into discussions of this nature, by the objection, that if rulers are to protect and establish any particular mode of faith and worship in their dominions, they are at least as likely to lavish their care upon a wrong belief and discipline as a right one; that truth is one, and error infinitely multifarious; and that it seems monstrous that the spiritual persuasion or profession of multitudes, should at all depend upon the caprice or the conscience of an individual, or of a small body of fallible men. Without attempting to dissipate all the confusion which hangs over this subject, we have only to remark, that the choice of religion, whether by individuals or public bodies, is, from the very nature of the case, a matter liable to uncertainty, and sometimes appears to be determined nearly as much by circumstances as by anything else. That this should ever be the case, is among the hidden things of God. It is a mystery the knowledge of which is too hard and deep for us; *we never can attain unto it*. But this difficulty can never leave it doubtful for a moment, whether it is the duty of men to seek and to maintain the truth. It never will be denied, that man is, generally speaking, under an obligation to embrace the true religion. But then it may be asked, how is he to know which is the true religion, while the world is distracted between varieties of belief which oppress the memory and baffle enumeration? To this the only answer is, that he must do the best which circumstances render possible; and it must be left to Almighty God to judge how far his failure is to be ascribed to the peculiarity of his condition,—how far to the abuse of his opportunities, and the neglect of his talents. In the same manner, if it be inquired, how is a ruler or a legislator to fix upon the faith which is most worthy of establishment or patronage, while the chances are so fearfully great against the justness of his choice? We must again resort to our former reply. He must spare no pains to make a right decision, and must leave the event to Him who judgeth righteously, and who alone can see whether the best use has been made of the facilities afforded him, or the most strenuous exertions put forth in opposition to the impediments he has had to encounter. The difficulty of deciding rightly may be formidably great—the difficulty of carrying his determinations, when formed, safely into

execution, may perhaps be still greater. But yet, in spite of these considerations, one thing we do contend for, with all our heart, and with all our mind, and with all our souls, and with all our strength—namely—that to *set out* upon our speculations from the assumption, that civil rulers are, *as such*, absolved from all care or responsibility on the subject of religion—is a most prodigious abomination! It may, indeed, be hard to determine what course is *right*; but to us it appears absolutely certain that *this* principle is *wrong*. It cannot find favour with God, and therefore ought not to find favour with man. We do therefore hope and trust, that in spite of the lectures of the Episcopalian, it never will be endured, for a moment, by our rulers, ecclesiastical or civil.

One word, before we conclude, upon the temper which seems to pervade these letters. To this we have already adverted incidentally in the course of our remarks; and we rise from our task with a decided impression, that the work is conceived and executed in an unfriendly and contemptuous spirit, and that, at times, it betrays a savour as rank and coarse as that of downright sectarian virulence. That the author is a person of considerable vigour and acuteness, it would be absurd to question; but then he appears to us to labour under a deficiency of mental rectitude; to be liable to that sort of intellectual obliquity which is usually known by the name of wrongheadedness, and which is sometimes found in combination with considerable powers of understanding. This peculiarity we hold to be signally exemplified by his main position and argument. He seems to have got it into his head that there is something of magical potency in the words, *my kingdom is not of this world*; that they have the operation of a sort of spell; that we have but to pronounce them, and the wall opens,* and the chambers of imagery are disclosed, and the light is let in upon the ancients of our Israel, and discovers them, every man with his censor in his hand, debasing themselves even unto hell, before all manner of abominations; and thus provoking the fury of the Lord, so that his eye should not pity, nor his hand spare, nor his ears be open to the cry of their Church! In reprobating what he is pleased to term the degradation of that Church, he represents her as openly glorying in her abasement; and he absolutely “tires himself with base comparisons,” in his eagerness to expose her shame to the world. At one time he likens her to the mischievous dog who was condemned to wear a wooden clog, and yet was proud and silly enough to mistake its burden for a badge of honourable distinction. At another time he compares her to the sleek and well-fed mastiff with the mark of servitude

* Ezek. viii.

round his neck. Judas and his thirty pieces of silver are produced to illustrate the turpitude of her mercenary spirit; and her cruel humiliation is pourtrayed by the mockery of the scarlet robe, and the reed for a sceptre, and the taunting salutations of the Jewish rabble. Her clergy are compared to the soldiers of ancient Persia, who were brought into the field by the lash; and the profanation she suffers from her connection with the state is stigmatized as worse than the sacrilege committed by the impious Belshazzar, when he dared to grace the revels of idolatry with the holy vessels of the Temple of Jehovah! Not a single restraint is imposed upon her by the lay authorities—not a single service is exacted of her, at all at variance with the sacredness of her functions—but (if we are to believe him) she has herself to thank for it, and herself only. She has acquiesced in humiliation, till it has become her daily bread; and unless she starts up, and demands her release from the Pharaoh who oppresses her, she deserves to forfeit the protection of the Lord, and to eat the wretched meals of slavery for ever! One would imagine that a Church in such a condition as this must be ripe for destruction, if indeed it had not already lost the character of a Church. The author, it is true, has been most benevolently pleased to protest, that by these censures he has no intention wholly to disfranchise and *unchurch* us; and for the relief afforded by this gracious declaration, we trust we are duly thankful! But yet we must confess that, when we look back upon the tenor of his disquisition, our misgivings and alarms return upon us with unabated violence. We find it difficult to reconcile the lenity of his final sentence with the course of his argument, and the severity of his strictures and reproaches. If there be any truth and soundness in his principles, the spirit of our Saviour's dispensation has been *fatally* violated by our ecclesiastical polity. Our Church has been converted from a spiritual institution into a worldly kingdom; and the succession of her chief pastors has been interrupted, or at least rendered highly doubtful, by the profane intrusion of the royal hand: and, in that case, every attempt at mere reform could be little better than nugatory; and we should be reduced to the necessity of transfusing into our ecclesiastical body, the principle of life, from the veins of some purer and more healthy communion! In short, we cannot persuade ourselves that we have before us the work of one who has *smitten us in kindness*. His reproofs, most certainly, have no sort of resemblance to an *excellent and balmy oil which breaketh not the head*.* On the contrary, we have sometimes, in the course of our examination, been almost irresistibly possessed with the fancy, that we could plainly

* Ps. cxli. 5.

recognize the "sweet *Roman hand*" of Dr. Doyle, in parts of his composition; and we have been positively obliged to pause in our perusal, and to make repeated and vigorous efforts to shake off our suspicions!

For ourselves, however, we can declare, that these injurious assaults have not had the effect of lowering one jot the tone of our confidence in the *substantial* soundness and excellence of our present system of Ecclesiastical polity; respecting which we are still prepared to exclaim, with unimpaired attachment and veneration, *esto perpetua!* Of reform in the Church, we are, indeed, perfectly willing to hear; but then it must be on the condition that it involves no approach to that unblest and ruinous temerity, which would rend asunder our Constitution in Church and State, and untwist the golden cord which has, for ages, supported all the most precious interests of our country. The sum of the whole matter, we honestly believe, may be fairly stated in two words. The Church of England stands, at this hour, upon a glorious eminence; surrounded, it may be, with perils and with snares, but still on a position of most commanding usefulness, from which she may exert her blessed influence, not only upon the happiness, the virtue, and the grandeur of this empire, but upon the cause of genuine Christianity throughout the world. But there stands one at her right hand, who nevertheless gravely counsels her that she cast herself down, because, truly, the Angels of God have a charge over her, to bear her up, lest at any time she dash her foot against a stone. To all such suggestions we are profoundly and solemnly convinced there needs but one reply:—Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

ART. II.—*Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, collected from the Family Papers, and other authentic Documents.* By William Coxe, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. Archdeacon of Wilts. 2 vols. 4to. Longman & Co. 1829. Price 5*l.* 5*s.*

THE late Archdeacon Coxe has terminated his long and useful literary course, by a Work which not only, like its many predecessors from the same active pen, adds largely to our stores of authentic Historical information, but which by relieving the memories of two distinguished Statesman, who long directed the helm of power, from the load of obloquy under which it has been attempted to oppress them, may in truth be considered a labour of love. Mr. Coxe, notwithstanding many infirmities, which increasing age had brought upon him, and, among them, one most hostile to studious pursuits, a total loss of sight, has

executed his task with no less diligence and fidelity than he displayed while in the full enjoyment of earlier vigour: and this account of the Administration of Mr. Pelham, now before us, will deservedly rank in the same class as the *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, to which it forms a sequel.

The materials from which this narrative is compiled are, 1st, The papers of Horatio, first Lord Walpole; "old Horace Walpole," as he is called by his younger, better-known, but less estimable nephew; 2ndly, those of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; 3rdly, those of Sir Thomas Robinson, Mr. Keith, Archibald, Duke of Argyle, and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams; 4thly, but principally as a chart by which quicksands, sunken rocks, and other treacheries of the voyage,

ἐνθ' ἂν καὶ προβλήτες ἔσαν, σπιλάδες τε, πάγοι τε,

may be escaped, Lord Orford's posthumous *Memoires of the last ten years of the reign of George II.*; 5thly, the papers of Mr. Pelham himself, communicated by the present Duke of Newcastle; and 6thly and lastly, those of Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, furnished by the late Earl of Chichester.

Of these ample and highly valuable materials, the Orford papers chiefly relate to the part taken by Mr. Pelham towards the close of Sir Robert Walpole's long Government. Those of Lord Hardwicke afford much secret correspondence till the year before Mr. Pelham's death. Lord Walpole's papers illustrate the whole course of the Pelham Ministry. The letters to the Duke of Argyle relate to the Rebellion of 1745. Sir Thomas Robinson's and Mr. Keith's to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the busy intrigues for the election of the Archduke Joseph, as King of the Romans. The Hanbury papers, like every thing which proceeded from the same lively and vigorous source, in a few graphic touches vividly bring before our eyes many persons and incidents by which the scene is thronged. The private correspondence of the two Pelham brothers, and the other numerous documents communicated by Lord Chichester, necessarily form the most important portion of these volumes, and it is not without some difficulty that the Public at last enjoys them. Mr. Coxe, it seems, contemplated the present Work soon after the completion of his *Walpole Memoirs*; and having learned that Miss Pelham, the daughter of the Minister, possessed a large collection of papers, he applied for their use, through the medium of the Duchess Dowager of Newcastle. From some scruple, the lady refused to permit their inspection. Perhaps she thought that the events to which they related, were of too recent occurrence, to allow the entire

elucidation which they must receive from original documents; and that, persons were yet living who might be pained by unseasonable disclosures. If such were her motives their delicacy merits respect; but Historical Truth is too often a loser by the ignorance or the squeamishness which intercepts the records whereon it might be permanently established. It is to be feared that a large mass of papers relative to Mr. Pelham's administration has met an untimely fate from some such causes. Many documents remained in the hands of his Secretary, Mr. Roberts, who left them by Will "to Lady Katharine Pelham, the relict of Mr. Pelham, requesting her either to deliver them to her nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, or to destroy them; but notwithstanding the most diligent search, no such papers have been found, and there is reason to conclude that they were destroyed by the widow of Mr. Roberts."

On Miss Pelham's refusal, Mr. Coxe discontinued his intention. It was resumed on the publication of Horace Walpole's slanderous *Memoires*; and the Pelham papers having then passed into other hands, Mr. Coxe obtained permission to consult and employ them. The documents which were communicated by Lord Chichester have supplied many *lacunæ*, and have materially assisted the connection of the narrative. The Work was finished before the lamented death of its author, and left by him for publication to his surviving brother. It has been conducted through the press by Messrs. Hatcher and Rylance, the secretary and amanuensis of the deceased; who, from their long acquaintance with his designs, and his habits and methods of composition, have presented it with more assurance of strict adherence to the writer's own plan, than, for the most part, can be attained in a posthumous publication.

The family of Pelham claims an ancient place in English History; and a charge in its armorial bearings, a buckle of a sword-belt, with a portion of leather attached to it, records the valour of an ancestor who was a partaker in the glory of the capture of John, King of France, at the battle of Poitiers, by unhorsing him, hand to hand. In the reign of James I. a Baronetcy was granted to Thomas Pelham, whose son was elevated to the Peerage, as Baron Pelham of Laughton, in the county of Sussex, in 1706. Thomas and Henry, the chief subjects of our present consideration, were the sons of this nobleman by his second wife, Lady Grace Holles, youngest daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, and sister of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle. Thomas was born in 1693, and was educated at Westminster School, and Clare Hall, Cambridge. The Will of his maternal uncle, just mentioned, entitled him to the name and

the vast property of the Holles family. In 1712, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the Barony of Pelham; in 1714, he was created Earl of Clare, and in the following year, Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne. In the same year he married the Lady Henrietta, daughter of Francis, Earl of Godolphin, and granddaughter of John, Duke of Marlborough. He was appointed Lord Chamberlain in 1717—received the Garter in the following year; and joined Sir Robert Walpole's administration as Secretary of State in 1724. In this post he continued, after the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, during Lord Granville's short Government—on the termination of which he became joint Minister with his brother.

Henry Pelham was three years younger than the Duke of Newcastle. His education was conducted at home under the care of Dr. Richard Newton; whom, when he became Principal of the once-favorite Hart Hall, his pupil followed to Oxford. During the Rebellion of 1715, we find him acting as a Captain in General Dormer's Regiment at the Battle of Preston; but it is probable that his commission was taken only for that particular service, and that it never was his intention to adopt the army as his profession. He represented the Borough of Seaford almost as soon as he became of age, and having embarked with Sir Robert Walpole, and filled some minor offices, he became Secretary at War, in 1724, and Paymaster of the Forces, in 1730.

On the breaking up of Sir Robert Walpole's Ministry, in 1741, the disjointed state of the parties opposed to him, prevented any of them from profiting by his fall, exclusively to their own aggrandizement; and the arrangement of the new Government was chiefly confided to the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Pelham continued in his former post, and manifested his fidelity and attachment to the ex-minister, by frequent and powerful exertions in his defence, in the House of Commons. On this point we shall have occasion to speak more fully by-and-by. Lord Wilmington was at the head of the Treasury, and on his death, in July 1743, ensued the struggle which placed Mr. Pelham at the head of affairs, and at which, in strictness, this narrative may be said to commence.

The applicants for the important post vacated by Lord Wilmington, were Lord Bath (Mr. Pulteney), supported by the interest of Lord Carteret, whose personal influence over the King was at that time in its zenith; and Mr. Pelham, guided by the sagacious advice of Lord Orford, in his retirement. Lord Bath announced himself a candidate, but declined making any direct application while Lord Wilmington lived; Mr. Pel-

ham, on the contrary, at the suggestion of his noble and more provident friend, asked for the place, and obtained the King's promise of its reversion. The motives which induced George II. to act thus directly in opposition to the wishes of his favourite, are to be found in his dislike to Lord Bath, and in the extreme unpopularity of Lord Carteret; to whose charge were laid the scanty results of the battle of Dettingen so incommensurate with its glory, the dissensions among the Generals, the inactivity of the Army, and the national disappointment consequent upon these causes. The support of the Pelhams appeared to the King to be the readiest means of counteracting these unfavourable events.

As we have mentioned the Battle of Dettingen, we cannot forbear from stopping for a few sentences on that solitary triumph, which shed a brief and inefficient brightness on this dingy period of our History. It is well known that however honourable in itself, that victory was no other than a fortunate escape. The French Army in the field, under the Duke de Noailles, exceeded 50,000 men, after all the deductions which he had made, in order to strengthen his garrisons and to cover Bavaria: including the force employed for those purposes, it amounted to more than 70,000. Lord Stair, on the other hand, had imprudently advanced without waiting for the junction of the Hessians and Hanoverians. The Austrian General viewed him with jealousy, and although the arrival of George II. prevented an open feud, but little concert could be expected between them. The Allied Army scarcely numbered 37,000 men; they were posted in a narrow valley on the bank of the Maine; from Aschaffenburg (from which the battle has been sometimes named,) to Dettingen; their supplies had been cut off; and, from want of forage, in a few days they must have been compelled to sacrifice their horses.

This was a situation of great danger, and the movement contemplated, in order to extricate themselves, was scarcely less so, in the very face of a skilful and active enemy. It was determined to fall back, by Dettingen, upon the Hessians and Hanoverians assembled at Hanau. It is but seldom that the details of a battle are presented so distinctly to a non-military reader as they are given in the extract below.

“ Meanwhile Noailles, perceiving the intention of the allies, to withdraw by the way of Dettingen, advanced to Seligenstadt, with a view to oppose their retreat; and, throwing two bridges over the Maine, he dispatched his nephew, the Duke of Grammont, with a force of twenty-three thousand men, across that river, to secure the pass in front of Dettingen, through which they had to march. Batteries were also

raised along the opposite bank, to sweep the narrow valley between Mount Spessart and the river, and particularly to rake the défilés of Dettingen. A corps of twelve thousand men was sent to occupy the bridge of Aschaffenburg, with a view farther to obstruct the movements of the allies, and to harass their rear, during their expected retreat.

“ Soon after midnight, on the 27th of June, the confederate forces struck their tents, and commenced their march towards Dettingen, in two columns. The king, apprehending that the principal attack of the French would be from Aschaffenburg, posted himself in the rear, with four battalions of English guards, four of Lunenburg, and the Hanoverian artillery. This was a fortunate disposition, as the guns of the allies silenced a hostile battery, and suspended the occupation of Aschaffenburg by the French. The repulse, however, of the advanced parties from Dettingen, and the movements of the corps under Grammont, which was seen crossing the Maine at Seligenstadt, soon convinced the allies, that the principal peril hovered on their front. Their columns, therefore, immediately halted, and the king advancing towards the scene of danger, directed the army to be drawn up, with the infantry in front, and the cavalry in the rear; its right extending towards the Spessart, and its left to the river, in front of Dettingen, the best practicable precautions being taken to secure both flanks.

“ Had the skilful disposition of Noailles been carried into effect, the British monarch, and his army, would have been exposed to a fearful hazard. They were couped up in a plain, scarcely half a mile in breadth; their rear was menaced by the enemy on the side of Aschaffenburg; and their whole line raked by the batteries beyond the Maine, whose meandering banks afforded every facility for a concentrated fire, at the short distance of two hundred paces. In front, the Duke of Grammont had occupied Dettingen, covered by a morass and ravine, through which flowed a rivulet, passable only by a single bridge, and flanked by a village and a wood. Towards this point, farther reinforcements, from the army of Noailles, were already in motion.

“ On their march through the narrow défilé, leading to Dettingen, the allies suffered severely from the incessant fire of the enemy's batteries: and their sole hope consisted, in the possibility of cutting their way through the French lines, which possessed every advantage of nature and art. They fortunately escaped from almost inevitable destruction, through the impetuosity of the Duke of Grammont, who, conceiving that the advancing force was only part of the hostile army, contravened the judicious orders of his uncle, and, leaving his almost inaccessible position, passed the ravine, to give battle, on ground equally advantageous to both parties. His advance necessarily caused the French artillery, posted on the opposite bank of the river, to suspend their fire, lest it should injure their own troops, and thus afforded additional safety to the allies. The King of England, perceiving the approach of the French, alighted from his horse, and took his station among the British and Hanoverian infantry, on the right; while the Duke of Cumberland, as major-general, headed the first line of these forces. The conflict spread rapidly from wing to wing; and, in the first onset

the impetuous charge of the French cavalry, threw the allies into disorder, which was, however, soon repaired by the steadiness of the troops, animated by the presence and exertions of the king. The dense mass of the infantry, led by his majesty in person, soon broke and dispersed the enemy, who were exhausted by their brave and imprudent assault; and so great a slaughter ensued, that Noailles, perceiving the disaster to be irremediable, recalled the corps of Grammont, leaving the allies in possession of the field of battle.

“ This retreat was made with such precipitation, that many were cut to pieces by their pursuers, before they reached the bridges, and many, throwing down their arms, fled to the mountains, and were taken prisoners without resistance. Others plunged into the river and were drowned; and numbers were swept away in their flight, by the fire of some pieces of artillery. The loss of the French was computed at six thousand men, among whom were one hundred and thirty officers, many of them of high rank; while the confederates lost only half that number.

“ Although the Earl of Stair, and the Duke of Arenberg, who was wounded in the shoulder, behaved with great intrepidity, yet the victory was chiefly owing to the exertions of the King, and the Duke of Cumberland.

“ The description given of the battle by an eye-witness, in the unstudied language of a soldier, affords the most unequivocal testimony of their heroic valour.

“ ‘ The French fired at his Majesty from a battery of twelve cannon, but levelled too high. I saw the balls go within half a yard of his head. The Duke d’Arenberg desired him to go out of danger; he answered, ‘ Don’t tell me of danger; I’ll be even with them.’ He is certainly the boldest man I ever saw. His horse being frightened, ran away with him, but he soon stopped him. The French got into the corner of a wood to flank our right.

“ ‘ The King then drew his sword, and ordered the Hanoverian foot and horse, and some English, through the wood, and rode about like a lion. He drew them up in line of battle himself, ordered six cannons to the right, and bade them fire on the flank of the French. He stood by till they fired; they did great execution, killing thirty or forty at a shot. Then he went to the foot, and ordered them not to fire till the French came close, who were about one hundred yards distant. Then the French fired upon us directly, and the shot flew again as thick as hail. ‘ Then the King flourished his sword and said, ‘ Now boys; now for the honour of England; fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run.’ Then the French foot gave an huzza, and fired very fast; but our men fired too fast for them, and soon made them retreat, and then gave another huzza, and fired. We had neither victuals, drink, nor tents to lie in, after the work was done. The King stood in the field till ten that night.

“ ‘ The duke’s intrepidity led his men into the midst of a storm of fire; and his horse, having received four wounds, ran away with him towards the enemy, where two Austrians, mistaking him for a French

officer, fired their pistols at his head, and he received a ball in his leg."—vol. i. p. 66.

The allies, in spite of their unexpected success, were too inferior in numbers, and too exhausted from their exertion, to profit by it more than to secure the retrograde march which they had originally projected. Philip Yorke, in his MS. Parliamentary Journal, has expressly stated, from George II.'s own account to a friend, that the King was extremely desirous to attack the French after the battle, but that his want of powder was so great that it was not thought advisable to renew the hazard of a general engagement.* Lord Stair recommended pursuit, but Lord Stair's orders had already been disobeyed by the Hanoverian horse during the engagement, either through mistake or hostility. The spirits of the people of England were greatly elated on the arrival of the news of this victory; and their murmurs were proportionately loud when it was found that the allied army, after falling back upon its reinforcements, and obtaining at least an equality with its enemy, continued in its position, and suffered Noailles to complete his manœuvres, unmolested, through the remainder of the campaign. But the people were little aware of the secret obstacles to farther success. Neither the Cabinets nor the armies of the allies were united. Complicated negotiations for Peace diminished the eagerness of the Governments for active warfare; and there could be little hope that the motley and ill-assorted soldiers of different nations, who cherished a more deadly hatred against their companions than against their opponents in arms, would support each other effectually if led again to the field. The debates which ensued, in consequence of these events, respecting the policy of continuing the Hanoverian troops for the following year were long and animated. We need not state how much George II. had at heart the retention of this body, which he considered his personal *apanage*. There can be little doubt that the victory of Dettigen was greatly owing to his own display of bravery, a quality which must be largely accorded to him; and Horace Walpole, contrasting the great courage of the King with the bitterness of disappointment prepared for him, in case Parliament should refuse the supplies necessary for his Hanoverians, very happily cited in his speech a passage which Lucan has addressed in the person of Curio to Cæsar.

“ *Livor edax tibi cuncta negat, Gallosque subactos
Vix impune feres.*”

But to return to our main subject. Every body who has opened Horace Walpole's Correspondence, or the essence of it,

* Philip Yorke's MS. *Parl. Jour.* Jan. 19, 1744.

which he has so elaborately concentrated in his *Memoires*, must have been struck by the persevering virulence with which he blackens the memory of the Pelhams. It is not in a few scattered passages that his sarcasm (that glittering and restless weapon which its possessor is never able to keep sheathed) breaks from restraint, as it were almost against his will; nor is it in sportiveness that he wields it. The strokes are repeated, heavy, trenchant, and unsparingly delivered.

“ The Sarazin was stout, and wondrous strong;
And heaped blows like yron hammers great,
For after blood and vengeance he did long.”

A very able writer in the *Quarterly Review* (April, 1822, No. LIII.) has satisfactorily traced Horace Walpole's enmity to its spring. He had been disappointed in more than one *job* by each of the brothers. This assertion is so clearly proved, the evidence upon which it rests is so conclusive, and so incapable of contradiction,—being derived from Walpole's own pen in incidental passages of his Correspondence,—that we are reluctant to weaken it by abridgement. The fact may be considered as established; and without seeking farther confirmation of it, we shall bring forward from Mr. Coxe's Work such particulars as show that Sir Robert Walpole did not partake in his son's bitterness of feeling; and that, notwithstanding that son represents him as often saying of the Duke of Newcastle, “ His name is Perfidy,”* and observes of Mr. Pelham that when his brother was betraying Sir Robert and others of his friends, he “ shrugged up his shoulders, condemned the Duke, tried to make peace, but never failed to profit of their plan the moment it was accomplished,”†—Sir Robert himself, of whom it is said, and we believe truly, that he was frequently betrayed, but always without being deceived,‡ was corresponding with these traitors, in terms of the most unbounded cordiality and confidence, supporting them by his influence, instructing them by his experience, and teaching them the surest methods of retaining that power which Horace Walpole would fain have us believe they had wrested from his father's hand by dark, sinister, oblique, and tortuous machinations.

In a letter, dated August 23, 1742, while the Pulteney administration was yet oscillating, Lord Orford, (Sir Robert Walpole,) assures Mr. Pelham, “ I heartily wish you well, and wish you success for your own sake and the sake of the whole;” and subscribes himself, with a very unstatesmanlike warmth, “ most unfeignedly, under all circumstances, your most affectionate and

* *Memoires*, vol. i. p. 143.

† *Ibid.* p. 145.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 205.

faithful friend and servant." Not long after, when Mr. Pelham had represented the intrigues by which Lords Bath and Carteret were endeavouring to oppress his interest by the introduction of more Tories into power, Lord Orford answers, "You must be the first wheel in this machine, and whoever will think of making your authority less, will create difficulties that will not easily be got through." About the middle of the following year, just after Lord Wilmington's death, and before the formal announcement of his successor had been made by the King, Lord Orford voluntarily addresses a letter of sound advice to Mr. Pelham on the critical juncture of his affairs; counsels him to gain time to strengthen himself, and to enter into no hasty engagement, and concludes, "I most undoubtedly am what you know me to be a most sincere well-wisher to the whole, and that makes your cause and interest my only point in view, and a very faithful friend to you and all that belong to you." So too, about a month afterwards, to the Duke of Newcastle, he presses the absolute necessity that Mr. Pelham should accept the Premiership, under whatever terms it may be offered, "however circumscribed, conditional or disagreeable, even under the probability of not being able to go on." . . . "I wish you all possible success, and I cannot hesitate in the support of a Government, upon which, I think, the whole depends."

Mr. Pelham received the notification of his appointment in a very honourable and manly letter from Lord Carteret, who, while he congratulated him, at the same time avowed that he had done his utmost in order to obtain the post for Lord Bath. This letter is dated August 16—27; more than a month after Lord Wilmington's death; and, as we have before stated that, while that nobleman was yet alive, Mr. Pelham had been promised the reversion of his place by the King, the doubts which were felt by himself and his friends during the Ministerial interregnum, and the unfeigned delight and astonishment with which the fulfilment of the royal promise was acknowledged, present an amusing, though not very honourable commentary on the fidelity of Courts. Mr. Pelham's confidence appears to have been shaken. "The communication of this appointment," says Mr. Coxe, "excited no less surprise than gratification in the two brothers;" and the Duke of Newcastle expresses himself almost in the same words in a hasty note to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. "This evening a messenger arrived from the army, with the inclosed agreeable, but most surprising news."

But it is with Lord Orford's feelings upon this event that we are more immediately concerned. After sincere congratulation

and pointing out with consummate prudence the course which he thinks Mr. Pelham should adopt, both with his colleagues and with the King, he continues :—

“ I do not load you with personal assurances ; but I never knew a time when I thought it more incumbent upon me to exert myself in support of the government ; and I rejoice, for your sake and for my own, that affairs are put into your hands, where my private friendship, and my political opinion unite in engaging me to do all I can, and call upon me to act in character ; and how great had my difficulty been, if a contrary determination had put me under the necessity of demurring between the support of the king, and reconciling my conduct with the measures of those, who are incapable of acting a right part, where interest, ambition, or vengeance, can at all influence their actions.”—vol. i. p. 92.

and then,—adopting a figure eminently characteristic of the staunch old sportsman who, even in times the most dangerous, could not help opening his game-keeper's letters before those of the Ministers or even of the King,*—“ Broad-bottom cannot be made for any thing that has a zest for Hanover. Whig it with all opponents that will parly, but ‘ ware Tory’ ;” and in the end are a few words equally betokening affectionate familiarity and unbounded reliance upon his correspondent's secrecy and integrity. “ Dear Harry, I am very personal and very free, and put myself in your power. Remember me kindly to my Lord Duke.” The letter is followed by one from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Orford, containing a most undisguised display of the relative position of his brother and himself to the other members of the Cabinet.

This position and the overture made by the Opposition for a junction with the new Minister, drew some additional advice from Lord Orford, which must have been of infinite value from the thorough knowledge displayed in it, not only of parties, but of human nature. The points most to our purpose are the following. No words can show more completely the intimate connection which subsisted between the writer and his correspondent.

“ You have my thoughts as they occur ; and, I am afraid, they will rather tend to puzzle the cause, than to clear it up ; but, although the difficulties are more obvious than expedients, truth and resolution will carry you through. Your cause is the cause of your king and country, and that must be made to do.

* * * * *

“ The secrecy of a correspondence with Houghton, will become every day more necessary : for your sake and for mine, it must not be known that I enter at all into your affairs. Lord Bath, from the moment he was disappointed, turned his eye upon me. He thinks he shall be

* Walpoliana.

stronger upon stirring old questions, and reuniting numbers personally against me, than in any other light. He will try to fling my weight into your scale, in order to sink it. I write not out of any apprehensions; but my indiscretion will be thought very great, if it should be known that I begin to provoke valour; and I am too free with some persons, if I was not safe in your hands."—vol. i. p. 102.

and again, after some much more than hints as to the fittest method of personal communication with the King,—a subject so delicate that a veteran Minister might reasonably shrink even if his right hand were to ask advice on it from his left,—he concludes a second letter; "I am afraid I have by this time tired you; and indeed I am interrupted and called away, but I am so heartily and sincerely concerned at the event of things, that I seem I know not where. The share you have in this great event is not the least part of my anxiety. I love you; I fear for you; but courage, dear Harry, and resolution will carry you through. My best respects to my Lord Duke. Adieu. God prosper you."—vol. i. p. 106.

We need not do more than refer to the *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole** for the timely aid which Mr. Pelham received from this great Statesman during the agitation of an important question, upon which we have already touched, the dismissal of the Hanoverian troops. Lord Orford well knew how deeply that measure, if adopted, would wound the feelings and the honour of the King, and how irremediably its advisers would be estranged from the royal affections; moreover he saw the political advantages to be derived from keeping up this band of auxiliaries, which could not be supplied from any other source. Mr. Pelham's views coincided with those of Lord Orford; and strengthened by such support and approbation, he braved the unpopularity of renewing the grant, and succeeded in removing the objections entertained against it by his brother and other members of administration. These details have long since been presented to the Public, and therefore we forbear from dwelling on them. It is most probable that Mr. Pelham owed the increase of royal favour to his success on this question. The Whigs were rooted in power, and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, with the unlimited controul of that department, was united in the person of Mr. Pelham, to the first Lordship of the Treasury. The Paymaster of the forces was conferred on Mr. Winnington, a staunch Walpolian.

The campaign of 1744 was languidly conducted on the part of the Allies. After the proposition and rejection of numerous other schemes, an attack upon Lisle was determined. The allied forces accordingly marched into the plains in the vicinity of that

* Ch. 62.

fortress, but contented themselves by encamping therein without any farther assault. The French Journals and Theatres, as might be imagined, teemed with satirical allusions to this lazy generalship, and Mr. Coxe has presented us with the following humorous pasquinades. The first is from a newspaper, professing to detail the progress of the Allies.

“ On the 30th of July they (the allied forces) encamped within four or five miles of Lisle; on the 31st they lost a Scotch volunteer before it, and had a captain wounded and taken prisoner. They looked also for a field of battle, but by good providence no enemy was near. On the 1st instant they were put in fear, but, as it happened, danger was at a distance; on the 2nd they slept sound; on the 3rd the right wing foraged; on the 4th the whole army was reviewed; on the 5th they rested; on the 6th the left wing foraged; on the 7th did nothing; on the 8th relieved the free companies of Austrians at Lanoy, and received a trumpet from Count Saxe, about the exchange of prisoners; on the 9th sent him back again; on the 10th the Hanoverians foraged, and had a gun fired at them from Lisle; on the 11th the Britons foraged, and had no gun fired at them; and the captain that was taken at Lisle, being exchanged, returned.”—*Gent. Mag. for Aug. 1744*, xiv.

The second is from a burlesque piece, represented on the stage, in which

“ Harlequin in scene 1, represents an English officer, whom Scaramouch asks, whither he is going? ‘To the siege of Lisle (answers he), which we shall take in five days.’ *Scar.*—‘You have not a sufficient force.’ *Harl.*—‘Don’t mind that—one Englishman will beat five French. Huzza, boys.’ *Scar.*—‘But where is your artillery?’ *Harl.*—‘Odd so! (*scratching his head*), we have forgot it.—Let me think—it is at Ostend, or Antwerp, if it has escaped the late storm.’—In the succeeding scenes, Harlequin appears, with the loss of both arms and one leg, but declares that he is still rising to preferment. Scaramouch asks him, in scene 4, what are you now? *Harl.*—‘I have the pleasure to see myself a lieutenant-general—but must lament one thing; the French dogs whom we have beaten, have run away with all our horses.’ *Scar.*—‘Very strange, indeed; supply yourselves from the Dutch and Hanoverians, for they dare not use them.’ In the last scene, Harlequin comes in without a head. *Scar.*—‘What do you call yourself now, Monsieur?’ *Harl.*—‘I am general of the —.’ (probably of the British.) *Scar.*—‘Indeed, Monsieur Harlequin, you have two wooden arms and one wooden leg; but you must have another qualification yet, that is, a wooden head.’”—vol. i. p. 162.

The popular antipathy to Lord Carteret was greatly increased by this inglorious conduct of the war, which was chiefly under his direction; but the King’s ill humour appears to have been concentrated upon the Duke of Newcastle, who speaks warmly in his letters of the disagreeable temper and behaviour to which he was compelled to submit; and of the Sovereign manifesting “all

the resentment that can be shown by manner, by looks, by harsh expressions, to those and to me in particular, who he thinks have obstructed his views, and are actuated by principles different from what is most agreeable to him; and that in the presence of the person (Lord Carteret) who equally recommends himself by the success or the miscarriage of the measures which the King wishes." If the Pelhams were to remain in power, Lord Carteret's removal became a *sine quâ non*; but it required no little courage to dare the whole tempest of Royal displeasure, which so bold an effort against a favourite could not fail to draw down. The Duke of Newcastle more than once resolved to terminate the struggle by his own resignation, and probably would have done so, had it not been for the greater firmness of his Brother and of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. The latter, at the end of October, drew up a Memorial, which is printed by Mr. Coxe from a draught in the Newcastle papers. It is a masterly *exposé* of the evils of the existing foreign administration, and we regret that its length forbids its extraction.

On the 1st of November this paper was formally presented to the King, by the Duke of Newcastle in person, in the names of the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Pelham, Lord Harrington, and himself, and with the approbation of several other members of the Cabinet. To his surprise, and no doubt to his great annoyance (for the Duke was an eminent fidget) it was quietly returned to him, after a few hours, unaccompanied by a single observation. But Mr. Pelham and the Chancellor strongly enforced it in separate audiences. The King manifested the utmost repugnance either to change his continental policy or to dismiss Lord Granville, as Lord Carteret had recently become by the death of his mother. And at this point, at which Lord Orford, if ever he entertained any misgiving of the sincerity of the Pelhams, might have inflicted a signal vengeance upon them, he on the contrary gave, as it were, the casting vote in their favour, and consolidated their power. The King directed Lord Cholmondeley to request the attendance of his father-in-law at a private consultation before the meeting of Parliament, in the hope no doubt that such an especial mark of confidence would secure his adherence to Lord Granville's otherwise falling interests: and that under the shadow of this protection the favourite might eventually triumph.

"The veteran statesman, however, was too well acquainted with the condition of parties, to believe that Lord Granville could maintain his ground, and too sincere in his friendship, to act contrary to the interests of Mr. Pelham. Accordingly, in his reply to Lord Cholmondeley, he declined entering into any consultation before the meeting of parliament; and, at the same time, frankly avowed his readiness to obey the royal commands, by repairing to London. Yet he did not scruple to express

his disapprobation of the system of foreign politics, and forebore to give any encouragement whatever to the hopes of Lord Granville. But, such was the reliance still placed on his aid, that another royal message was dispatched to hasten his departure from Houghton.

“Meanwhile, the Pelhams importuned the king for an immediate decision, as the time fixed for the meeting of parliament would allow no farther delay. But his Majesty, anxious to resist these compulsory demands, made another effort to protract the fall of Lord Granville. He sent Colonel Selwyn to meet Lord Orford, who had commenced his journey from Houghton, on the 19th of November; and again condescended to solicit his immediate advice and assistance. In reply to this solicitation, his Lordship frankly and strenuously recommended his Majesty to comply with the wishes of the majority in the cabinet; and the king, finding all parties united against his favourite minister, reluctantly followed the advice. Accordingly, on the 23rd of November, his Majesty announced his resolution to the Chancellor, that Lord Granville should resign.

“On the following day, the seals of the Secretary of State were transferred from Lord Granville to Lord Harrington, who was approved by the king, and strongly recommended by his brother ministers. This arrangement, therefore, was finally settled only three days before the meeting of parliament, and affords a striking proof of the difficulty with which the royal acquiescence was extorted.”—vol. i. p. 189, 190.

The King bore these changes very ungraciously; and few pictures of the old Lion in his den (as Horace Walpole somewhere describes George II. at his Levee) have been more happily sketched than that which will be found in the conversation below, from notes made by Lord Hardwicke himself, and communicated to the Duke of Newcastle. The paper is, in every way, one of extraordinary curiosity and interest.

“*January 5th, 1744-5.*”

“*Chancellor.*—Sir, I have forborne for some time to intrude upon your Majesty, because I know that, of late, your time has been extremely taken up. But, as the parliament is to meet again in a few days, I was desirous of an opportunity of waiting upon your Majesty to know if you had any commands for me. If there is any thing, that it might be particularly agreeable to your Majesty to give me your commands upon.

[*Pause of above a minute, and the King stood silent.*]

“*Chancellor.*—Sir, From some appearances which I have observed of late, I have been under very uneasy apprehensions that I may have incurred your Majesty's displeasure; and though I am not conscious to myself of having deserved it, yet nothing ever did, or ever can, give me so great concern, and so sensible a mortification, in my whole life.

[*Pause of above a minute, and the King silent.*]

“*Chancellor.*—I beg your Majesty will have the goodness and condescension for me to hear me a few words upon the motives of my own

conduct, the nature of your present situation, and the manner in which I humbly think it may be improved, for your service.

“ Whatever representations may have been made to your Majesty, I, and those with whom I have acted, if I know them at all, have had no view in the whole that has passed of late but your service, and that of the public. I considered with myself, that the principal point of the public service, and your Majesty’s great object at present, is the carrying on the war; and though your Majesty may have been told that we were against the war, that was a misrepresentation; we were zealously for it, but we were for it upon some practicable plan, and in such a way as we might see that it could be supported. I was always convinced, that as your Majesty was engaged, it was necessary to be carried on, until an opportunity should arise of making a reasonable peace for the sake of your Majesty, and for the sake of your allies. I saw at the same time that in the condition and disposition in which your allies are at present, it would require vast sums of money, and perhaps greater annual expenses than this country ever bore in any former war, either in King William’s or Queen Anne’s reign. It would be impossible for any administration to carry them through, without taking some methods to reconcile the minds of men to the management of the war, and making it in some degree popular. This could not possibly be done, without taking the nation to a certain degree along with them. I beg your Majesty would consider the situation you are now in. Your old servants, and the old corps of Whigs who are connected with them, are ready and zealous to support you. The gentlemen who are newly come in, have come in upon that foundation; and have bound themselves by their declarations and engagements to support, by themselves, and their friends and followers, the measures for carrying on the war; and I think the strongest of those measures has been opened to them. The gentlemen who have lately gone out of your service have, for reasons best known to themselves, declared that they will concur in all measures to support the war, and pretend to build a merit upon it. For my part, I never saw or heard of a situation which, if rightly improved, afforded a prospect of greater advantage to the Crown than this. In parliament there have been generally three parties, the court party, a determined opposition, and a flying squadron. But I never yet saw a time in which all these three parties were brought to declare for the support of government, in the grand essential measures of that government, and of which for some time all other measures will be but subordinate to it. There are two points for the support of the war. One is, the great proposition* from Russia; and though that cannot be brought about without a large new burthen, yet, if it can be turned in any practicable shape, I see a great disposition to make it effective. The other is the additional subsidy to the Queen of Hungary, which is to be a method of keeping up your Majesty’s Hanover troops, for two views combined together; I mean the defence of your German dominions, and the support of the common cause, according to the general reason of the war.

* For taking thirty thousand Russian troops into the pay of Great Britain.

" *The King*.—As to that, if they do not like it I am very easy. I do not desire it for my own sake. I can call home my troops, for the defence of my own dominions.

" *Chancellor*.—I do not mention it, in the view of a particular point of your Majesty's, but as part of the general system of carrying on the war, and as an instance of *their* readiness, to comply with expedients to get over their old prejudices. But, Sir, there still remains something very material behind; how this situation may be best improved, and the advantage of it not be lost?

" *The King*.—I have done all you asked of me. I have put all my power into your hands, and I suppose you will make the most of it.

" *Chancellor*.—The disposition of places is not enough, if your Majesty takes pains to show the world that you disapprove of your own work.

" *The King*.—My work! I was forced; I was threatened.

" *Chancellor*.—I am sorry to hear your Majesty use those expressions. I know of no force: I know of no threats. No means were employed but what have been used in all times, the humble advice of your servants, supported by such reasons as convinced them that the measure was necessary for your service.

" *The King*.—Yes, I was told that I should be opposed.

" *Chancellor*.—Never by me, Sir, nor by any of my friends. How others might represent us I do not pretend to know. But whatever had been our fate, and though your Majesty had determined on the contrary side to what you did, we would never have gone into an opposition against the necessary measures for carrying on the war, and for the support of your government and family. For myself, I have served your Majesty long, in a very laborious situation, and am arrived at a length of service which makes me very indifferent as to personal considerations. Taking your money only is not serving you; and nothing can enable me to do that, but being put into a possibility and capacity of doing so, by your gracious countenance and support. But, Sir, to return to what I was mentioning, of making the proper use, and of taking advantage of your present situation.

" *The King*.—The change might have been made, by bringing in proper persons; and not those brought in who had most notoriously distinguished themselves by a constant opposition to my government.

" *Chancellor*.—If changes were to be made, in order to gain strength, such a force must be brought in as could bring that strength along with them, otherwise it would have been useless. On that account, it was necessary to take in the leaders, and that with the concurrence of their friends; and if your Majesty looks round the House of Commons you will find no man of business, or even of weight, left, capable of heading or conducting an Opposition.

[*Pause—the King silent.*]

" *Chancellor*.—Sir, permit me to say, the advantage of such a situation, is a real advantage gained to the Crown. Ministers may carry their point in parliament, and frequently do so, by small majorities, and in this way they may struggle on long; but, by the same way, the Crown always loses both its lustre and its strength. But when things

are put upon a national foot, by a concurrence of the heads of all parties, and yet so as not to discourage your old friends, then a real solid strength is gained to the Crown; and the king has both more power to carry his present measures, for the support of government, and is more at liberty to chuse and act as he pleases. Your ministers, Sir, are only your instruments of government.

"*The King.* [*Smiles.*].—Ministers are the king, in this country.

"*Chancellor.*—If one person is permitted to engross the ear of the Crown, and invest himself with all its powers, he will become so in effect; but that is far from being the case now, and I know no one, now in your Majesty's service, that aims at it. Sir, the world without doors is full of making schemes of an administration for your Majesty for the future; but, whatever be your intention for the future, I humbly beg that you would not spoil your own business for the present.

"*The King.*—I suppose you have taken care of *that*. If you have not success, the nation will require it at your hands.

"*Chancellor.*—If right measures are not pursued, nor proper care taken, then the nation will have reason to require it; but success is in no man's power; and that success must greatly depend on your Majesty's showing a proper countenance and support to your servants, and to what you have already done. I humbly beg leave to recommend it to your Majesty, for your own sake, and for the sake of carrying those points which are essential to you and the kingdom. In times of peace, sometimes a session of parliament may be played with, and events waited for; but in a time of war, and of such a war as this is, the case is quite different, and the ill success of it will not be the ill success of the ministry, but of the Crown. It may be the loss of the whole.

[*Pause—the King silent.*]

"*Chancellor.*—Sir, there is another advantage that may be made of your present situation, which I think a very material one. The swarms of libels, which have gone about of late years, have greatly hurt the credit, and weakened the strength of government; and that weakness has produced an impunity to them. From this source has sprung much of the confusion and disorder which have been so justly complained of. I should think the present situation would afford an opportunity greatly to suppress and keep under that spirit; and, though this is the season of the year in which they used to abound, scarce any thing material of that kind has appeared this winter.

"*The King.*—I myself have seen twenty,

"*Chancellor.*—What strokes of that kind your Majesty may have seen, in the weekly papers, I cannot take upon me to say; but I have yet seen hardly any libellous pamphlets. In the last winter, before this time, there were volumes of virulent pamphlets published, which did infinite mischief. But, whatever has happened hitherto, if this work gains some solidity and* . . . in the nation, it will strengthen your Majesty's hands, and enable your magistrates to punish them effectually. Those who, perhaps, used to patronize and support them, will turn against them, and juries will be found now ready to convict them.

[*Pause—the King silent.*]

* Illegible.

"*Chancellor.*—Sir, I ask your Majesty's pardon for troubling you so long, but I thought it my duty to lay my thoughts before you."—vol. i. pp. 199—203.

We have stated more than enough to show the close and intimate connection which subsisted between the Pelhams and Lord Orford till the close of November, 1744, when mainly through his assistance their chief opponent was dislodged from the Cabinet. But little more than three months after that event Lord Orford died, and no occurrence in the course of the Pelham administration, although it survived the loss many years, was more unfavourable to its interests. Mr. Coxe has described its effects as follows:—

"Towards the latter end of this session of parliament, Mr. Pelham sustained a severe loss, in the death of the Earl of Orford, on the 18th of March. From his entrance into public life he had recognized a constant friend and patron in this eminent statesman, who had not only contributed to his elevation, but had smoothed many official difficulties by his advice, and private mediation with the king. A peculiarly unfavourable result of this loss was the want of a connecting link with the late ex-minister's adherents; who, on his death, naturally separated into different parties, and many of whom relaxed in their attachment to Mr. Pelham, while others joined the ranks of opposition. Even Mr. Horace Walpole, the son of Lord Orford, although he continued for a time to follow the example of his father, in supporting Mr. Pelham, yet altered his behaviour through some cause of umbrage; and not only became his determined opponent during life, but even in his *Posthumous Memoirs*, indulged an unjustifiable and splenetic prejudice against his memory.

"No disappointment or personal mortification, however, could weaken the grateful recollection which Mr. Pelham cherished for his first and inalienable patron; to whose merits he delighted to render ample justice on all occasions, public as well as private, while he ever avowed a grateful sense of his favours. To the latest period of his administration he pursued the same course, and was proud to acknowledge that he considered himself as the pupil and follower of Sir Robert Walpole, in the science of politics and finance."—vol. i. pp. 228, 229.

If we admit Horace Walpole's opposite statements of the treacherous conduct of the two Brothers to his Father to be correct, we become involved in one of the two following difficulties. Either Lord Orford was acquainted with their perfidy, (as Horace Walpole certainly implies, or, we might rather say, asserts,) or even to his last moments he confided in their integrity. If they were dishonest to him, and he believed them to be so, he was a most egregious hypocrite; contrary to his received character, without adequate motive, and at a season in which ambition had ceased to exist in him, and he was hovering over the verge of the grave. If, on the other hand, they betrayed him, and succeeded

to the very end in keeping up the mask of concealment, two persons of whose abilities the writer of the *Memoires* delights to speak contemptuously, and of whom it is no disparagement to admit that they did not equal Lord Orford, cajoled, tricked, deceived, played upon, and profited by a Statesman of unrivalled sagacity; one whose chief study through a long life had been the several arts and circumstances by which mankind is influenced and controlled, and the means by which he might direct and guide those around him to the furtherance of his own purposes. Each of these suppositions is almost equally incredible; and we far more readily attribute the distorted and evil-coloured portraits which Horace Walpole has drawn, to his own oblique and jaundiced vision. That most amusing writer, (for such every one must admit him to be after all deductions,) in the conduct of life was avaricious, narrow-minded, morose and splenetic. The same spirit which denied a guinea to Chatterton when starving, and banqueted his unexpected guests upon rations of hashed mutton, added with reluctance to those already prepared for himself, rendered him as chary of his praise as he was of his money; and when disappointed in his passion for gold—the single love which he was capable of feeling—he became lavish of malignant hate, the only prodigality in which he was ever known to indulge.

The public events which succeeded Lord Orford's death were of a troublous nature. The loss of the battle of Fontenoy was almost immediately followed by the landing of Charles Edward; and the Duke of Cumberland was hastily recalled, after a defeat which left his honour untarnished, to a victory which has classed his name among the most unpopular in our History. An adventurer, ill-provided with arms and money, and heading an irregular rabble of a few thousand mountaineers, shook England to its centre, and nearly succeeded in changing its dynasty. But however chargeable with unstatesmanlike neglect and want of foresight may be the general measures of the Government which permitted the rise and increase of these disasters, there is sufficient evidence in the volumes before us that the Pelhams were neither blind nor improvident. From their correspondence with the Duke of Argyle, it is plain that they eagerly seconded his wishes of increasing the force in Scotland, before the threatened invasion, by arming and training such of the natives as were known to be well-affected; and if this course had been pursued, it is probable that the banner of the Stuarts would never have been unfurled beyond the valley of Glensinnan. But the rest of the Cabinet slumbered in idle security, and the King's eyes were bent solely upon Germany; nor was it till the tempest burst upon them with a fury which their apathy had permitted to gather strength, that they discovered the full danger of being shelterless.

We need not detail the well-known progress of the Rebellion. The King was in Hanover. The Duke of Argyle, alarmed for his personal safety, fled from Scotland at the moment in which his presence was most needed there; almost the whole disposable military force of the Country was employed in Flanders; the rebels had succeeded in placing themselves between Edinburgh and the troops opposed to them; and the Cabinet was so distracted and without concert, that the proposition which appeared to present the only chance of safety,—that of sending for reinforcements from the Continent,—was vehemently opposed by some of its members, and condemned by Lord Granville, who, though not in office, still possessed the Royal ear. “England,” wrote Mr. Fox, “Wade says, and I believe, is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate;” . . . and again, “had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle. . . . Imagine everything in confusion; obstinate, angry, determined impracticability throughout.”

Cope was disgracefully defeated at Preston Pans, with the loss of his tents, baggage, cannon and military chest. So entire was the rout, that he did not deem himself safe till he had escaped with the small remnant of his force as far as Berwick; and, with the exception of the garrisons of the fortresses, not a single Royal soldier was to be found in Scotland; nor, indeed, was there any army between the Rebels and London. The imprudent delay of Charles Edward for six weeks at Edinburgh, enabled the Government in some measure to recover from its panic, and to collect its troops; and the pressure of immediate danger gave the Pelhams the full ascendancy which hitherto had been denied to them. Vigour and activity succeeded to imbecility and inertness; and the advance of the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of a strong and well-appointed army, stemmed the onset of the Rebels, and drove them in hasty retreat from Derby. Even the defeat of Hawley, at Falkirk, by inferior numbers, which was scarcely less discreditable to disciplined troops than that before suffered by Cope, but little retarded the approaching catastrophe. The efforts made by the French to reinforce the Rebel army, and to hazard a descent at Dover, were frustrated by the watchfulness and skill of Byng and Vernon. Motions for large supplies were carried through the Commons without obstruction, and one general spirit of loyalty to the House of Brunswick appeared to pervade the great body of the nation.

It might have been supposed that the gratitude of the King would have been proportioned to the ardour manifested by his

servants during this season of peril. But scarcely had the drooping spirits of the Country been revived, nor yet had the danger wholly passed away, when personal feelings were allowed to counterbalance the public good; and while the Monarchy still tottered, and an hereditary claimant to the Throne still asserted his right, in arms, within the bosom of the Country, a total revolution was effected in the administration. George II. became impatient of the determination shown by his present Cabinet to abandon the extensive system of Continental war which he had hitherto pursued, and angrily resisted their importunities that Mr. Pitt should be admitted as Secretary at War.

“ He addressed himself to the Earls of Bath and Granville, at that time the most unpopular noblemen in the kingdom. He complained to Lord Bath, that he was a prisoner on his throne; governed by a party who engrossed all power; compelled to receive into his service persons whom he had cause to dislike; and permitted to have no share in the management of his own affairs. He therefore solicited assistance, to liberate himself from this irksome bondage; and confided to him and Lord Granville full powers to form a new administration, which should be inclined to prosecute the war on more vigorous principles. He expressed his sanguine hopes of the attachment of Lord Harrington, who principally owed his elevation to his favour; and calculated on the concurrence of Mr. Winnington, who was deemed a proper person to manage the House of Commons. He looked forward also to the support of other persons in both Houses, particularly of Sir John Barnard, whom he supposed to be adverse to the ascendancy of the Pelhams, and to whom he intended to offer the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

“ Lord Bath received this delicate commission with some degree of hesitation, but answered for the concurrence of Lord Granville, and declared that ultimate success must depend on the king's own firmness. As the principal difficulty to be apprehended was that of raising the supplies, Lord Bath first addressed himself to Mr. Gideon, and the other monied men in the city, and procured from them the promise of a loan, on terms which were considered as more advantageous than those already obtained by Mr. Pelham. He then applied to different members of both Houses, and calculating that he should succeed in separating the several parties which were connected with the ministry, he returned to the king to communicate the result of his proceedings. The plan of an administration, of which he and Lord Granville were to be the leaders, as First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State, was then sketched out; and in retiring from the closet, on the 6th of February, he exultingly said to Lord Harrington, whom he met in the ante-chamber, ‘ I have advised the king to negative the appointment of Mr. Pitt, and to pursue proper measures on the continent.’

“ The communication did not produce the effect that was intended, for it called forth from Lord Harrington only a cold and severe remark, that ‘ those who dictated in private, should be employed in public.’ Notwithstanding this indication of his sentiments, Lord Harrington was,

on the next day, summoned into the closet. The king condescended to employ every argument and intreaty calculated to detach him from his party; but finding them all unavailing, he gave way to a transport of indignation, and bitterly reproached the inflexible secretary with ingratitude.

“The Pelhams and their friends were now sensible that the die was cast, and a meeting of the party took place on the ensuing evening, at the house of the Lord Chancellor. All their adherents proving faithful, a resolution was taken to convince the king of the weakness and impolicy of his scheme, by a prompt and general resignation. Lord Harrington relinquished the seals on the 10th, and his example was followed by the Duke of Newcastle. On the morrow Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Bedford, with all the members of the Board of Treasury and Admiralty, resigned; and in conformity with the general resolution, the whole of the ministry either renounced their employments, or expressed their intention to retire. This event produced a deep and general sensation of regret throughout the country. The change was regarded as the signal of the most fatal calamities, and the levees of the two brothers were crowded beyond all former precedent. Even the Duke of Cumberland, with all his respect for the king his father, could not refrain from testifying, in the strongest terms, his concern at a proceeding which threatened the dissolution of the Whig interest, that had placed and maintained his family on the throne.”—vol. i. pp. 288—290.

The subsequent proceedings are given in a Letter of great interest from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Chesterfield, but it is too long for extraction. The termination is well known. Lord Bath, who had accepted the Treasury, soon found that majorities were hopeless in either House, and stated in the closet the impossibility of gaining them. Lord Granville, to whom both Seals had been committed, one for himself, the other for any friend whom he might choose to name, boldly advised the King to summon the Commons, and declare from the Throne to them, and to the House of Lords, what usage he had received from his servants.* But the King, however fond of Hanover, was not yet content to retire upon his Electorate—a retreat to which such an experiment might have led; and on the Wednesday he sent to those who had resigned on the Monday and Tuesday, to desire that they would return to their old employments. The Wits and the Pelhams equally profited by this singular political convulsion. One among the first observed, that during this period of suspense it was not safe to walk the streets at night for fear of being pressed to be a Cabinet Counsellor; and another published a penny *History of the Long Administration*, concluding with the following paragraph:—

“And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three quarters, seven minutes

* Glover's *Posthumous Memoirs*, p. 31.

and eleven seconds, which may truly be called the most wise and most honest of all administrations, the Minister having, to the great astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing, and what is more marvellous, left as much money in the Treasury as he found in it. This worthy History I have faithfully recorded in this mighty volume, that it may be read with the valuable Works of our immortal Countryman, Thomas Thumb, by our children, grand-children and great-grand-children to the end of the world."

The Pelhams naturally were much strengthened by the failure of this attack. They could no longer be resisted by the King, and they had won the cordial support of the people. Triumphant in all other points, they prudently forbore to exasperate the Royal prejudices, by urging the appointment of Mr. Pitt as an English Minister, and as a satisfactory compromise, they obtained for him the lucrative post of Joint-Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

Meanwhile, during this political broil, the Duke of Cumberland was steadily advancing to the suppression of the Rebellion. The severity of his proceedings has ever been a matter of deep and indelible reproach; and the Newcastle papers have preserved in his letters numerous instances of the evil impression which his mind had received of Scotland, and the consequent necessity which he felt of visiting her with a heavy arm.

"All in this Country," he writes from Aberdeen on the 4th of April, 1746, "are almost to a man Jacobites, and mild measures will not do. You will find the whole of the Laws of this *ancient kingdom* (the sneer is remarkable) must be new modelled. . . . Were I to enumerate the villains and villanies this Country abounds in, I should never have done. In short, there does not remain the least vestige of any government throughout the whole; . . . do not imagine that threatening military execution, and many other such things, are pleasant to do; but nothing will go down without it in this part of the world."

His success at Culloden, (which, however vaunted as a great battle, was little else than a massacre,) as may be supposed, increased his readiness to shed blood. He had been fleshed, and his appetite was whetted. Six days after his victory he writes again to the Duke of Newcastle:—"If we had destroyed every man of them, such is the soil that Rebellion would sprout out again, if a new system of Government is not found out for this Country;" and within a few days more he accuses one half of the Magistrates of Scotland as aiders or abettors of the Rebellion, and declares that the others dared not act lest they should offend their chiefs, or hang their relations. He also affirms that the Jacobite principle would not be eradicated until a new generation should have arisen; and it was for the sake of forcing this generation into precocious forwardness, that he used every means, as far as in him lay, of making room for it, by cutting off that which

existed. That we do not overcharge this picture will be admitted by all who contemplate the spirit of one more extract from his correspondence, which is equally distinguished by badness of taste and bitterness of feeling. It is dated about the middle of July, when he had already indulged the savageness of his vengeance, and dabbled in the slaughter of unresisting fugitives for four long months.

“I am sorry to leave this Country in the condition it is in; for all the good that we have done has been *a little bloodletting*, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all cured: and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island, and of our family; for I know that when we come to be heard, you will imagine almost every word I say slander, and that I am prejudiced against them: so I am, but by so many different incidents that have happened, that I recollect the whole with horror.”

It is unnecessary to comment upon the cruel and unseasonable sportiveness of some of the above expressions. They remind us of the least agreeable parts of Sir Walter Scott's Novels—the professional witticisms of the executioners in *Quentin Durward*; and the Duke of Cumberland, while employing them, must be content to rank in the same class with the memorable *Petit André* and *Troix Echelles*. Neither did his Royal Highness atone for the virulence of his hostility by a corresponding strength of affection towards his friends. It will scarcely be credited that, in his despatches announcing the victory of Culloden, he omitted the customary recommendation by which the promotion of the bearer is secured. The Duke himself reaped most substantial benefits from his success. £40,000 per annum was immediately settled upon himself and his heirs male; but it was not until the Minister pointed out the ungenerous omission, that the forgotten aide-de-camp received his share of advantage.

“Poor Bury,” wrote the Duke of Newcastle, “was much mortified to have been tossed about so long at sea. I carried him to the King, and he was most graciously received, and very much questioned; and he behaved like a hero and a politician. *Had your Royal Highness dropped one word in his favour, his business, I believe, would have been done. We will do our best, in our circumstances; but I wish your Royal Highness would enable us, by a line from you.*”

It is by no means our intention to enter into the dull and tedious labyrinth of the general politics, or the petty Court intrigues, of this leaden period; than which scarcely any in our History presents fewer points of interest, or less of public virtue. We shall confine ourselves to a few incidents which tend to illustrate the character of the Pelham brothers, or which in themselves offer

any remarkable claims upon our attention. The case of Lord Harrington partakes of both these properties. We have already mentioned that Nobleman as having been the first of the Ministers who tendered his resignation in February, 1746; and the King, who was obstinately implacable in his resentments, poured the whole artillery of his wrath upon this devoted *forlorn hope*. In November of the same year, Lord Harrington succeeded Lord Chesterfield as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—an office which, at that time, was usually held for not more than three years. The King, though most reluctantly, at Mr. Pelham's earnest request, in this instance, extended the time to four. Lord Harrington was a younger brother, and his purse, not less than his honour, demanded that he should not quit this high and lucrative post, without a transfer to some efficient office in England; and such Mr. Pelham designed for him as Secretary of State or Lord President. The correspondence before us sufficiently proves the deep interest felt by Mr. Pelham on this point, and effectually contradicts the malignant statement of Horace Walpole to the contrary. That writer has told us, that "the Pelhams sacrificed Lord Harrington to their master, astonished at their complaisance, in order to bargain for other victims on his part, which they would have forced, not purchased, if there had been any price necessary but their own ingratitude." We do not profess very clearly to understand this complicated and overloaded accusation; but, as far as we can comprehend it, that is, that the Pelhams sacrificed Lord Harrington, we will examine it by their Letters relating to him.

In May, 1750, Mr. Pelham, in writing to his brother, notices Lord Harrington's very natural anxiety about his approaching removal, and the great difficulty which he (Mr. Pelham) feels in answering his inquiries, whether he is to be turned adrift without any provision at all, which his circumstances can very ill bear. Mr. Pelham knew the King's aversion from the applicant, and with no less kindness than prudence, forbore to raise hopes, of the gratification of which he could not feel confident. But he was fully alive to the extreme hardship of the circumstances: he assured Lord Harrington of his own good will; talked of time and chance, the usual bosom counsellors of the unfortunate; and expressed himself to the Duke of Newcastle in terms which strongly evidence his commiseration—"in short, it is a melancholy sight to see him." The Duke in reply denies the hardship of Lord Harrington's removal, which he shows is the common course of official routine; but adds that he should very deeply regret any proceedings which might shock him. He then offers to apply to the King, although he does not know how it will be re-

ceived, for a pension of £1500 or £2000 a year for him, he being already in possession, for a term of years, of one of £2500. Mr. Pelham, in return, suggests another provision.

“ ‘ I must now give you an account of a conversation I had yesterday with Lord Harrington. He came to me full of anxiety and trouble. He has at last found out that he is not long to continue in the post he now enjoys. He fears a sudden stroke, and thinks that if he is removed before any thing else is allotted to him, he shall be left without any thing at all ! I did not, nor ever have denied to him, that I thought the Duke of Dorset would be his successor, and that I concluded the time would not be long before his fate would be determined. He then asked me if I thought he should succeed Dorset ? I told him, by what I saw of the king before he left England, I feared it much. He then said, “ If the king do not care to see me, why cannot Lord Gower be President, and I succeed him as Lord Privy Seal ? ” My answer was, Gower was so broke in spirit and constitution, I feared his ability of going through that office, and really thought he would not undertake it. “ Why, then,” says he, “ what is it I am to expect ? I desire you will write to the Duke of Newcastle ; tell him I desire to know my fate, and that I hope the king will not reduce an old servant to want, for no fault he is sensible to have committed.” He asked me whether he had offended the king in any thing he had done as Lord-Lieutenant. I told him I knew of nothing ; that perhaps he might have recommended people, now and then, whom the king did not like, but that I thought that did not go far. I owned sincerely to him, that I took the old affair * to be the sore which I never saw healed, with regard to him, since the thing happened. He said he believed that was the case ; but then, sure those for whom he suffered, would think themselves obliged in honour to stand a little by him, who had lost his all by standing firmly by them. I saw what and whom he meant. I told him, therefore, he was sensible of my friendship, and that I could assure him you were as desirous of accommodating him as I could be.

“ ‘ I promised to write to you by this post, and told him I would communicate your answer as soon as I received it. I find the world begins to compassionate him ; and it is talked about as if we were, in honour, obliged to do our best for him, since he suffered for standing so thoroughly by us. I have been thinking, though I never mentioned it to him, whether the old story of General of the Marines might not do. His friends, I have reason to believe, will be satisfied with that, though I dare say he himself will not be pleased. I should not, according to my principles, recommend a farther expense on that head of service ; but when I consider he will not last long, and that the opposition would probably be stopped from attacking him, I had rather venture that reproach than the other, of suffering a man to drop, for an offence which we drew him into, and in which we were as much concerned as he. I wish, dear brother, you would think of this. You may be assured I

* “ The refusal of Lord Harrington to desert the Pelhams in 1746, when the King wished to form a new administration.”

will do the best I can to make him easy; but if nothing is done for him, or proposed to be done, I will not attempt so vain a thing as to try at excuses; for when a man is sorely hurt, that rather irritates than assuages his resentments. At present he is calm, but very anxious as to his fate.'—vol. ii. pp. 380, 381.

And such was also Lord Hardwicke's wish.

“ ‘ Lord Harrington desired a private conference with me yesterday, which, not having happened for several years, surprised me. I met him, and must own some part of it was a moving scene. His whole business was upon his own subject, in which he related what he had heard, of his being to be removed from his present office as soon as the king returned, which he took for granted to be resolved upon. He hoped that after so long service he was not to be left upon the pavement, without any provision; that his circumstances were so very moderate, that it would reduce him to *great* inconvenience. And here he burst into tears, and could not go on. He could not recollect that he had ever given the king any offence, but by being first in resigning in February, 1745-6, which, he said, was a measure in conjunction with us all. He reclaimed your Grace's friendship, which he hoped he had never forfeited; for as to any difference of opinion on political measures at a particular time, he relied on your candour not to think that any forfeiture of it, and therefore hoped for your powerful interposition and assistance, that if he was to lose the Lieutenancy of Ireland, he might at the same time be provided for in some other way. I told his Lordship I pretended to no power, but had no scruple to declare my real opinion, as well as wish, that he should be honourably provided for. That I had good reason to think it was also your Grace's opinion, and promised to write to you, as I am now doing. He desired me to let Mr. Pelham know that he had spoken to me, which I did, and need not tell your Grace that he is strongly in that way of thinking. He is for making my Lord, General of Marines, as Peterborough and Stair were. He says he can, in this instance, stand the doing of it, and thinks the king may be brought to give way to it, as it will cost his Majesty neither place nor pension. I cannot help concurring with your brother in this idea, and also in thinking, that if his Majesty's displeasure is supposed to be founded on the resignation, which was a common measure, then thought right even for the king's service, it will be a reproach to those to whom Lord Harrington then adhered, to leave him quite unprovided and destitute. Be so good, my Lord, to enable me to say some words of comfort to him as soon as you can.'—vol. ii. pp. 382—383.

Two more notices of this ill-used Nobleman occur, and both of them show that the Pelhams had his advancement at heart. The first is from the Duke of Newcastle.

“ ‘ If the king should ask what I think about Lord Harrington's being General of the Marines, you may with truth say, that if his Majesty is determined to do nothing else for him, I would rather stand the reproach of having given my consent to that measure, than see an old servant of the king's, in the decline of life, turned adrift for no public misconduct,

that I know of, and for no private one that you and I can decently find fault with.'"—vol. ii. p. 394.

The next from his Brother.

" 'I have done well with Harrington as far as relates to yourself, but have been very cautious of leading him into false hopes. I cannot but repeat my wishes that he may not be totally forgot; and believe me, dear brother, when we cannot satisfy people in essentials, there is a great deal in treating their ill fortunes with decency and concern.'"—vol. ii. p. 396.

We could willingly be spared the task of reciting the conclusion of this painful history; but the disgrace which it brings with it belongs not to the Pelhams, but to George II., who appears to have attained an unenviable pre-eminence in committing the most ungracious actions possible in the most ungracious possible manner.

"The post of General of Marines became vacant by the death of Lord Stair, and Mr. Pelham entertained a hope that this appointment, which was of no official consequence, might be obtained for his noble friend. The Duke of Newcastle requested it from the king, but was answered by an unqualified refusal. Among other angry expressions, his Majesty observed, that the generalship of Marines was to be the reward of all who flew in his face; that this was the case with Lord Stair; and when the Duke endeavoured to soothe him, he said, 'I will do nothing; I will not be troubled about it. Lord Harrington deserves nothing, and shall have nothing. As to the generalship of Marines, he shall not have it if I can hinder it.' In reply to this information, Mr. Pelham writes, October 16th, 1750, 'Your letter about Lord Harrington is as cruel and melancholy as can be. I have done saying anything more on the subject. I shall write to the poor man, and tell him the truth, leaving out the coarse expressions. You may depend upon my saying every thing from you that I possibly can. I fear this measure will do the king no service. His Majesty is, however, the best judge of his own actions, and I know my duty and situation too well to interfere any more.'

"From this time no farther attempt was made to overcome the repugnance of the king. Soon afterwards Lord Harrington returned from the government of Ireland, but was disappointed in his hope of obtaining an official situation; and the Duke of Dorset was declared Lord-Lieutenant, on the 6th of December, by his Majesty in Council."—vol. ii. pp. 134, 135.

The egregious difficulties with which the Pelhams had to contend in consequence of the German predilections of their master, may be strikingly shown by a single occurrence mentioned incidentally in one of the Duke of Newcastle's Letters. However great were the interests at stake, whatever were the objects of his Ministers, or the methods by which they purposed to compass them, the King, if possible, always planned some *diversion* to-

wards a Hanoverian job. In the summer of 1732, when negotiations for securing the Imperial Crown in the Austrian family, by obtaining the election of the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans, had been already two years in progress, it appeared that the vote of the Elector Palatine might be gained by the administration of that most powerful argument with the Germanic Body, the payment of 1,200,000 florins. It little matters what title was imposed upon the bribe:—whether subsidy, indemnification, satisfaction or composition, on the authority of Vespasian,

“ By any other name it smells as sweet.”

Of this sum, after much quibbling, the Court of Vienna agreed to advance 500,000 florins, and the remainder was to be made up by the Maritime powers. As usual in pecuniary politics, the difference between the two equal moieties, or 200,000 florins, was to proceed from the English Treasury. The Duke of Newcastle strongly urged the necessity of consenting to this arrangement, and wrote to Mr. Pelham in terms of the most earnest entreaty:

“ If you do not send a thorough strong opinion for making up whatever shall be wanting of the 700,000 florins, I shall be much disappointed, and my credit and reputation greatly disgraced; but what is of much more consequence, the honour of the King our master, and the reputation of England reduced extremely low in every court of Europe, and we shall soon become a province of France.”

Mr. Pelham, notwithstanding his anxiety to save the public money, and his aversion from all interference with foreign politics, was impressed by these representations, and agreed to the payment, much, as it appeared, to the satisfaction of the King. On meeting the Duke of Newcastle at the hunt on the morning after the arrival of Mr. Pelham's Letter, his Majesty showed marks of extreme joy and satisfaction, distinguished his Minister by extraordinary signs of graciousness and favour, and what seems to have been a most unusual occurrence, absolutely “ kept his good humour the whole day;” nay, in the evening, when the Duke had parted from him, he was assured by MM. Grosvoight and Steinberg, who had been in attendance, that the King “ remained in the highest spirits; thought now the thing would do; asked them their opinion, and seemed as happy and as well pleased as it was possible for man to be.” The Duke accordingly drew up the necessary instructions, and presented them on the following morning. But, alas!

ἐσπέριον φιλέουσιν ἀτὰρ συγγέουσιν ἔφον,

what must have been his astonishment at his reception!

“ To my great surprise, when I produced the sketch, his Majesty fell

into the strongest declarations against the making up of the 700,000 florins that ever I heard; and seemed quite to have forgot the letters from England, which he was so much pleased with the day before. I soon found the real reason was, that he had a mind to protract this negotiation, in order to have a pretence for staying longer here, perhaps until near Christmas, and that has been confirmed since by Lady Yarmouth. He began by saying, that he would not fling away the money of England so; or to that purpose; that *I might be in haste, but that he was not*; that it was the same thing to him if the answer came in a fortnight or three weeks; that *I* would give a million for this object, but that *he* had it not so much at heart. I showed him that the article about the money was exactly agreeable to the paragraph in your letter, which I read over to him; that, as to the object, I believed one of that importance had never been so cheaply purchased. I observed that the time expired at the end of the four weeks; and then he had recourse to M. de St. Contest, who, he said, did not think that time sufficient. In short, so altered a man was never seen. Nothing was right. His steadiness had done wonders; the Emperor might pay the whole, and the Elector Palatine would accept less. The whole calculated for delay. So that this object is to be risked, in order to give his Majesty some pretence to do so unpopular a thing as to leave his kingdoms in the month of March, and not to return to them till the month of December, and that just before the choice of a new parliament, and when he sees opposition stirring from every quarter of the kingdom. This is the whole secret; this Lady Yarmouth has confirmed to me, as I said; and for this will he risk every thing.' ”—vol. ii. p. 448.

Nor was this all. Without the privity of his Ministers, the King, ever greedy of private advantage, had been negotiating with the Court of Vienna for some fief or expectation for himself; thus furnishing an additional reason for a rupture of the negotiation at the very time at which his English Government had made enormous sacrifices to forward it. Still more, he wished to apply the money which was granted him for the express purpose of meeting the demands of the Elector Palatine, to subsidize Russia for the protection of his darling Hanover. The transaction, on his own representation, was to be no other than a downright piece of swindling. The Duke writes to his Brother as follows:—

“ ‘ On my return hither, the Grosvoight acquainted me with what the King had said to M. Steinberg and him relating to the 700,000 florins, supposed to be paid by us. His Majesty was pleased to talk very strongly against it; and when M. de Munchausen tenderly (I dare say very tenderly) offered to say one word in support of it, the King told them that it was the opinion of a fool or a madman; and this in the presence of M. Steinberg. His Majesty then told them both, that he could not open himself to me upon the subject; that he would do to them; “ that his true reason for saving the money to the nation, was in order to get a subsidy of £40,000 per annum for Russia; that he would

cajole and *manage* Mr. Pelham, and that he should get his consent to it." This you may depend upon is *fact*.'—vol. ii. p. 455.

This "little low game," these "low personal views," as the Brothers separately and very justly characterize them, were resisted with becoming firmness. The Duke says, "His Majesty did very right in not trusting me with his true reason against giving the money for the election. I should certainly have told him that no expence could be justified, or be practicable, if this were neglected." Mr. Pelham received the information with calmness and dignity.

"I sent your letter to Lord Chancellor, who had received a copy of it from you. He therefore is *au fait* of the whole from yourself. I have once seen Mr. Stone, and talked of it to him, as you permitted me, and as I thought you wished I should. We all agree in the same construction of what you sent us, and I believe they are satisfied, as I hope you are, that I am not easily cajoled. Where I have yielded, as I have often told you, has been where you were concerned, and where the part I must have taken, if I had not yielded, would have been more dangerous than the thing itself. This is what I think you never can be concerned in, and if you are not, I do not mind my neighbour,* who is undoubtedly at the bottom of these politics. If you remember, he almost told me so, when I asked him a question in the King's anti-chamber, to which he gave me a frank answer, that you did not then approve of his doing.

"You know how far I have gone, and why I have done so; you know also that I can go no farther, without any new matter arises to make it necessary; and how little probable it is that should arise, you also know. I therefore conclude you are firm; and if you are so, depend upon it I shall not swerve."—vol. ii. p. 463.

Lord Hardwicke expressed himself on the same subject very feelingly, and yet with great prudence.

"Mr. Brown's diligence sent me the honour of your Grace's letter of the 3rd last night, together with copies of two to your brother. I perceive by them that the great point of the election, and all other foreign affairs, remain just in the same situation as when your Grace wrote last; except that there is a return of better humour, and a better disposition to come into the only means that can bring about the end we wish than appeared before. I never doubted but this affair would happen; though I find we were all out, in our conjectures about that strange sally; and yet I am not quite sure, whether we have the truth yet; or whether what has been given out about Russia, is not a colour thought of since. But this speculation is immaterial. The *manner* of declaring it, and the plan of *separate cajolerie*, which is avowed by it, are the essential interesting parts. Indeed the last is the essential one; for, as to the words made use of, though they are to the last degree shocking, and give me real pain to read them, yet they are only the effects of heat and passion,

* "Lord Granville, who lived next door to Mr. Pelham, in Arlington Street."

and certain ill humours, to which I do not care to give the true name, and what, in the like temper, would have been said of any body that ever was about *him*. They are therefore to be neglected; but, at the same time, to be known to as few persons as possible; not *merely* for the sake of the persons who have made the discovery. As to the avowal of *cajoling and managing Mr. P—*, your Grace is certainly right in communicating it to him in the confidence you have done. The use you made of it is also right; and I think it will have a good effect.”—vol. ii. p. 457.

It is refreshing to turn from these petty tricks and unbecoming meannesses to the open, upright and liberal qualities which formed the basis of Mr. Pelham's character. Without claiming for him that loftiness of mind, the subsequent exhibition of which, during a long series of years, in the administration of both the Pitts, has made us of succeeding days, for a time, almost believe that great intellect must be a Ministerial inheritance; we find in him a sound though not a showy understanding, a clearer insight into domestic policy than was possessed by any of his contemporaries, considerable Parliamentary knowledge, steady attention to business, frankness and candour, discretion and perseverance. Above all, there was a placability in his temper which made him the bond and cement of administrations composed of very discordant materials; and which soothed, moderated and corrected the ever-wakeful jealousy of his more ambitious and less consistent brother. Free from all pride, he won the general affection of his colleagues, who were for the most part at variance with each other, and commanded the respect and the good-will of a Prince proverbial for irritability and want of self-command. No lover of money, he was a frugal steward to the Public: he reduced the interest of the national debt; and, as the libeller to whom we have so frequently alluded has been compelled to admit, “lived without abusing his power, and died poor.” In the fulfilment of private duties few men appear to have been more exemplary, nor to have obtained their present reward more largely, in the love of those with whom he was connected. Glover, indeed, in his second-rate and self-important *Memoirs*, wherein he abundantly mismatches praise and censure, and bespatters those of whom he had little more knowledge than that of their names, with black or white, as it comes first to hand—Glover has ventured upon a charge which, if it had been true, Horace Walpole *must* have known, and certainly would not have forgotten; that Mr. Pelham was “a professed gamester,” and that “even when Minister he divided his time to the last between his office and the club of gamesters at White's.” Horace Walpole, both from birth and taste, possessed an intimate access to polite society, to which, from lack of each, the *parvenu* Glover was a stranger; for the back stairs of

Leicester House were not the surest approach to the drawing-rooms of St. James's Square. But, in addition to the silence of Horace Walpole, we have, in contradiction to Glover's slander, the direct assertion of Lord Chesterfield. Mr. Pelham, as that noble writer tells us, was a man of many domestic virtues and of no vices. Such indeed is the judgment which might be formed from those portions of his confidential and unreserved correspondence, through which we obtain glimpses of his manners at home. They breathe a gentle and affectionate spirit; and they convey a pleasing assurance, which indeed has been corroborated by many other bright instances in our History, that private happiness, *if it be to the taste of the individual*, need not be abandoned on account of the attainment of public eminence. "Esher" is not the only spot which affords "a peaceful grove" to the jaded statesman, if his wishes are bent upon tranquillity. We have seldom met with a trifling incident which speaks more fully for habitual kindness than the following, which Mr. Coxe has recorded of Mr. Pelham.

"A traditional anecdote, preserved in the family, and communicated by the present Duke of Newcastle, will afford a pleasing instance of the easy and kind condescension with which Mr. Pelham behaved to his domestics. He had sent for his coachman to give him some orders: whilst he was speaking, the man suddenly drew out his watch, and glancing a look at it, abruptly broke off the conversation, by exclaiming, "Sir, it is my time, and I must go and drive *my* children in the carriage." "Richard," said Mr. Pelham, "the *time* may be yours, the carriage may be yours, and so may the horses and other things; but, my good Richard, do let the children be my own."—vol. ii. p. 304.

Little remains to be added; for we need not dwell upon well-known points of History. Mr. Pelham died on the 6th of March, 1754; and with his decease the subject-matter of these volumes terminates. He left no male issue; nor was there any from his brother, the Duke. The Dukedom of Newcastle-under-line was obtained by a new patent, with remainder to Henry, Earl of Lincoln, a nephew, who had married Catharine, a daughter of the Premier, and in that line the name and honours of the family are still continued.

ART. III.—*Prolegomena specialia, recognovit Dathianisque et Variorum Notis suas immiscuit* Franciscus Wrangham, A. M., S. R. S. Clevelandiæ Archidiaconus. Two Vols. 8vo. Cambridge. 1828.

WE sincerely congratulate Mr. Wrangham and the public on the publication of this fourth and splendid edition of the Prolego-

mena to the London Polyglot Bible. A work more remarkable for judgment and learning certainly has not appeared since the revival of literature; and perhaps we may as confidently affirm that one of greater value to the cause of biblical knowledge is not likely soon to supersede it. To illustrate and bring forward works of this description can never be out of place; but, at a time like the present, when biblical literature is manifestly advancing, and when speculative, if not useless and unsound, notions of divinity seem also to be making some progress among us, such a boon cannot but be considered as peculiarly valuable. We do not mean to affirm, however, that this work is in every respect perfect, but we do that it exhibits a scholar-like and masterly treatise on the most important subjects connected with scriptural learning, and this written with a candour and perspicuity worthy of the character of a Christian and divine, and with an elegance and precision seldom equalled. It is further worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the advances made in later times, both in oriental learning and in the knowledge of facts connected with the state of the Hebrew text, the work of Walton has lost none of its value. Its philology, no less than its criticism, exhibits no instances of decay; and, like the cause which it was its author's object to advance, becomes by its age only more venerable and convincing.

As Mr. Wrangham has considerably enriched this edition with notes written either by himself or his colleagues, it will not be necessary here to say much on those subjects which appear to have made some progress since the times of Bishop Walton. We shall be brief therefore, offering a few remarks only on subjects of a purely philological nature, connected with the first *Prolegomenon* or Preface of Walton, with the view of establishing what has just been said on the value of this work. Since the times of our author, as it is well known, our intercourse with the East has been greatly facilitated; and the consequence has been some new languages, and a considerable number of books unknown to him, have been imported to Europe. Hence, as it might be expected, new opinions on the origin and nature of languages, as well as on the histories of nations, have been broached in no small numbers; and in some instances the biblical accounts of these matters, and with them the statements of Walton and others, have been fearlessly questioned, discussed, and condemned; because, as it has been supposed and indeed asserted, "Many have run to and fro, and knowledge has been increased." The intellectual march, which had only then commenced, and was proceeding with "fainting steps and slow," now, like Virgil's galloping horse, "*Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit*

ungula campum." The light, which these our pious forefathers "saw through a glass darkly," has, forsooth, commenced to pour its floods of glory about us, to such a degree that we may now be said to have arrived at a maturity in every thing connected with philology and divinity, at least, which the world has never before witnessed. But let us see how far these notions are borne out: and our first remarks shall be on a work highly spoken of in this respect; we mean the *Philological Researches* of Mr. Vans Kennedy.

It was customary with the best writers of Walton's times, and indeed has been with some well-informed persons since, to suppose that, as the Bible is manifestly the oldest, and certainly not the least credible, book in existence, the accounts which it gives of the origin of man and of nations, as well as of languages, are probably the true ones. Mr. Vans Kennedy, however, to whom a few others of the same class of writers may be added, thinks differently. One of these we formerly noticed at some length:* we now proceed to give a few instances of the reasoning of our later writer.

"Since so many learned men," says Mr. Kennedy in his introductory remarks (p. 10), "have maintained and still maintain that Hebrew is the parent of all languages, it becomes necessary to discuss at some length the correctness of an opinion which is in complete opposition to the conclusions which I have been led to form. This opinion, however," adds he, "might be ascribed to *ignorance* or an *imperfect knowledge of oriental languages*, and thus any refutation of it might appear superfluous. But as these writers understood Greek, and still persisted in deriving the most copious of all tongues from one the most scanty and imperfect, some inquiry whether any affinity can possibly exist between Hebrew and other languages appeared indispensable."

It may be doubted, however, whether the Scaligers, Bochart, Walton, Grotius, Golius, Pococke, Hyde, Selden, Castell,† &c. were not quite as profoundly learned in the oriental languages as Mr. Kennedy, if we except the Sanscrit, which was not then known in Europe, and of which, it need not be doubted, Mr. Kennedy's knowledge is very superficial. But let us see on what grounds Mr. Kennedy's reasons stand.

* *British Critic* for January, 1826.

† Mr. Kennedy indeed has deigned to notice some of these worthies in the words of a man congenial in spirit with his own. His words are these (Preface, p. ix.):—"The justness of the following observations of Lord Bolingbroke can scarcely be contested:—'A man must be as indifferent as I am to common censure or approbation, to avow a thorough contempt for the whole business of these learned lives; for all the researches into antiquity, for all the systems of chronology and history that we owe to the immense labours of a Scaliger, a Bochart, a Petavius, an Usher, and even a Marsham, &c.'"
No doubt, when the cause of error is to be advocated, names and works like theirs must be made truly contemptible! This is doubtless the shortest and most convenient way of proceeding.

In the first place, then, he takes Genesis, chap. xi. v. 1. 6, 7. 9, and proceeds to show from them that the primitive language of mankind must, according to the obvious meaning of these verses, have been abolished at the confusion there said to have taken place at the Tower of Babel.

But, by some fatality or other, Mr. Kennedy has forgotten to prove that the *confusion* and *destruction* of a language are actually one and the same thing. The ignoramuses of Walton's times, however, seem to have thought that a confusion might have taken place in language on this remarkable occasion, and that the primitive tongue may still have survived; and they further thought that if the Bible is a history of real events, there was great reason to believe that the Hebrew is that primitive language. Let us now examine a few of Mr. Kennedy's reasons for objecting.

One of his favourite ones is, the extreme *scantiness* and *poverty*, as he is perpetually insisting, of the Hebrew language, when compared with the Sanscrit or Greek. On some occasions too, he tells us, and this for the purpose of making good these assertions, that he has carefully examined the Lexicons of Buxtorf and Castell. From all this, one would suppose that Mr. Kennedy has actually ascertained the number of roots in these several languages, and, therefore, that no objection whatever can be offered to his statements. Mr. Kennedy, however, has made no such computation. These points he leaves to be determined by others who may be more practical and less theoretic: and the fact is, the Hebrew language, as found in one book, the Bible alone, contains about five hundred primitive words more than either the Greek or the Sanscrit! The "irremediable poverty" of the Hebrew, therefore, is, after all, much richer than either of Mr. Kennedy's opulent favourites. And the probability is, that if we had as many books written in pure Hebrew, and transmitted to us from the times of the Theocracy, as we possess in the Arabic, we should have been able to show a language as much more copious than either the Greek or Sanscrit, as the Arabic now confessedly is.

Mr. Kennedy, however, has other *philosophical* objections, applying to both these languages. One is, the simplicity and unvarying character of their structure. "Its grammatical structure (*i. e.* of the Arabic) is rude and imperfect."—(p. 26.) "The very genius of the Arabic language consists in its rudeness and imperfection; for it was sedulously cultivated for five hundred years, and yet not the slightest change was effected in its general character," (p. 29.) "In the Arabic the root is the third person singular of the preterite of the verb, and

the derivations from it are conducted in so *simple and perspicuous* a manner, *that their relation to the root becomes at once obvious.*" (*Ib.* p. 31.) "It is obvious, that this last method must have condemned the language so formed to *irremediable poverty*:" (and page 32.)—"The same remarks apply to the Hebrew, which, both in its words and its grammatical structure, bears so intimate an affinity to Arabic." To all this, it may perhaps be said, that it may possibly appear problematical to some, how the regularity of any language can be pleaded in order to prove its poverty, unless indeed, there be something in the joke sometimes cracked at the expense of the Cambridge mathematicians, that the length, breadth, &c. of a ship being given, the captain's name may be found, and *vice versâ*. Yet it may be doubted whether Mr. Kennedy is a mathematician, although he presumes, that the formation of a language being given, he can determine its extent.

Another objection is, and this applies to the Arabic alone, that, allowing its words to be many, yet the ideas presented can be but few, and we are told, (p. 27,) "A number of words, when they are merely synonymes for one and the same idea, as in Arabic, is the most convincing proof of the barrenness of a language." And, strange to say, four or five lines lower down we are told: "The existence, however, of synonymes in the Arabic language, at least to any extent, is very questionable!" It really is difficult to determine how to deal with such writers as Mr. Kennedy. He first thinks that this language must necessarily be barren, because it is regular: then, that it cannot be copious, because the ideas of the people speaking it must have been few, owing to their not having travelled, &c.; but, supposing it to be copious, then the words forming this copiousness must be *synonymous*, and lastly, in fact, few or no such synonymes do exist in the Arabic.

In another place we are told (p. 28), that it cannot be precise, because, for instance, it has only two tenses. "Two additional past tenses," it is added, "may, indeed, be formed by the assistance of the substantive verb; but the verb itself still remains deficient in a *present and future tense*, and in a conjunctive, potential, and optative mood, &c. And again, *ib.* "It is with the utmost difficulty that it can be determined what the word is which is actually intended. *ضربت* (zrbt), for instance, may be the first person, the second person masculine or feminine, and the third person feminine, of the preterite of the active or passive voice, or it may be a form of the infinitive of the verb *ضرب*, or it may be a noun, according as the short vowels may be applied, &c." This, it may be answered, may according to Mr. Kennedy's notions

be very fine philosophy: according to ours, however, it is extremely questionable. We happen to know, perhaps, as well as Mr. Kennedy does, how the tenses of an Arabic verb are formed, and perhaps have read quite as much of the language as he has, whether in print or in manuscript; and yet, as far as our experience goes, none of these theoretical difficulties ever gave us much pain. But would it not have been as well, if Mr. Kennedy had produced some of these inexplicable and ambiguous passages? This would have afforded good proof, if such is really to be found. That such passages are not to be found in Arabic, no one, who knows anything of the matter, will deny: but they exist in numbers no greater than they do both in Greek and Sanscrit, and, it may be, in some of our own writers. This then, is proof which Mr. Kennedy ought to have made out, had it been in his power to do so: and had it not, he was not the person to make the assertions alluded to. But Mr. Kennedy is not, we presume qualified for this. The gentleman who will tell us, that the substantive verb (كان) has not a present or future tense; and that ضربت (zrbt)

may be mistaken for a noun, which, as such, must be written ضربة, is, we think, not very likely to find the ambiguous examples in Arabic, which he has no doubt, must so extensively exist. No; we affirm, that the difficulties Mr. Kennedy has met with in these respects have arisen purely from his want of knowledge, and not from any ambiguity inherent in the language.

Mr. Kennedy's next objection, and the last we shall notice on this subject is to "the interminable commentaries on the Koran and the traditions; voluminous but subtle disquisitions on Arabic grammar, ponderous works on jurisprudence with still more ponderous glosses, several philosophical works, some meagre histories and a few monotonous collections of poetry." (p. 29.) It would, we believe, be thought too much in a Reviewer, to pronounce thus roundly on any work, which he had never read: and, we have no doubt Mr. Kennedy would heavily complain were we to deal so with his elaborate and favourite production, yet we fear, it is the truth that Mr. Kennedy has never yet read any one of the volumes thus stigmatized. The truth is, and this the Literati of Germany and France, no less than the great men of Walton's times, have confessed, a thorough knowledge of the Arabic grammar can be acquired in no other way, than by reading their own grammars and scholiasts, however tedious and unnecessary these may appear to Mr. Kennedy. Neither can a perfect knowledge of their laws, religion, history, &c. be obtained, except by reading their own books, however meagre, ponderous, or the like, they may appear.

The same, perhaps, may be said of every people under the sun; unless, indeed, we can, like Mr. Kennedy, determine all this by arguments *à priori*, which we are disposed to doubt. But, if the Arabs, have so great a number of works on history, philosophy, poetry, religion, &c. and their language has preserved itself from the very highest antiquity in the greatest possible purity; and is, moreover formed on the simplest principles, all of which Mr. Kennedy fully allows, we should think, with every deference to his superior sagacity, that this language presents an ample and valuable field for researches in philology, history, &c. whatever he may think to the contrary.

With reference to the Sanscrit, Mr. Kennedy (p. 30.) loudly objects to the common notion of the grammarians, viz. that this language is formed from simple roots like the Arabic. But why should Mr. Kennedy object to this in the Sanscrit, while it is so universally acknowledged with respect to the Greek? We may further ask Mr. Kennedy, does he know of any language on the face of the whole earth otherwise constructed? If he does, he can, of course, name it; but this we think, he cannot do. All languages, it should seem, are formed very much on the same general principles, *i. e.* all have simple words, and formed upon these, are their augmented ones, although the augmentation may not always be made either by the same particles or in the same way. And, the truth seems to be, that if we could always determine these laws with as much ease, as we can those which prevail in the Arabic and Hebrew, all languages would be equally simple and regular. The Sanscrit, as it now stands developed in the grammar, is subjected to endless rules, which again are confronted with as many exceptions. These, Mr. Forster says, amount to thousands, and perhaps to this circumstance alone may be ascribed all the variety, and, indeed, the copiousness with which Mr. Kennedy is so much charmed in the Sanscrit. But may it not be true, that all this hash of rules and exceptions, has rather sprung from the ignorance of the grammarians, than from the real character of the language, and that Mr. Kennedy has been betrayed into his rapturous eulogies of it, rather by the operation of the principle that "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*," than by any beauty inherent in it, or advantage likely to accrue from its study. This is certainly our impression on this subject, and we regret that it is so greatly at variance with the notions of Mr. Kennedy.

On several occasions we find the Hebrew language designated in this work as the language of Abraham, (p. 17, &c.) and then arguments are framed to show, that the language of Abraham could

never have prevailed to any considerable extent out of the countries in which he lived: and further, that even in Canaan, the language must have been fixed before he left Ur of the Chaldees. But, who, except Mr. Kennedy, has ever thought of such a position as this? No one, as far as we are informed, has ever attempted to show, that Hebrew was the native language of Abraham. On the contrary, as he came out of Chaldea, the probability is, that it was Chaldean. That Abraham found the Hebrew language in Canaan, is extremely probable, which the name Melchisedeck alone (*King of Righteousness*, מלכיצדק) is perhaps, sufficient to justify; and if so, then this language may have prevailed there and in some of the adjacent states from time immemorial, even from that of Ham the Father of Canaan. Mr. Kennedy might therefore have spared himself the trouble of refuting what no one has ever advanced; or in other words, of being at the trouble of forming a new creation, in order to have the pleasure of destroying it.

It cannot be necessary, we are sure, to follow Mr. Kennedy through such reveries as these—and we shall forbear to do so. He has not been satisfied, however, in endeavouring to destroy all philological credit which might be attached to the writings of Moses—and which he seems to think he has effectually done—but he has actually set about to show, not only that objections may be offered to the authenticity of the Bible, either in whole or in part, as others have done, but that the slightest examination of it shows that it answers very imperfectly the purposes of history (p. 12.) Now let us see how this point is made out. In page 13 we have Exod. xii. 40, cited: “Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years. And it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, even the selfsame day, it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from . . . Egypt.” Mr. Kennedy’s remark is—“I cannot, therefore, discover on what grounds the received system of chronology assumes that the bondage in Egypt lasted only 215 years.” And then we have Gen. xv. 13. and Acts, vii. 6. cited in confirmation of Mr. Kennedy’s view of the subject. We remark, if Mr. Kennedy had given himself the trouble to look into Usher, or almost any Scripture chronology, he would have seen why 215 years have been taken as the limit of time for the residence of the Israelites in Egypt: besides, he would have also probably learned, that the first passage cited by him does not state that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt 430 years; but only that the period of their whole sojourning, up to that of their leaving Egypt, was 430 years. Mr. Kennedy, therefore, seems in this, as in a preceding

instance, to have mistaken his text; and, being thus situated, he has had no doubt that the chronologers must all, up to his time, have been quite in the dark. After this happy effort, he actually sets about correcting Moses; for, although the chronologers have blundered, the truth is Moses himself, no less than the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, must have done the same thing—and here follows the proof. “Jacob begets Levi at 35 years of age; Levi begets Kohath at 30; Kohath begets Amran (Amram) at 35; Amran begets Moses at 40.” The sum of these ages is 140. Then, after making certain deductions, it is concluded—“the period of the Hebrews’ bondage in Egypt will have lasted only 104 years!” Every one will at once suppose that Mr. Kennedy has taken all the numbers just given from the Bible itself, and thence to have drawn his conclusions—but “there’s no such thing.” They are the pure creations of Mr. Kennedy’s own brain; and the truth is, he has been contending with a giant of his own creation! At the foot of the page we have a note with some numbers taken from Eusebius; but as these are much larger than those of Mr. Kennedy, he despatches them with, “it is impossible to admit (them), because (they are) *evidently inconsistent with the common course of nature.*” And, after all, Moses is wrong, because Mr. Kennedy is sure that he is so! After these specimens of Mr. Kennedy’s mode of reasoning, no one will be surprised at finding him concluding anything and everything that may happen to suit his fancy. A great Sanscrit dynasty at Babylon, unsupported by history or even the poorest probability, will be nothing after such beginnings as these! and such we actually find in Mr. Kennedy’s work. It is not our intention, however, to follow Mr. Kennedy through all these vagaries. We believe we have done enough in the exposure we have made of the fallacious principles on which his work is conducted, which we hope will save our younger friends, not only the labour of wading through such a mass of chaotic and disjointed materials, but the pernicious taint of infidelity and disbelief of the truth which it is calculated to inspire. Let us now betake ourselves to different matter.

Our first prolegomenon, on the origin and nature of languages, &c., is conducted, as already remarked, with particular regard to the declarations contained in the Bible. In this branch of the subject, however, Walton found a most acute and learned opponent in the celebrated Richard Simon; and as this work often falls into the hands of young Theologians, and has already been productive of incalculable injury to the cause of truth in Europe, it will not perhaps be out of place here to examine some of his arguments.

Walton's first position is, that man must originally have been endued as well with speech as with reason :

"Primo, statuendum est, hominem ab initio, ut ratione, sic etiam et oratione sive loquelâ, fuisse præditum : unde Hebræi hominem vocant *חַי מְדַבֵּר* *animal loquens*, et Græci *ζωον λογικον* et *πολιτικον*. . . . Nam, sine hoc sermocinandi instrumento ; non esset animal politicum sive sociale." --sec. 2.

Père Simon answers—

"Les preuves qu'il rapporte d'abord pour montrer que l'homme est né aussi-bien avec la parole qu'avec la raison, ne sont point concluantes. Car ce n'est pas une bonne preuve, de dire que le premier homme est né avec la parole, parce qu'il est né pour la société ; il suffit que Dieu ait donné aux hommes tout ce qui est nécessaire pour inventer les langues."

Now, without attempting to determine what it was sufficient or not for the Almighty to do, either on this or any other occasion, we certainly find immediately after the account of our first parents' creation, that "God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."—Gen. i. 28. And again, chap. ii. v. 17, they are forbidden to eat of a certain tree on pain of death ; and in the same chapter, v. 20, we find Adam gave names to both the beasts and the birds. It is true indeed, as some have remarked, we are not informed what time may have passed between the period of their creation, and the occurrence of these particulars ; but in the first passage at least this is mentioned as having taken place immediately : nor can we see any possible reason, unless it be to serve an hypothesis, why any interval should be supposed to have elapsed, especially as these declarations not only regarded their destiny, but the very means on which they were to subsist, (v. 29.) "Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed ; to you it shall be for meat." These circumstances, one would think, are sufficient to restrict this first address to the very period at which man was at liberty to do those acts, which are necessary for the sustenance of life. But imagine fifty or a hundred years of his life to have elapsed, and this precept will immediately appear to be out of place. The learned Father of the Oratory, however, goes much farther :

"Il ne s'ensuit pas aussi (dit-il) que l'homme ait dû parler d'abord qu'il est né, parce qu'il a été crée à la ressemblance de Dieu : au-contre, il seroit bien plus semblable à Dieu, s'il pouvoit exprimer ses conceptions, et entendre celle des autres par d'autres voyes que par la parole,

de la même manière que les anges, qui ne sont pas moins semblables à Dieu, bien qu'ils ne parlent point.*"

We answer—not to insist on the unsuitableness of reasoning of this kind on a subject which must be determined by authority alone, there is a great deal here taken for granted which neither Father Simon nor any other man can prove under any circumstances; but which, if the Scriptures may be relied on, taking them in their obvious and natural acceptation, must be palpably false. Whatever may be said of the Deity abstractedly, certain it is that Scripture attributes speech to him—and, what Père Simon thinks would be incredible, even the parts and the passions of men. When, for example, we read of the Captain of Israel appearing to Joshua, he stood with a sword drawn in his hand;† and on this occasion was he worshipped by Joshua. In like manner the Divine appearance which was seen between the Cherubim had the appearance of a man.‡ As to the passions ascribed to the Almighty, we read of his loving, hating, having mercy, taking vengeance, and so on. Good men are anxious, and very properly so, to raise the character of the Deity above that which is sustained by themselves; and what they affirm on these occasions may be abstractedly true. Revelation, however, has told us, that *God has spoken*, and further, that his ministering angels *have also spoken*, to man. If then, in either case, man may be said to be like unto God, he must have the faculty of speech. Nor can we see why it should be supposed unreasonable, that he should come from the hands of his Maker endued with this faculty; nor further, how he could have understood the first precept delivered to him, had his organs not been fitted to receive, or his mind to comprehend the import of, the words spoken. For our own part, we are extremely tenacious of the simple declarations of Scripture, and suspicious of every attempt to evade their simplest acceptation. We are, therefore, sorry to see Mr. Wrangham offering a sort of mid-way solution of this problem, between Simon and Bishop Walton, (p. 8, note.) But what necessity can there possibly be, in the nature of the thing itself, for supposing that all must be gradual and without miracle? Is it at all more difficult to endue man with speech, than it was at first to create him? or for Him, who formed man for society, at once to supply him with every requisite, than it was to cause the fruits to grow for his sustenance? Speech was as necessary to man as knowledge; and, whatever philosophers, such as Père Simon was, may think to the contrary, it is impossible for them to show, in any thing except theory, that any man has, without instruction from some

* *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, liv. iii. chap. xxi.

† Joshua, v. 13, 14.

‡ Ezek. i. 26.

other, ever yet acquired knowledge sufficient to raise himself above savage life, or to utter one intelligible sentence.

If, however, we follow the Father of the Oratory, we shall discover the true character and object of his philosophy. In Book I. chapter xiv. of the *Histoire Critique*, we are told that Gregory of Nyssa, not only believed that the Hebrew language was more modern than most others, but treated the opinion that God was author of the language used by Adam and Eve, as ridiculous in the extreme; his words are—

“ St. Gregoire de Nysse, qui la decide contre le sentiment commun des Juifs. Il dit que des personnes habiles dans l'étude de l'Ecriture Sainte, ont assuré que la langue Hebraïque est moins ancienne que plusieurs autres langues. . . . Le même Gregoire de Nysse se moque de ceux qui croient que Dieu a été le premier auteur de la langue qu'Adam et Eve ont parle; ce qu'il appelle *une sottise et une vanité ridicule des Juifs*: comme si Dieu, ajoute-t-il, avoit été un Maître de Grammaire, &c.”

The first of these opinions, as we shall presently see, the learned Father rejects: the second, however, he retains, because he thinks it is agreeable to reason. A little farther on, the convenient principle on which all this rests is let out, and, we are told, that

“ Il (*i. e.* Saint Gregoire) prétend que Dieu n'est point aussi l'auteur de la confusion des langues qui arriva en bâtissant la Tour de Babylone: car expliquant au même endroit en quel sens l'Ecriture attribué à Dieu cette confusion, il dit qu'on ne voit point dans la même écriture, que Dieu ait enseigné aucune langue aux hommes. . . . Et il ajoute de-plus, *que cette puissance naturelle de raisonner qui est dans l'homme, vient de Dieu, et qu'elle est la véritable cause de cette diversité de langues qui se trouve dans les nations différentes.*”

In a note at the foot of the page, the application of this principle is extended.

“ Cette opinion de St. Gregoire de Nysse semble estre opposée aux paroles de l'Ecriture, qui introduit Dieu parlant à nos premiers Pères aussi-tot qu'ils furent créés. Mais le même Père prévient cette objection, et y répond en niant absolument que Dieu ait parlé aux hommes de la manière qu'on entend ordinairement. Il prétend que *Moise attribué à Dieu un langage avec les hommes, pour s'accommoder à leur foiblesse, et que par ce langage nous devons seulement entendre les signes de la volonté de Dieu.*”

We have been the more particular in giving these extracts at length, because however unimportant some may believe questions connected with the study of language to be, they are nevertheless occasionally the sources of the greatest revolutions in society. Who would imagine, for example, that in these short extracts, and on this almost neglected subject, we really have the principal,

and perhaps the very passages, which led the way to the rationalism or theology of modern Germany? that, in fact, all that has been termed *new* and *reasonable* in that deluded school, may be traced through the artful “il prétend” of a Jesuit, to a Father of the fourth century, of whom some have doubted, whether he was most a Platonic philosopher or a Christian divine? Now let the reader mark the exact conformity of the principle advocated by Bretschneider, in his reply to Mr. Rose, with the favourite of Père Simon, as extracted from Gregory of Nyssa. “If two farmers,” says Dr. Bretschneider, p. 25, “enjoying favourable weather for their fields, equally ascribe the harvest to God; but one of them maintains that the rain and the sunshine entirely depend on a *special* decree of God, and a movement of his will, exercising an influence which exceeds the constantly proceeding energy of God,” &c.—while the other maintains that the weather depends on the *constantly proceeding* energy of God,” &c.—“surely,” it is added, “nothing but ignorance could regard and pronounce the former *a religious*, and the latter *an irreligious man*.” And then we are told that the *only* difference existing, is one which “*respects mode and manner*.” We ask, is not this *only difference* a *mighty one*? And does it not comprehend all the real difference between the belief in a revelation from above, and one which trusts in human philosophy? Dr. Bretschneider, indeed, or Le Père Simon, or, if you please, Gregory of Nyssa, may call each of these *a religious* view of the question; but *one* only can be ascribed to the religion of Christ; the other is purely heathenish, and may perhaps challenge a belief just commensurate with the extent it professes to go; but it never can demand any thing like an implicit faith, or an entire and hearty obedience: and the consequence is, and must be, wherever it is entertained, to make all that really constitutes the value of religion a dead and worthless letter. Bretschneider has, indeed, truly remarked, that many of the ancient Fathers had recourse to philosophy, in explaining and recommending the Christian religion; and in these instances, it must be confessed, they were occasionally successful. Philosophy may be properly and effectually employed, as it was by Paul at Athens, in showing that revealed truth is not opposed to human reason, and that it will in no case oppose the results of real science: but when we come to allow that both stand on the same grounds, and that the spirit which directed Moses actually wrought in Socrates both the desire and the ability to reveal moral and religious truths, as some of these Fathers seem to have thought, we then cross the line which divides heaven and earth; and, as far as revealed truth is concerned, the Church of Christ is made but a sanctuary of Belial. The transition may indeed have seemed

easy, but the gulf passed is immense; and the consequence must ever be, as it has been, in this irrational rationalizing school, that while men have been professing to be wise, they have really become fools.

But, we would ask, where is the use or necessity of setting up principles of this sort? Does the nature of the language of Scripture require it? Père Simon seems to think after his prototype Gregory, that it does; otherwise we must use language which, however, we do not believe, viz. that God has bodily parts and passions.

“C’est ainsi qu’on attribüe à Dieu des bras, des mains, des oreilles, et d’autres membres par rapport aux hommes, sans que pour cela on prétende que Dieu ait ces membres.”

Now this principle, in the mouth of Eichhorn, will show that when Moses heard the thunders on Sinai, he interpreted it as the approving voice of God sanctioning his attempt to give the Israelites a law; and that hence the law was ascribed to God as its author. But we remark, the statement of facts and the application of the figures of speech, are two widely distinct things. God might indeed be spoken of as having the parts and passions of a man, without intending to inculcate this as a doctrine, because it is not possible he could make his declarations known to us, such as we are generally, in any other way. His approval of virtue or hatred of vice; his disposition to reward the good or to punish the bad, could scarcely be announced without premising something of this kind: but this is a widely different thing from saying, that we must therefore suppose every narrative we meet with to be a fable, or every miraculous interference to be a mere involution of language, which a little knowledge of rhetoric will enable us to resolve. Nothing surely can be more irrational than such a proceeding as this, nor, we believe, more astonishing, than that such men as Père Simon, Bretschneider, Eichhorn, and others, should advance and maintain anything so truly unscholarlike and nonsensical. Surely it ought to have occurred to men of so much thought and learning, that if any provision were really made for the soul of man, it ought to be made known to him in some way or other more convincing than conjecture; and that if such communication were made, it must be miraculous; otherwise it would be impossible to discover, whether it could be entitled to belief or not? And when we find the revelation, from one end to the other, laying claim to this character, and urging its precepts, on no other grounds, reason is constrained to allow that this is just what Scripture ought to do; and that in so doing, it lays open to us a religion which alone can command our belief, invigorate our

hopes, or insure our obedience. But to follow the Father of the Oratory—it is curious enough to remark, that although he disputes with Walton as to the manner in which he has endeavoured to show that the Hebrew is the primitive language, he nevertheless allows that this is most likely the fact; and in proof of this he has offered some very curious and interesting particulars. The argument, however, on which he principally rests, is the simplicity of the structure of the Hebrew when compared with other languages; and the ease, in this point of view, with which its words may be assimilated with the primitives of the Greek and Latin. To give extracts would be to extend this article too far; we will simply remark, that some of his laws for the permutation or addition of certain letters,* are found as rules in the Sanscrit grammar, which it is impossible he could have seen; we mean those which regulate the changes of *r* and *s*, and the insertion of the nasal *n*, in certain cases. According to Simon's views, therefore, there is an affinity discoverable between the Hebrew and the Greek and Latin; and if so, with the Sanscrit also, notwithstanding the assertions of Mr. Vans Kennedy and Sir William Jones to the contrary,† and this we believe to be the fact. If this be true then, we need not be surprised to find, as Walton and others have asserted long ago, that fragments of this primitive language are to be found in all others.

An objection, however, has been taken, in modern times, to the position, that simplicity is the mark of a primitive tongue, because it is said, we find some ancient tongues most complex, while their derivatives, or more modern forms, are extremely simple. But this involves a *petitio principii*. No one has yet proved, nor can prove, that the Sanscrit on which this hypothesis is built, is even ancient,—much less a primitive tongue. As far as history will help us, the Pali appears to lay a much higher claim to antiquity, and just in this proportion is it more simple than the Sanscrit, as Mr. Clough's grammar abundantly proves. That the Sanscrit, as it now appears, was ever spoken, seems next to impossible; and this some of the Brachmans allow. If so, what claims can its

* Mr. Vans Kennedy, after Sir William Jones, declaims most violently against all who shall attempt to alter any words in this way for the purposes of etymological inquiry, yet strange to say, the comparative vocabularies which he has given, offer some of the strangest contortions of this kind ever witnessed, *e. g.* Sanscrit, *ap-henam*, *οπιον*, opium: Sans. *ashta*, *οκτω*, octo. Sans. *richate*, (rather rich-hate,) *ορεγεται*, por-rig. Pers. *rāsād*. Sans. *tārā*, *αστρον*, sidera, &c.

† Mr. Kennedy thinks that no Sanscrit and Arabic roots can be found signifying the same things: we believe, however, that a very considerable number of such roots can be

found, and we give बल बल; बर बर; अश अस; आप अब, as examples.

endless rules and exceptions, its supernatural refinements and vagaries lay to antiquity? The truth is, the whole is a fabrication from first to last, without evidence internal or collateral, philosophical or historical, for its basis; and it ought accordingly to be treated as "the baseless fabric of a vision."

From what has been said, it should seem that the assertions of many of our East Indian philologists ought not to be too readily credited; and particularly so, when they attempt to throw discredit in any way on the sacred Scriptures. To extended inquiry we should certainly be the last to object: but let it be extended in the just sense of the term: let theories be formed upon facts: and not facts be elicited from theories. In the next place, let us be most careful to adopt principles, both of reasoning and of interpretation, suitable to the several documents which may come before us; and, in endeavouring to instil just notions on these points into our younger brethren, let us be careful to recommend such works as are most likely to ensure habits of this description.

In this point of view, we hold the *Prolegomena* of Walton to be truly valuable. The investigations they contain are conducted on the soundest principles: and although the justness of some of the results arrived at may be questioned, as in the *History* by Aristæus of the Version of the Seventy, yet the inquiry, accompanied by such notes as those given by Mr. Wrangham and his friends, cannot fail to prove a most salutary exercise to the mind of the student. The great desideratum at this day is, a course of reading of this kind to be submitted to by those who are intended for the Church. Young men are too much left to choose for themselves in this respect; and the consequence is, they generally select that reading which is termed light, for the most obvious of all reasons—because it requires the least exertion. Hence, perhaps, it is that speculative divinity has so much, and so long usurped the public attention. In this, not the resources of the mind, but the powers of the ingenuity, are alone brought into action; and ingenious conjectures, about what is termed unfulfilled prophecy, are often made to pass for the very quintessence of theological usefulness—which must rarely happen where a sound and severe course of reading has once been submitted to. We have reason, however, to hope, that better things will shortly be realized. The study of the Oriental languages, and of Divinity in general, is very much advancing among us; and we do hope that Mr. Wrangham's work, which we can most cordially recommend, may be instrumental in giving an additional impulse to the good efforts so happily commenced. The work of Walton, indeed, stood in no need of commendation from us. Its merits are widely known, and every where acknowledged; and our principal

object has been, in the remarks here offered, to show that, where great and dangerous failures have been made, the cause has generally existed in a want of a more extended knowledge of works of this description. Of Mr. Archdeacon Wrangham we cannot speak too highly as an editor. The notes, with which he has enriched this edition, must have cost him very great labour and care. His fac-similes of some of the most valuable Biblical MSS., as well as his specimens of Oriental alphabets, are superior to those originally given by Walton; and upon the whole his Latinity, though perhaps less simple in its structure, is not less pure or elegant than that of his author.

ART. IV.—*The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley, in the County of York, from the most early period; with historical and descriptive Sketches of the Abbeys of Watton and Meaux, the Convent of Haltemprise, the Villages of Cottingham, Leckonfield, Bishop and Cherry Burton, Walkington, Risby, Scorburch, and the Hamlets comprised within the Liberties of Beverley; illustrated by numerous Engravings, &c.* By George Oliver, Vicar of Clee, Domestic Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Kensington; a Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland. London: Baldwin and Cradock. 4to. pp. 576. 2l. 2s.

THE sciences of topography and antiquities, which yield a never-failing source of amusement to those who delight in tracing the progress of the human mind through all its grades and ramifications, and comparing the simple manners and rude institutions of our remote predecessors with those which distinguish the present age of pretended liberality in religion and politics, and real refinement in every valuable art and useful science, are advancing with great rapidity into general estimation, and as they become better known, their value will be still more highly appreciated. Many of our forefathers of the last century placed no greater value on a castellated ruin or a noble vestige of Druidical architecture, than the pounds, shillings and pence that were vested in the materials; and if the expense of removal promised to exceed the value of the chattels, they were deemed a cumbrous burden to the soil, and the tasteless owner became impatient for their demolition by the hand of time. We ourselves have known, and we speak it with regret, many fine specimens of ruin brought to the hammer, whose preservation would have been equally a credit to the proprietor, and a grace and ornament to the country; and the dilapidation and removal of the splendid monument of Avebury, which had escaped the ravages of barbarism in every

age, and was reserved for desecration in a period of comparative enlightenment, may be considered as a national calamity, which, however we may deplore, can never be retrieved. Those days of more than Gothic infatuation have passed away, and a new light of science has arisen to illuminate the present age, which, by expanding the reason, imbues the mind with better feelings. The great Leland, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, though personally engaged in the herculean labour of valuing and alienating the monastic property, regretted the demolition of the noble edifices which contained those gigantic establishments; and aware that expostulation would be unavailing, while the fever of destruction prevailed, which, having been excited into action by the arbitrary mandate of a powerful monarch, raged wildly through the country, and lit up the deadly fire of a burning enthusiasm in the bosoms of all ranks of people; he adopted the expedient of softening the mind by endeavouring to inspire a relish for such sciences as would induce the preservation of those sublime models of the taste and magnificence of our forefathers. With this benevolent intention in view, after his official duties were completed, he spent many years in travelling through the country at his own private expense to collect materials towards a general view of British topography and antiquities, and many more in arranging and digesting them into form and order for the public eye. His success can scarcely be pronounced commensurate with his expectations, for not only the monastic structures, but also the most valuable ecclesiastical ornaments and decorations with which our churches and cathedrals were enriched and adorned, fell a victim to the reckless fury of revolutionary bigotry, or the indiscriminate cupidity of avaricious plunder, during the prevalence of a second burst of fanaticism. His exertions, however, were followed up by the application and industry of several eminent characters in the intermediate ages down to the present time.

The seventeenth century witnessed few advocates for these sciences, but those few were earnestly devoted to the cause, and the names of Dugdale and Camden, Drayton and Selden, Verstegan and Langtoft, shine amidst the darkness of the topographical atmosphere. The commencement of the succeeding century gave us Hearne and Stukely, the Gales and the commentators on Camden; for the taste was now forming with irresistible rapidity. Then followed Toland and Borlase, the learned and ingenious Whittaker, the lively Pennant, and the indefatigable Grose, whose graphic illustrations effected a striking revolution in the science; and he has been refined on and brought to perfection by the industry of Britton. Topographical writers are

now numerous, and deservedly encouraged; for, to a downright Englishman, nothing can surpass in interest, the record of works of art and industry which dignify and adorn his native country, of the customs and peculiarities of his forefathers, and the local history of bygone times. These are often preserved in some fugitive form, highly estimated perhaps by the present possessor as an invaluable treasure, but if not placed on permanent record, may be converted by his tasteless successor to "base purposes" as a heap of useless lumber.

It is true, some discrimination is necessary to direct the all-pervading predilection for typographical inquiry which at present distinguishes the people of this island. We refer to the general censure which has been cast by Grose on a loose and unsatisfactory method of compiling local histories. "They consist," says he, "merely of incorrect pedigrees, futile etymologies, verbose disquisitions, crowds of epitaphs, lists of landholders, and such farrago, thrown together without method, unanimated by reflections, and delivered in the most uncouth and horrible style." For there are still many who are too much pleased with trifles to yield their serious attention to matters of real importance. With these, the account of a bull-baiting, or the tradition of an extraordinary supernatural appearance, will supersede the record of great events; and the tale of a corpus-christi procession will go for more than a scientific description of the magnificent architecture of a cathedral. And there are also many with whom an inflated style will pass for sublimity, and a pompous display of cramp and sonorous verbiage indicate deep learning and sound erudition.

Within the two extremes of unmeaning gossip and sonorous bombast, the topographer should take his sober and steady walk; he must neither magnify trifles, nor suppress, by an inadequate notice, such matters as are and ought to be deemed of public importance. His style should be plain and simple, and his text unincumbered with illustrations and authorities, which tend to violate alike the smoothness of his diction, and the unity of his design. Let these be thrown into Notes or an Appendix, where, without the slightest tax upon the patience of any class of readers, he may be as communicative as he pleases; for the unlearned are not under the necessity of referring to those parts of the work which do not appear to be included in the general plan; while the man of letters will experience both gratification and interest in the perusal of these incidental notices, which are better indications of the progress of an author's mind in the prosecution of his design, than can possibly be developed in the formal construction of the work itself.

We have been led to these cursory remarks, by the perusal of Mr. Oliver's History of Beverley, a topographical work of a respectable character. The author possesses a very clever knack of availing himself of many aids which a common mind would overlook. He has considered his subject with attention, and digested his materials well. His arrangement is clear and lets us at once into the general nature of his plan, and the execution is highly creditable to his taste and judgment. The notes are numerous, and the incidental remarks dispersed throughout the volume speak favourably of his industry and erudition. He illustrates with great ingenuity the different appearances of the incipient town under the successive rule of the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons and the Danes; and presents us with a lucid account of the peculiar ceremonies of the Druidical religion, which was practised there, as is satisfactorily evidenced by the fact of British tumuli having been discovered in the vicinity; and we are presented with plates of British urns, bones, &c. actually dug from the soil. He takes a comprehensive view of the whole district as it existed in those primitive times, when its laws and religion had never been subjected to the imperious dictum of a marauding invader, or its polity modified by the introduction of foreign arts, civilization or commerce; and concludes thus:—

“ Here then the Druids had established themselves in all the dignity of ecclesiastical pride; the givers of laws, the arbiters of life and death. Their residence was probably at Drewton, (Druid's Town) near the holy Beaver Lake; their place of initiation within the shady groves of Lleçen-fylliad, (Leckonfield) and their cemetery at Beorh or Bwr, (Burton) where many vestiges of this fact still remain. This religious establishment was under the protection of the chief residing at Petuaria, (Beverley) as that at Godmanham was defended by the chief and his tribe at Delgovitia, (Londesbro'.) Thus established and protected, the Druids were elevated into objects of terror and superstitious veneration to the natives, &c. &c.”—(p. 13.)

Thus the town of Beverley has been built upon a site that in ancient times was the polluted scene of those abominable and revolting superstitions which were practised by our Druidical predecessors under the assumed sanction of religion; and the very name of *Beverley* is derived from a peculiar ceremony which constituted one of the most solemn rites of worship. Let Mr. Oliver describe it.

“ In the time of the great god Hu, who is the same as Noah, mankind were involved in an universal profligacy of manners. A communication was therefore made from heaven that the corruptions of the world should be purified by fire and water; and that from the bursting of the Lake Llion an overwhelming flood of the latter element should proceed to deluge the earth and destroy its impure inhabitants. In consequence of this revelation, a vessel was constructed without sails, in which were

preserved a male and female of every species of animals, and also a man and a woman named *Dwyvawr* and *Dwyrach*. When these were safely inclosed within the womb of the vessel, a pestilential wind arose, replete with poisonous ingredients, which spread devastation and death throughout the world. Then followed a fiery deluge, which melted the rocks, and split the earth asunder. After this the Lake Llion burst forth, which inundated the globe, and destroyed the whole creation of men and animals, except the favoured few who had sought protection in the sacred vessel. And thus the world was purified by fire and water from the pollutions which the sins of men had accumulated upon it. When the destruction was complete, the Avanc or *Beaver*, a symbol of the floating Ark, was drawn out of the Lake by the oxen of Hu Gadarn; Gwydion formed the rainbow as an attendant on the sun, and an assurance was given to the favoured pair by whom the world was destined to be re-peopled, that the Lake should burst no more. Hence this spot, which was undoubted the consecrated scene of the diluvian celebrations, terminating invariably in the actual ceremony of drawing the floating Ark or Beaver out of the Lake, acquired the distinguishing appellation of Llyn yr Avanc, or the Beaver Lakes.”—(p. 12.)

Nothing is certainly known respecting the progress of Christianity in this district till the seventh century, when the great names of Paulinus, Wilfrid, John of Beverley, and other eminent ecclesiastics gave it an impetus which insured the most complete and triumphant success. The latter holy man was canonized by Pope John XX., his relics were gorgeously enshrined, and miracles were said to be performed at his tomb; and it was to the overwhelming authority of his name and influence that the town was indebted for much of its future prosperity. Pilgrimages were made to his shrine; prayers were offered up to him in the character of a mediator; and the name of John of Beverley, even so late as the fifteenth century, was considered a tower of strength in the day of battle. These errors, which had accumulated and increased by length of time and unrestricted indulgence, were the gradual forerunners of REFORMATION. Wickliffe lamented bitterly the prostration of genuine religious principles at the unholy altar of superstition, sanctioned by the lawless authority of an infallible pontiff; and the spirit which that meek and pious Christian excited was never extinguished. It is true a great evil was sustained by the alienation of the monastic property, but as purification can alone be obtained by the fermentative process, so it was altogether impossible to cleanse religion from its accumulated rottenness without a considerable degree of excitement and agitation; and our gratitude for what remains exceeds our regret for that which is lost.

In the reign of Charles I. the town of Beverley occupies a prominent station. Situate on the great road between the garrisons of Hull and York, it was an object of some importance to each

of the contending parties. The celebrated Sir John Hotham, who excluded his monarch from the town of Hull, was the representative in parliament for Beverley at this time, and after the abandonment of his command and flight from the garrison, was taken into custody in the midst of his constituents under circumstances of great interest.

“Orders were issued by the parliament for his apprehension. But the unfortunate governor had received a secret intimation of their design, and escaped, after a guard of soldiers had invested his house. He fled with precipitation from the town on one of his fleetest horses, and left his pursuers far behind, intending to take refuge in his house at Scorbrough, which he had previously fortified, and secured by a garrison of soldiers devoted to his interest, under whose protection he might have proceeded forward to York, and have found safety with the royal party. Dreading, however, a pursuit, he forsook the public road, and fled with the utmost rapidity to Stone-Ferry; but the boat was not at its moorings, and he had no time to lose, neither would he venture to remain in that exposed situation, because his person was well known to the country people, and therefore he made the best of his way to Wawn. Here his malignant fortune again prevailed. The ferry-boat had proceeded up the river with a party of pleasure, and he was once more disappointed in his hope of crossing the water. The wretched fugitive was now utterly at a loss what course to pursue, conscious that the tidings of his flight would soon be made public, and that escape or concealment would then be equally impracticable. His sole remaining consolation was, that haply the inhabitants of Beverley were yet ignorant that he had abandoned his charge, and he determined to proceed thither with all possible expedition, and confide himself to the honour of those friends with whom he had always held a confidential intercourse as the representative of the town in parliament.

“At this time the troops in Beverley were under the command of Colonel Boynton, and amounted to near 1000 men. Sir Matthew Boynton, his father, was invested with a command in Hull garrison, and on the governor's flight had despatched an express to his son, apprizing him of the circumstance, and communicating the order for his apprehension. The soldiers were drawn up in the Market-place when Sir John Hotham arrived; and, on the sight of them, he felt irresolute whether it would not be expedient to retrace his steps before he was recognized; but the soldiers *presented* their arms at his appearance, as is usual to a superior officer, and this manœuvre encouraged him to ride up and place himself at their head. The inferior officers, being altogether unacquainted with Sir John's defection, obeyed his orders to march, and he led them towards the North-Bar, considering that if he should succeed in conducting them to his house at Scorbrough, he should be prepared to endure a siege of sufficient duration to cover his escape to the royal army. But, alas! for the instability of all human calculations, he had not proceeded many yards before he was met by Colonel Boynton, who, seizing the bridle of Sir John's horse without ceremony, declared him his prisoner as a traitor to the commonwealth. Resistance was in vain; and Sir John submitted himself implicitly to his nephew's direction. Still all hope had not for-

saken him, for the drowning man will endeavour to preserve his life by struggling with a hazel wand. In Beverley he had many sincere friends on both sides of the question, and he calculated on the possibility of escaping through some collateral street, and secreting himself under the first roof which should present itself to his eye as containing an occupier in whom he could confide. He knew that three of the body corporate were staunch royalists, and, under present circumstances, would doubtless afford him their protection, and the town contained many private gentlemen of the same firm and unyielding principles. These reflections were the work of a moment, and he concluded that the experiment was worth trying. As the party advanced through the streets, Hotham suddenly struck his spurs into his horse's side, and darting down a cross lane with the swiftness of an arrow, vanished from their sight. By this time the town was raised and the streets were full of people. When Colonel Boynton saw his prisoner take this precipitate step, he despatched a company of soldiers in pursuit of the fugitive, and charged the populace, at their peril, to assist in his capture. Poor Hotham had little chance of escape, beset as he now was by numbers; and after some ineffectual attempts to ride through the crowds by which he was soon surrounded, he was knocked off his horse with the butt end of a musket, and finally secured. The garrison at Scorb'ro' was now marched to Beverley, and the town was strengthened by the parliament with other additional forces. The rescue of Sir John Hotham was attempted the next day by a body of his majesty's forces, who invested the town of Beverley for that purpose, but were repulsed by Colonel Boynton with considerable loss. Thus abandoned to his fate, this miserable man was long detained in prison, and not brought to trial from a deficiency of evidence to prove his guilt. At length he was tried, together with his son, who was apprehended about the same time with himself, on a similar charge; and they were both found guilty, condemned to death, and executed at the beginning of January, 1645."—pp. 221—223.

The interests of the town, after this unholy contest, appear to have been abandoned. It rapidly degenerated till the beginning of the eighteenth century; when having arrived at the extreme point of the descending scale, its affairs took a turn, and the town progressively improved until it once more assumed its rank and energy as the effective capital of the East Riding; and its present state exhibits no inconsiderable specimen of a substantial, orderly, well-governed provincial town.

Many ancient streets and ways have changed their names, and others have so entirely disappeared, that the sites can no more be traced than the present residence of the ten tribes of Israel. The Church of St. Nicholas is wholly destroyed, and its site is occupied by a bed of osiers. Hospitals and religious houses have vanished like a shadow; and meetings have recently been held to discuss the propriety of admitting the Catholics to political power, where the same perverted system of faith once rioted in all the pomp of ecclesiastical magnificence. An excellent seminary of

education remains as the wreck of these princely establishments, though the primitive school-room has fallen a prey to the ravages of time. This institution has had the good fortune to send up to the Universities many talented individuals whose learning has placed them at the very summit of their profession.

We do not altogether coincide with our author's views and sentiments when he reprobates and undervalues the architecture of Italy and Greece; but we agree with him in preferring the Gothic as the style best adapted to ecclesiastical purposes. The decorations of Beverley Church are of a superior order; and its style of architecture, in some of the more prominent parts, is unique. The west front is an uncommonly rich specimen of the perpendicular style, and is pronounced to be unequalled in this kingdom; and the two western towers possess such excellence of design and execution, that the great Sir Christopher Wren is said to have copied them as models for those which he added to Westminster Abbey. The "Percy Shrine," as a funeral monument, is beautiful beyond comparison. It is placed in the choir near the altar, and is dedicated to the memory of Idonea, the daughter of Robert Lord Clifford, and wife of Henry, second Lord Percy of Alnwick, who died about the year 1365.

We are sorry to be under the necessity of accompanying our good opinion of the work before us with the language of regret; but we would ask Mr. Oliver one question. Having presented us with a sketch of the botany of the district, why has he omitted a dissertation on geology and mineralogy? In the present extension of knowledge, when these sciences are become matters of school-boy attainment, it will be difficult to assign any valid reason why the investigation of soils and minerals, so useful and interesting, has been altogether omitted. And as space has been found for describing the different transparencies exhibited in the windows on occasion of the acquittal of the late Queen Caroline, and for inserting the names of the horses that ran at the last Beverley races, some attention might have been paid to subjects of a graver description.

ART. V.—*Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, Wife of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart. Ambassador from Charles the Second to the Court of Madrid in 1665. Written by Herself. To which are added, Extracts from the Correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe.* London: Henry Colburn. 1829.

FEW Works known to exist in MS. have attracted keener attention from the portions which have occasionally crept into light, or have

excited a stronger desire that the whole should become *publici juris*, than that now before us. The History of the authoress and of her husband, will be sufficiently detailed in the course of our following remarks, but of the history of the publication itself, we have still much to ask; for notwithstanding a very copious preliminary apparatus—a Dedication informing the Duchess of Clarence that these *Memoirs* have long been kept back, but are now printed—a Preface, noticing the principal claims which they possess upon our attention—and an Introductory Memoir, very feebly paraphrasing and most unseasonably forestalling that which is far better told in the body of the volume—in spite of these 73 pages, which we heartily wish had never been written, we learn absolutely nothing of the *Memoirs* themselves, unless the very unsatisfactory avowal that they are transcribed from a copy of a copy. Where their original exists, or whether it exists at all—what guarantee there may be for their authenticity, as now given—why they have slept in MS. during a century and a half, and what spell has at length dissolved their slumber, are points upon which not an atom of information is vouchsafed to assuage the very natural curiosity of the reader.

The Editor, as we learn from his subscription to the Dedication, is Mr. Charles Robert Fanshawe; from whose name we were at first induced to conjecture that he might be a descendant of the parties to whom he has done tardy justice. But in this supposition we were most probably deceived; for the last paragraph of the Introductory Memoir states, that beyond the year 1705, no trace has been discovered of their posterity. In the absence of claims of consanguinity, Mr. Fanshawe may have been guided to his task by his *homonymous* pretensions; nevertheless, these are insufficient to account for his possession of the MS. Were it otherwise, the richly-stored shelves at Althorpe might yet hope to produce the missing Cantos of the *Faerie Queen*, and the lost Decades of the Prince of Roman History might be expected from the still existing family of Livius. Nothing more, however, is communicated, except that the Editor has conceived his duties to be “rather of a negative than positive description,” a conception which, unhappily, has not only been most powerfully entertained, but most pertinaciously acted upon; that he has altered the spelling in the MS., or, as he himself expresses it, with a slight savour of contradiction—that he has *corrected* the *orthography*; that “the MS. is not so perfect as might have been wished, as there are a few evident mistakes in dates, the names of persons are sometimes mis-spelt, and one or two trifling discrepancies occur”—admissions which do not tend to increase our confidence; and lastly, what is most important, that

“the MS. from which this volume is printed was copied in 1786, from one written in 1766, by Lady Fanshawe’s great granddaughter, Charlotte Colman, from the original, which was written under her Ladyship’s inspection about four years before her death.” To be sure this statement is *a little* modified by and by, when we are again told that “the MS. from which this volume is printed *is said* to have been transcribed in 1676 (?) by Lady Fanshawe’s ‘great granddaughter, Charlotte Colman.’” We will not dwell upon the date, which is manifestly an error chargeable upon the compositor; but the last words are printed as a quotation, and we cannot help wishing that we had been told whence they are cited. It is possible that we might then also have learned how Charlotte Colman was known to be great granddaughter of a stock of which no descendant had been traced for more than half a century; by whom it was *said* that Lady had made the copy; by what means she was enabled to make it; and how her transcript has passed into the hands by which it is now employed.

Doubtless all these matters *may* be satisfactorily explained: and we do not mean by our above observations, to do more than to express our regret, for the credit of a very interesting volume, that it has not been presented under a shape less exposed to suspicion. We think it probable that we have before us, in the main, the original *Memoirs*—of which, by some unexplained accident, a faulty copy has fallen to the share of the present Editor; who knowing the expectation which had been awakened by some Extracts given long ago in the *Biographia Britannica*, and in Miss Seward’s *Anecdotes*, (how gat they there?—is equally a question with us,) has carried the whole MS. to the “European Publisher;” as Lady Morgan, we know not why, has termed the polytypical Mr. Colburn; and that a joint-stock speculation has been the result.

Having thus disburdened ourselves of our misgivings, our task, as far as Criticism is concerned, is nearly done. Lady Fanshawe’s merits will speak for themselves. She was a high-minded and ardent-spirited woman, whose keen and generous sensibilities were tempered and regulated by an extraordinary portion of firmness and courage. She not only lived in times of universal public interest, and shared her portion, and perhaps more than her portion, of public danger; but the whole web of her private life was tinged with romantic colouring, and interwoven, if we may so say, with powerful incident. On every account we shall wish as much as possible to convey the outline of her narrative in her own words, for none others can be so effective.

Ann Harrison, afterwards Lady Fanshawe, eldest daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls, in the County of Hertford, was born

on the 26th of March, 1625, and when she had just attained her fifteenth year, she lost her mother, of whom the following remarkable anecdote is related, very much in conformity both with the received belief of the times, and as we shall have occasion to show more than once, with the particular bias of Lady Fanshawe's own mind.

"Dr. Howlsorth preached her funeral sermon, in which, upon his own knowledge, he told before many hundreds of people this accident following: that my mother, being sick to death of a fever three months after I was born, which was the occasion she gave me suck no longer, her friends and servants thought to all outward appearance that she was dead, and so lay almost two days and a night, but Dr. Winston coming to comfort my father, went into my mother's room, and looking earnestly on her face, said she was so handsome, and now looks so lovely, I cannot think she is dead; and suddenly took a lancet out of his pocket and with it cut the sole of her foot, which bled. Upon this he immediately caused her to be laid upon the bed again and to be rubbed, and such means as she came to life, and opening her eyes, saw two of her kinswomen stand by her, my Lady Knollys and my Lady Russell, both with great wide sleeves, as the fashion then was, and said, Did not you promise me fifteen years, and are you come again? which they not understanding, persuaded her to keep her spirits quiet in that great weakness wherein she then was; but some hours after she desired my father and Dr. Howlsorth might be left alone with her, to whom she said, I will acquaint you, that during the time of my trance I was in great quiet, but in a place I could neither distinguish nor describe; but the sense of leaving my girl, who is dearer to me than all my children, remained a trouble upon my spirits. Suddenly I saw two by me, clothed in long white garments, and me thought I fell down with my face in the dust; and they asked why I was troubled in so great happiness. I replied, O let me have the same grant given to Hezekiah, that I may live fifteen years, to see my daughter a woman: to which they answered, It is done; and then, at that instant, I awoke out of my trance; and Dr. Howlsorth did there affirm, that that day she died made just fifteen years from that time."—pp. 26—28.

Lady Harrison had educated her daughter carefully: French, singing, dancing, the lute, the virginal, and fine needlework, were among her accomplishments. In these, notwithstanding a natural high flow of spirits, she appears to have made very sufficient advances; and although, as she confesses with a most winning frankness, all exercises, such as riding, running, skipping and activity, were her delight, and she was, in short, that which "grown people call a hoyting girl;" nevertheless, at her mother's death, she "flung away these little childishnesses," and was fully able to take upon herself the charge and ordering of her father's house and family.

Sir John Harrison was eminently distinguished for his loyalty to the unhappy Charles, whose troubles were, about this time,

commencing. His estate suffered largely during the Rebellion, and his losses were computed at not less than 130,000*l*. When the King retired to Oxford, in 1643, Sir John Harrison, and his family, accompanied the Court thither, and the privations to which they were subjected, afford a fearful picture of the miseries of Civil dissension. Their lodging was at a garret in a Baker's shop, in an obscure street; their table was provided with a single dish, and that not well ordered; money they had none; and of clothes not more than a man or two brought in their cloak-bags. Their condition, however, was by no means worse than that of many others of equal quality; and it appears to have been endured, by most, with cheerfulness and resignation. War in its most hideous forms was raging around them; and the throng of unprovided multitudes, pressed together in narrow limits, generated many sicknesses, and amongst others the Plague. The King so highly estimated the services of Sir John Harrison, who had pledged himself to lend 160,000*l*. for the payment of the rapacious and undeserving Scots, that he sent him a Warrant for a Baronetcy, an honour which the Knight prudently declined as above his present fortunes. It was at this turbulent period, nevertheless, that Sir Richard Fanshawe claimed the hand of his Bride:

εἰς ποτὸν ἦλθες δίκον ὑμεναίων μέτα;

and never were nuptials, though commenced under inauspicious omens, and celebrated without customary pomp, productive of greater mutual happiness. Sir Richard had been sworn Secretary at War to Prince Charles, with a promise of future advancement. Lady Fanshawe's nominal portion was 10,000*l*.; but the stock *in esse* upon which they commenced their matrimonial voyage, did not amount to 20*l*. between the two.

Sir Richard Fanshawe was born in 1608, the youngest son of Sir Henry Fanshawe, of Ware Park, in Hertfordshire, but originally of an old family in the County of Derby, who died in 1616. The eldest son was elevated to the Peerage, as Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore, in Ireland, and Richard having been educated by Thomas Farnaby—whom Wood represents, (and we believe justly,) to have been the most eminent Rhetorician, Grammarian, Poet, Grecian and Latinist of his day, and a man of "martial humour" (*plagosus Orbilius*) to boot—and at Cambridge, for a short time,—studied the Law at the Inner Temple. The profession but little accorded with his taste, and he spent some years on the Continent, especially at Madrid. On his return to England, probably from his intimate acquaintance with the Spanish manners and language, he was appointed Secretary to Lord Aston's embassy, about 1630. In this office he continued eight

years, and on quitting it he married, as we have shown above, a beautiful and amiable woman, after the customary manner of younger brothers without preferment.

During Lady Fanshawe's first confinement, Sir Richard was suddenly called away on public business. The distress in which she was left may be adequately determined from the following touching passage:

"The beginning of March, 1645, your father went to Bristol with his new master, and this was his first journey: I then lying-in of my first son, Harrison Fanshawe, who was born on the 22d of February, he left me behind him: as for that, it was the first time we had parted a day since we married; he was extremely afflicted, even to tears, though passion was against his nature; but the sense of leaving me with a dying child, which did die two days after, in a garrison town, extremely weak, and very poor, were such circumstances as he could not bear with, only the argument of necessity; and, for my own part, it cost me so dear, that I was ten weeks before I could go alone; but he, by all opportunities, wrote to me to fortify myself, and to comfort me in the company of my father and sister, who were both with me, and that as soon as the Lords of the Council had their wives come to them I should come to him, and that I should receive the first money he got, and hoped it would be suddenly. By the help of God, with these cordials I recovered my former strength by little and little, nor did I in my distressed condition lack the conversation of many of my relations then in Oxford, and kindnesses of very many of the nobility and gentry, both for goodness sake, and because your father being there in good employment, they found him serviceable to themselves or friends, which friendships none better distinguished between his place and person than your father.

"It was in May, 1645, the first time I went out of my chamber and to church, where, after service, Sir William Parcoust, a very honest gentleman, came to me, and said he had a letter for me from your father, and fifty pieces of gold, and was coming to bring them me. I opened first my letter, and read those inexpressible joys that almost overcame me, for he told me I should the Thursday following come to him, and to that purpose he had sent me that money, and would send two of his men with horses, and all accommodation both for myself, my father, and sister, and that Lady Capell and Lady Bradford would meet me on the way; but that gold your father sent me when I was ready to perish, did not so much revive me as his summons. I went immediately to walk, or at least to sit in the air, being very weak, in the garden of St. John's College, and there, with my good father, communicated my joy, who took great pleasure to hear of my husband's good success and likewise of his journey to him; we, all of my household being present, heard drums beat in the highway, under the garden wall. My father asked me if I would go up upon the mount to see the soldiers march, for it was Sir Charles Lee's company of foot, an acquaintance of ours; I said yes, and went up, leaning my back to a tree that grew on the mount. The commander seeing us there, in compliment gave us a volley

of shot, and one of their muskets being loaded, shot a brace of bullets not two inches above my head as I leaned to the tree, for which mercy and deliverance I praise God, and next week we were all on our journey for Bristol very merry, and thought that now all things would mend, and the worst of my misfortunes past, but little thought I to leap into the sea that would toss me until it had racked me; but we were to ride all night by agreement, for fear of the enemy surprising us as we passed, they quartering in the way; about nightfall having travelled about twenty miles, we discovered a troop of horse coming towards us, which proved to be Sir Marmaduke Roydon, a worthy commander, and my countryman: he told me, that hearing I was to pass by his garrison he was come out to conduct me, he hoped as far as was danger, which was about twelve miles; with many thanks we parted, and having refreshed ourselves and horses, we set forth for Bristol, where we arrived on the 20th of May. My husband had provided very good lodgings for us, and as soon as he could come home from the Council, where he was at my arrival, he with all expressions of joy received me in his arms, and gave me a hundred pieces of gold, saying, ‘I know thou that keeps my heart so well, will keep my fortune, which from this time I will ever put into thy hands as God shall bless me with increase;’ and now I thought myself a perfect queen, and my husband so glorious a crown, that I more valued myself to be called by his name than born a princess, for I knew him very wise and very good, and his soul doated on me.”—pp. 45—50.

We are loth to break off here; for the little incident which follows, the natural wish of the young wife to display her influence over her husband, the gentle but uncompromising firmness with which he resisted her fond importunities to win from him the State secrets confided to his keeping,—the tenderness with which he regarded, and the affectionate good sense with which he overcame her feeling of disappointment—above all, the candid spirit in which she recounts her own trifling pettishness, are among the most beautiful pictures of *Home Scenery* with which we are acquainted. But the passage is one of those few which have been given to the public, whenever the *Memoirs* of Lady Fanshawe have been in part brought forward, and we therefore forbear to repeat it here unnecessarily.

Of the worthies of Cornwall, to which Lady Fanshawe next repaired, she observes that they are loyal and hospitable, but “of a crafty and censorious nature, as most are so far from London,” an opinion diametrically opposite to the veteran proverb, οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον ἀνὴρ ἀστυκός. In like manner, although she admits that the country hath great plenty, especially of fish and fowl, even this allowance is not made without a salvo, “but nothing near so sweet as within forty miles of London.” At Truro, with a few servants, in her husband’s absence, she defended her house (which contained a small trunk belonging to the Prince with some

jewels) until help came from the adjoining town. In protecting her own property she was not equally fortunate; the treachery of a friend (his name, Captain Bluett, we think, has been adopted by one of our Dramatists for a highwayman) cost them 200*l.*; and 300*l.* were stolen from Sir Richard, by the mutinous crew of a vessel which conveyed them to Scilly. Here they were wretchedly lodged, near the Castle in which the Prince lay. Their house contained three beds in two low rooms, and two little lofts, ascended by a ladder: yet this tenement sufficed for the accommodation of Lady Fanshawe, her sister, their servants, two official clerks, and a quantity of dried fish. When the lodgers awaked on the first morning, they were overpowered by cold, and at daylight discovered that their beds were nearly swimming in the sea; but the owner restored their confidence, by assuring them that this *never occurred except at Spring tides*. In this miserable abode they remained three weeks and odd days, destitute of clothes, meat and fuel, and truly “begging our daily bread of God, for we thought every meal our last.” On sailing for Jersey, an ignorant Pilot carried them directly over the rocks, to the consternation of all the spectators. But the Spring tide owed, and, in this instance, paid them a good turn, and, moreover, it *chanced* to be high water.

After a short stay in Jersey, Lady Fanshawe came over to England, without her husband, on an endeavour to procure money. He soon afterwards joined her, but was obliged to remain in great privacy, for fear of imprisonment. It was during this visit that they had that interview with the dethroned King, then at Hampton Court, and rapidly approaching the last Scene of his bloody Tragedy, which has been so often cited, and which for this reason we need not again transcribe. The few words recorded of Charles, are in strict unison with the piety, the fortitude, and the resignation, which characterised him during the bitterness of his fate. “Child,” was his answer to Lady Fanshawe, when at parting she wished him long life and happy years, “Child, if God pleaseth it shall be so, but both you and I must submit to God’s will; and you know in what hands I am in.”

France afforded this loyal couple a short asylum, during the troublous period which succeeded. On one occasion they met Sir Kenelm Digby, at a large dinner party, given by the Governor of Calais, and the profound knight, who appears always to have claimed the Lion’s portion in conversation—

“enlarged somewhat more in extraordinary stories than might be averred, and all of them passed with great applause and wonder of the French then at table; but the concluding one was, that barnacles, a bird in Jersey, was first a shell-fish to appearance, and from that, stick-

ing upon old wood, became in time a bird. After some consideration, they unanimously burst out into laughter, believing it altogether false; and, to say the truth, it was the only thing true he had discoursed with them; that was his infirmity, though otherwise a person of most excellent parts, and a very fine bred gentleman."—pp. 72, 73.

We next follow Lady Fanshawe to Ireland. She was in Cork at the time that city was assaulted and taken by Cromwell's soldiery in November, 1650, and by her courage and dexterity, in the dead of night, and during the tumult of military occupation, she succeeded in obtaining a free pass for herself, her family, and goods. Among these last, were all Sir Richard Fanshawe's writings, the loss of which occasioned the General no slight uneasiness. He said, "It was as much worth to have seized those papers as the town; for I did make account to have known by them what these parts of the country are worth."

At Limerick Sir Richard Fanshawe took counsel on the King's interest with the Bishop of Londonderry and the Earl of Roscommon. To the latter, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, occurred a fatal, and very singular accident. The three Royalists had been writing, late at night, in his chamber; and as the privacy of their business would not admit the attendance of a servant, he carried a light to the stair head, when his visitors were parting. Here, by some mishap his foot slipping, he fell down the stairs, and fractured his skull, so that he died five days afterwards.

The adventure which next occurs is among the most veracious of Ghost stories. It carries with it that most desirable of all qualities in such tales, the strongest evidence of undoubting and implicit belief in the narrator; and we recollect not any rival to it, unless it be Sir Walter Scott's *Tapestryed Chamber*.

"From hence we went to the Lady Honor O'Brien's, a lady that went for a maid, but few believed it; she was the youngest daughter of the Earl of Thomond. There we staid three nights. The first of which I was surprised by being laid in a chamber, when, about one o'clock, I heard a voice that wakened me. I drew the curtain, and, in the casement of the window, I saw, by the light of the moon, a woman leaning into the window, through the casement, in white, with red hair and pale and ghastly complexion: she spoke loud, and in a tone I had never heard, thrice, 'a horse;' and then, with a sigh more like the wind than breath, she vanished, and to me her body looked more like a thick cloud than substance. I was so much frightened that my hair stood on end, and my night clothes fell off. I pulled and pinched your father, who never woke during the disorder I was in; but at last was much surprised to see me in this fright, and more so when I related the story and showed him the window opened. Neither of us slept any more that night, but he entertained me with telling me how much more these apparitions were usual in this country than in England; and we concluded the

cause to be the great superstition of the Irish, and the want of that knowing faith, which should defend them from the power of the Devil, which he exercises among them very much. About five o'clock the lady of the house came to see us, saying she had not been in bed all night, because a cousin O'Brien of her's, whose ancestors had owned that house, had desired her to stay with him in his chamber, and that he died at two o'clock, and she said, 'I wish you to have had no disturbance, for 'tis the custom of the place, that, when any of the family are dying, the shape of a woman appears in the window every night till they be dead. This woman was many ages ago got with child by the owner of this place, who murdered her in his garden, and flung her into the river under the window, but truly I thought not of it when I lodged you here, it being the best room in the house.' We made little reply to her speech, but disposed ourselves to be gone suddenly."—pp. 83—86.

Cromwell's successful progress in Ireland determined Sir Richard Fanshawe to seek a more secure retreat in Spain. The Dutchman, who commanded the vessel in which they sailed, is described by Lady Fanshawe to have been a most tempestuous master, and the greatest beast she ever saw of his kind. Scarcely had they passed the Straits of Gibraltar when a well-manned Turkish Galley bore down upon them. The Dutchman carried 200 men and 60 guns, but the ship was so deeply laden that most of them were useless. Nevertheless, as she was worth £30,000, by the aid of brandy it was determined that they would fight. The result is told so beautifully, and withal so briefly, that although it is another of those passages which is not now printed for the first time, we must deviate from our former course, and give it entire.

"This was sad for us passengers, but my husband bid us be sure to keep in the cabin, and not appear, the women, which would make the Turks think that we were a man-of-war, but if they saw women they would take us for merchants and board us. He went upon the deck, and took a gun and bandoliers and sword, and, with the rest of the ship's company, stood upon deck expecting the arrival of the Turkish man-of-war. This beast, the Captain, had locked me up in the cabin; I knocked and called long to no purpose, until at length the cabin-boy came and opened the door; I, all in tears, desired him to be so good as to give me his blue thrum cap he wore, and his tarred coat, which he did, and I gave him half a crown, and putting them on and flinging away my night clothes, I crept up softly and stood upon the deck by my husband's side, as free from sickness and fear as, I confess, from discretion; but it was the effect of that passion which I could never master.

"By this time the two vessels were engaged in parley, and so well satisfied with speech and sight of each others forces, that the Turks' man-of-war tacked about, and we continued our course. But when your father saw it convenient to retreat, looking upon me, he blessed himself, and snatched me up in his arms, saying, 'Good God, that love can make

this change!' and though he seemingly chid me, he would laugh at it as often as he remembered that voyage; and in the beginning of March we all landed, praised be God, in Malaga, very well and full of content to see ourselves delivered from the sword and plague, and living in hope that we should one day return happily to our native country: notwithstanding, we thought it great odds, considering how the affairs of the King's three kingdoms stood; but we trusted in the providence of Almighty God, and proceeded."—pp. 92—94.

This confidence in the Divine protection was well justified by the event, and not a little confirmed afterwards by another great danger from which they were preserved. Three days after they had landed, the vessel, from which they had just disembarked, was blown up in the harbour, through the negligence of the cabin-boy, with the loss of a hundred men and all its lading.

The wonders of Grenada were not likely to be thrown away upon a woman of such vivid imagination as that possessed by Lady Fanshawe; and accordingly she speaks in glowing language of the high trees and rich grass, and the large, deep, clear river, which beautify the neighbourhood of the goodly vast palace of the Alhambra; of its jasper courts, its fountains, its mosaic, and frost-work; of the keys carved in stone over its chief portal, and the Moorish motto, which boasted, in allusion to a figure standing below, "until that hand holds these keys, the Christians shall never possess this Alhambra;" and how, when Ferdinand and Isabella besieged the city, the King, as the custom was, shooting the first arrow, cut the stone-work which represented a chain, so that the keys, being loosened, fell, and remained in the hand underneath. We need not add that the town and kingdom of Grenada were conquered within a few days afterwards. Neither does she omit the iron grate fixed to the side of a rock, which no force has been able to wrench open since the Moors quitted their seat of government, though many have attempted it at the peril and with the sacrifice of their lives. Lady Fanshawe placed her ear to the keyhole, and heard a noise like the clashing of arms, and other shrill sounds not so readily distinguished.

"But standing high aloft low lay thine eare,
And there such ghastly noyse of yron chaines
And brasen caudrons thou shalt rumbling heare,
Which thousand sprights with long-enduring paines
Doe tosse, that it will stonn thy feeble braines:
And oftentimes great grones and grievous stownds,
When too huge toile and labour them constraines:
And oftentimes loud strokes and ringing sowndes
From under that deepe Rock most horribly rebowndes."

At the time of the battle of Worcester Lady Fanshawe was again in England; for three days after that disastrous event she

heard nothing of her husband, whether he were dead or alive. She then received an account that he was taken prisoner, and she was permitted a short interview with him, as he passed by Charing Cross on his route to close confinement in a little room in the Bowling Green at Whitehall. Here he was visited by a severe illness; and the scurvy, resulting from cold, hard marches, and ill lodging, brought him almost to death's door.

"During the time of his imprisonment, I failed not constantly to go, when the clock struck four in the morning, with a dark lantern in my hand, all alone and on foot, from my lodging in Chancery Lane, at my cousin Young's, to Whitehall, in at the entry that went out of King Street into the bowling-green. There I would go under his window and softly call him; he, after the first time excepted, never failed to put out his head at the first call, thus we talked together, and sometimes I was so wet with the rain, that it went in at my neck and out at my heels."—pp. 116, 117.

Cromwell, however, respected and befriended him; and Lady Fanshawe has recorded not the least acute of that extraordinary man's speeches in a retort which he made concerning her husband to Sir Harry Vane, a far more sincere fanatic than himself. Lady Fanshawe strongly and repeatedly urged her suit for the prisoner's release, and this was backed by a Physician's certificate. The General instructed her to deliver this document at the Council Chamber; and upon receiving it he moved, that, since Sir Richard Fanshawe's continued imprisonment was manifestly of no service to their cause, he might have his liberty to take a course of physic, upon giving £4000 bail. Sir Harry Vane vehemently opposed the proposition. "That prisoner," he said, "would do his best to hang them all if he had opportunity; and even if he were let out for a time, it was but fitting that he should take the engagement." Cromwell dryly answered, "I never knew that the engagement was a medicine for the scorbutic;"—and the leader's will being thus sufficiently displayed, the Council admitted the Prisoner to bail.

On Cromwell's death, through the interest of Lord Pembroke, these bail-bonds were cancelled, and Sir Richard Fanshawe proceeded to France. Lady Fanshawe, a short time afterwards, obtained a pass in her maiden name, Ann Harrison; and by a gentle transmutation of letters, very pardonable under her particular circumstances, but which under others might have led to the gallows, converted the *H* into two *F*'s, the two *r*'s into *n*, the *is* into *sh*, and thus, malignant as she was, boldly approached the searchers at Dover, confronted them in her proper person, and without let or hindrance succeeded in crossing the Channel. On her route to Paris, on parting from Abbeville she was escorted by ten troopers

sent to her by the Governor; and a striking instance of the disturbed state of the times in France, the bad discipline of the army, and the inadequacy of the internal Police, is presented by the protection which they afforded her. About four leagues from the town, while ascending a hill, she was surrounded by more than fifty well-mounted horsemen, who, after a short parley, returned again into the wood. Surprised that so large a body of professed robbers, as she not unaptly concluded them to be, should quietly give way before inferior numbers, she asked an explanation from her escort; at which they laughed, and told her, "Madam, we are all of a company, and quarter in this town. The truth is, our pay is short, and we are forced to keep ourselves this way: but we have this rule, that if we in a party guard any company, the rest never molest them, but let them pass free." This reminds us of *Captain Gibbet* in the *Beaux Stratagem*, when he tells Archer that he belongs to "a marching Regiment, an old corps;" that "his company" is "marching across the country." "I am credibly informed," he concludes, "that there are Highwaymen upon this quarter, not, Sir, that I could suspect a Gentleman of your figure."

When Charles II. embarked at his Restoration, a third-rate frigate, the *Speedwell*, was appointed to convey Sir Richard Fanshawe and his family; but the King, who had always promised to appoint him one of the Secretaries of State, afterwards summoned him to his own ship. Lady Fanshawe has painted a most vivid picture of this voyage.

"Thus taking our leaves of those obliging persons we had conversed with in the Hague, we went on board upon the 23d of May, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The King embarked at four of the clock, upon which we set sail, the shore being covered with people, and shouts from all places of a good voyage, which was seconded with many volleys of shot interchanged: so favourable was the wind, that the ships' wherries went from ship to ship to visit their friends all night long. But who can sufficiently express the joy and gallantry of that voyage, to see so many great ships, the best in the world, to hear the trumpets and all other music, to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind with the vast cloths and streamers, the neatness and cleanness of the ships, the strength and jollity of the mariners, the gallantry of the commanders, the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious Majesties of the King and his two brothers were so beyond man's expectation and expression. The sea was calm, the moon shone at full, and the sun suffered not a cloud to hinder his prospect of the best sight, by whose light and the merciful bounty of God he was set safely on shore at Dover, in Kent, upon the 25th of May, 1660."—pp. 137, 138.

The prospects of ambition which Charles had held out to his faithful servant were destroyed, as Lady Fanshawe would have us

believe, and as we doubt not she firmly believed herself, by the evil influence of Lord Clarendon—and the reason which she assigns is sufficiently amusing—because her husband daily discovered the great Chancellor's *ignorance in State Affairs*, and showed it to the King. That Lord Clarendon and Sir Richard Fanshawe did not love one another is very probable: and it would be worse than idle, at the present day, to seek for their causes of disagreement. But the disappointment which Sir Richard shared was not singular. The King's easy nature had led him to make numerous inconsiderate promises which he had not the ability to redeem; and Sir Richard Fanshawe was one man, among hundreds, who had to complain that their reward was inadequate both to their deserts and their expectations. But however much Sir Richard may have exceeded other cavaliers in the ardour of his wishes that his Prince might recover his legitimate rights, it must be, at the same time, admitted, that he felt the beneficial effects of that recovery far more than the majority of his loyal brethren. Though the Seals were denied him, he was sent on a highly honourable employ, as matrimonial envoy to the Court of Lisbon, and on his return from this distinguished mission, he was the first person despatched to greet the future Queen on her arrival in England; and, in fine, was nominated Ambassador to Portugal.

On their return from this mission they passed through Canterbury, when Lady Fanshawe's appetite for the supernatural was once again banqueted.

"Saturday 5th, we went to Canterbury, and there tarried Sunday, where we went to church, and very many of the gentlemen of Kent came to welcome us into England.

"And here I cannot omit relating the ensuing story, confirmed by Sir Thomas Batten, Sir Arnold Breames, the Dean of Canterbury, with many more gentlemen and persons of this town.

"There lives not far from Canterbury a gentleman, called Colonel Colepeper, whose mother was widow unto the Lord Strangford: this gentleman had a sister, who lived with him, as the world said, in too much love. She married Mr. Porter. This brother and sister being both atheists, and living a life according to their profession, went in a frolick into a vault of their ancestors, where, before they returned, they pulled some of their father's and mother's hairs. Within a very few days after Mrs. Porter fell sick and died. Her brother kept her body in a coffin set up in his buttery, saying it would not be long before he died, and then they would be both buried together; but from the night after her death, until the time that we were told the story, which was three months, they say that a head, as cold as death, with curled hair like his sister's did ever lie by him wherever he slept, notwithstanding he removed to several places and countries to avoid it; and several persons told us they had felt this apparition."—pp. 171—173.

Many curious papers relative to this Colonel Colepepper are still preserved among the Harleian MS. (7560—71), none however, most happily, which bear upon the above horrible charges. In a draft of a petition to the Court of Chancery, at the end of H. MS. 7560, is an extraordinary account of a secret marriage which he contracted,—and in a mass of correspondence, in 7005, of the same collection, are many projects which evince that he was a man of very ingenious, though probably not of very sound intellect. We cannot refrain from citing one or two specimens of his style. The first reminds us of an attempt revived in our own times, by a celebrated Empiric, who possessed an annuity, to be paid *as long as his wife remained above ground*, and who, accordingly, preserved her in a glass case, by the side of the nuptial couch. The following letter is addressed by Colonel Colepepper to the Duke of Richmond, and is numbered 245 in the volume just mentioned.

“ My Lord.—There is a gentleman in London that hath found out the way to embalme dead bodyes, and hath taken them out of their graves, after they have beene buried three-quarters of a yeare, and beene full of corruption, and in some fewe dayes hath made the bodyes as sweete as a glove leather, so that they may remayne for as many ages as a buff coate; which is a most excellent and useful invention, and far exceeds the Egyptian mummies; for although they will remayne for many ages, yet, being covered, they cannot bee seene. But this way we have the sight and comfort of our friends and relations, as often as we please, from generation to generation; and far exceeds any stone statute, which how rare so ever they are must needes fall short of the perfection of nature, which this way is entirely preserved; because he neither takes out the bowells nor brayne, nor any way diminishes or defaces the body, but preserves them entire as death left them, as your Lordship may see when you please, he having now a body which he hath kept fourtene yeares in his house; whereof I thought for to advertiss your Ldp, that the Duches of Richmond, who was the best part of the Creation, may be preserved to grace the house she gave your Lordship, and be her own Monument, that Lenox Law* may find a gratefull remembrance. My Lord, haveing the honour to be descended of the Royall Blood of the glorious Kings of England and Scotland, (I) have right to concern myselfe for this noble persone, who is a Duches in both nations, and whom I know your Lordship honors. I shall waite on you to make my compliment of condolences as becomes my Lord, &c.”

The second paper which we shall cite (*ib.* 260) contains some

“ Propositions presented to the King’s most Excellent Majesty, by Colonel Colepepper. First, to enable every ship in his Majesty’s Royal Navey to burne ten or twelve ships a peece, without being hurt or consumed them selves, but shal always remayne in the state and con-

* We are not sure of our reading in this word; whether Colonel Colepepper wrote *Law* or *Love*.

dicion of a Man of War, and fight better then any ship of her rate ever could doe before, after she has wrought the effect of a fire ship, and has burnt and destroyed ten or twelve ships. Secondly, to double the number of guns of every ship in the King's Royal Navey, so that every ship that caried but fifty peeces of ordnance, shal now cary one hundred peeces of ordnance, with out over charging the ship with more weight of guns, or requiring more powder or men then is now used. Thirdly, to enable every one of the Kinge's ships to shoote greater number of small shot, than can be done in the same time by all the musketeers allowed for every ship in the King's whole Fleete. Fourthly, that I will make a bomb for London, Portsmouth, Chatham,* and New Castle, which shal be cheap, and shal not only secure the ships in these rivers and burne and destroy the greatest Fleets, but shal open to reeeve ships, and be a bridg for communication for his Majesty's Forces. Fifthly, that I will make every one of the Kinges Townes and Castles impragnable against the greatest Armye, haveing also bombs and carcayses: without any addition to their fortifications, by enabling a Garison of thre hundred men to shoote more shots then can be done in the same tyme by fifteen thousand men, and shall beate the greatest armye from their cannon, bombs and carcayses, and fre all towns from the dainger of bombs and carcayses, which are now the most dreadful things in the world. Sixthly, that I will find money to cloathe and paye twelve thousand Foote Soldiers, which shall not come out of the King's pocket."

It can be no matter of surprise that the Author of the above Propositions, should lay positive claim to the Discovery of the Longitude. The wonder would have been if he had not done so. A single other example of his public spirit must suffice. It is contained in a Letter to the Great Captain of the Day, (*ib.* 278) but is without a key.

" 14 February, 1706.

" D. Molborrow,

" Hearing that your Grace had offered twenty thousand pounds, for some thing which I can help your Grace with for nothing, I sent a Letter to acquaint your Grace therewith, and fearing the same is mis-carried, I shall now make the said discovery, whereby your Grace will vindicate the wrongs due to the Queenes Majesty, ayde and assist the Crown of England, when you please to give audience to

" My Lord Duke,

" Your Grace's humble servant,

" Colepepper."

But to return to Sir Richard Fanshawe, from whom we have wandered too far. Spain was his next seat of Embassy, in 1664; and the greater part of the remainder of these *Memoirs* is occupied by the details of diplomatic ceremonials, in that most ceremonious kingdom. How, contrary to usual custom, and as a mark of

* The nation had recently smarted under the disgrace and loss of the Dutch attack upon Chatham.

special honour, the Iberian forts gave the first salute on landing; how Don Juan de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque, Viceroy of Milan, of his Majesty's Privy Council, General of the Gallies, twice Grandee, the first Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed Chamber, and a near kinsman to his Catholic Majesty, whom God long preserve! having first, being seated and covered, expounded these titles to Lady Fanshawe, in the end, rose up, and making a low reverence, with his hat off, laid all these dignities, with his family and life, at her Excellency's feet; how on visiting his Duchess the soldiers stood to arms, and their Lieutenant displayed the colours, and the colours when lowered received a courtesy, and the Lieutenant a bow in return; how Lady Fanshawe laying her hand upon the wrist of the Duke's brother's right hand, and the Duke's brother putting his cloak thereupon, went up to the Duchess who stood at the top of the stairs; how Lady Fanshawe was put into every door and out at every door, and led down stairs by the Duke himself, even as she had been led up stairs by the Duke's brother; how Don Antonio de Pimentel, Governor of Cadiz, sent her perfumes, skins, gloves, embroidered purses, and other nacks of the same kind; how the Duke of Medina Celi led her to her coach, an honour which he had never paid to any but one, and that was to his Princess, the Queen of England; how the Duke d'Alcala led her eldest daughter, the younger (*quisnam fuit ille?*) the second, the Governor of Cadiz the third; and (alas for the bathos!) "Mrs. Kestrian carried Betty in her arms;" how at Seville the Conde de Molina presented her with a young Lion, which with many excuses she declined, saying she was of so cowardly a nature that she durst not keep company with it; and finally, how Sir Richard made his public entry into Madrid, clothed in such brave apparel as no words but those of his Lady are adequate to describe.

"Then my husband, in a very rich suit of clothes of a dark fille-monte brocade laced with silver and gold lace, nine laces, every one as broad as my hand, and a little silver and gold lace laid between them, both of very curious workmanship; his suit was trimmed with scarlet taffety ribbon; his stockings of white silk upon long scarlet silk ones; his shoes black, with scarlet shoe-strings and garters; his linen very fine, laced with very rich Flanders lace; a black beaver, buttoned on the left side, with a jewel of 1200*l.* value. A rich curious wrought gold chain, made in the Indies, at which hung the King, his Master's picture, richly set with diamonds, cost 300*l.* which his Majesty, in great grace and favour, had been pleased to give him at his coming home from Portugal. On his fingers he wore two rich rings; his gloves trimmed with the same ribbon as his clothes."—p. 214.

Who can wonder, after toiling through all this and much more painful magnificence, that, notwithstanding their great enter-

tainment, Lady Fanshawe assures her son, for whose use she composed these *Memoirs*, that "your father and myself both wished ourselves in a retired country life in England, as more agreeable to both our inclinations."

During their residence in Madrid, the King, Philip IV., died, and his obsequies are described at length. At the close of 1665, the Treaty between England and Spain, which Sir Richard Fanshawe had been sent to negotiate, being adjusted, though not to the satisfaction of the English Cabinet, he was recalled; but before he could set out homeward, he was seized with a malignant fever, and expired on the 26th of June, 1666. Lady Fanshawe, in her desolation, received the most soothing attentions from those around her; and the Queen-mother, with the promptness for proselytism which distinguishes her Church, sent the Master of the Ceremonies of Spain, to invite the widowed Ambassadors to stay, with all her family, at Court; promising a yearly pension of 30,000 ducats; and a provision besides for the children, if they would renounce Protestantism. Lady Fanshawe returned all becoming acknowledgments for the liberality of this proposal: but how little she was inclined to barter the purity of her faith for worldly good, and how rootedly she was attached to the profession in which she had been bred, may be determined from a most touching and fervid prayer, which we extract below, composed in the bitterness of her soul's agony.

"O all powerful good God, look down from Heaven upon the most distressed wretch upon earth. See me with my soul divided, my glory and my guide taken from me, and in him all my comfort in this life; see me staggering in my path, which made me expect a temporal blessing for a reward of the great integrity, innocence, and uprightness of his whole life, and his patience in suffering the insolency of wicked men, whom he had to converse with upon the public employment, which thou thoughtest fit, in thy wisdom, to exercise him in. Have pity on me, O Lord, and speak peace to my disquieted soul, now sinking under this great weight, which, without thy support, cannot sustain itself. See me, O Lord, with five children, a distressed family, the temptation of the change of my religion, the want of all my friends, without counsel, out of my country, without any means to return with my sad family to our own country, now in war with most part of Christendom. But, above all, my sins, O Lord, I do lament with shame and confusion, believing it is them for which I receive this great punishment. Thou hast showed me many judgments and mercies, which did not reclaim me, nor turn me to thy holy conversation, which the example of our blessed Saviour taught. Lord, pardon me; O God, forgive whatsoever is amiss in me; break not a bruised reed. I humbly submit to thy justice; I confess my wretchedness, and know I have deserved not only this but everlasting punishment: but, O my God, look upon me through the merits of my Saviour, and for his sake save me: do with me and

for me what thou pleasest, for I do wholly rely on thy mercy, beseeching thee to remember thy promises to the fatherless and widow, and enable me to fulfil thy will cheerfully in this world; humbly beseeching thee that, when this mortal life is ended, I may be joined with the soul of my dear husband, and all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear, in everlasting praises of thy Holy Name. Amen.'—pp. 284-7.

The remainder of her history may be told in a few words. She accompanied her husband's body to England, and directed its interment in the Church of Allhallows, Hertford, and afterwards at Ware. The Royal Family and the Ministers were not wanting in condolence, but other remuneration for past service was scantily dispensed; and, as Lady Fanshawe affirms, chiefly through the evil instigation of Lord Shaftesbury, whose memory will ill bear any additional burden of infamy, much of the ordinary diplomatic allowance was refused, and the necessary expenses of the deceased Ambassador's mission, were not defrayed without considerable inroads upon his family estates and fortunes. The MS. breaks off abruptly at the close of the year 1670, about six years before the date at which it is believed to have been composed. The latter days of this noble-spirited Lady were, most probably, passed in cheerless and contracted circumstances. Her best earthly hopes slept with her husband in his grave; but the ardent and unaffected tone of piety which breathes through her writings, furnishes a most consolatory belief, that she had far loftier and more enduring hopes fixed beyond this fleeting scene, in a home where there is no death, and where all tears are dried away.

ART. VI.—*A New System of Geology, in which the Great Revolutions of the Earth and Animated Nature are reconciled at once to Modern Science and Sacred History.* By Andrew Ure, M.D. F.A.S. Member of the Geological and Astronomical Societies of London, &c. &c. &c., Professor of Physics and Lecturer on Chemistry in the Andersonian University. London. Longman and Co. 1829. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

IT is Cuvier, we think, who makes it a subject of regret that no Newton has yet arisen in Geology to adjust its principles and to define its boundaries. Many facts have been collected, and many ingenious theories have been unfolded, during the last forty years. We have the ample stores of Saussure and Deluc, of Parkinson, Werner and Von Buch; and we have the fascinating speculations of the French and German schools, with the more sober deductions of our own countrymen Greenough, Conybeare, Phillips, Jameson, Buckland, Kidd, Brande and Macculloch. But not-

withstanding the labours of so many eminent men, we are nearly as much in the dark as ever in regard to those secondary causes, which must have been employed by Infinite Wisdom in arranging the mineral substances which form the outer strata or crust of the globe, at that early period which preceded the creation of animals, and the epoch even of Sacred History itself.

There is a peculiarity, perhaps, in geological investigation which has rendered its results less precise than those of astronomy, chemistry, and indeed of every other branch of natural knowledge. The physical laws, for example, which regulate the motions of the planets have not, as far at least as human penetration can discover, ever undergone the slightest change. The principles which determined their orbits, distances, times of revolution and rotation, when they were first launched forth in the sky, continue in force at the present day; and so constant, indeed, and uniform are the influences which govern the several members of the solar system, that the astronomer, in our times, can ascertain what must have been the place and relative position of each at every hour which has passed since the creation of our earth. But it admits not of doubt, on the other hand, that in relation to the great facts of geology, causes have been employed by the Almighty, of which we can now hardly detect the traces among physical agents; and that they must have acted too, upon a scale so immense as to preclude all resemblance to the ordinary effects which have fallen under the observation of the philosopher in later periods. We allude particularly to the powers of solution and detrition in the aqueous fluid which is supposed to have surrounded the infant globe, and which appear a necessary *postulatum* to enable the geologist to account for the formation of the secondary or transition strata, and even of those horizontal beds of sedimentary rocks which have succeeded the more ancient depositions. In a word, we see not in operation, at the present era of our globe, any class of physical powers which we might carry back with us in our inquiries into the natural history of the land and water, and use as the means of ascertaining the process by which the frame-work of this planet was originally constructed under the eye of Omnipotence.

These considerations, it is very obvious, must repress every tendency towards sanguine hope of ever seeing a satisfactory theory of the earth. We admit that the power of volcanoes is so great as to exceed all calculation derived from our experience in every department of artificial dynamics. We grant too, that the rush of water in submarine currents may have the effect of wearing down granitic mountains, and of thereby providing materials for the stratified rocks which appear to have been formed from the *debris* of older formations. But notwithstanding these concessions,

there remains the appalling difficulty connected with the undeniable fact, that the principal phenomena of geology have been produced by a partial deviation from the ordinary laws of nature; by violent disruptions; by the bursting asunder the adamantine zones of the earth; by a supernatural elevation of its waters; and even, it is supposed, by a temporary suspension of its astronomical properties. In short, we have *revolutions* to account for by means of ordinary laws and principles. We have to subject to the arbitration of rules, drawn from the experience of uninterrupted order and peace, certain momentous events which either preceded the regular constitution of the globe, as we now see it, or were brought to pass during a suspension of its power. It is therefore extremely doubtful whether the most complete knowledge of the mineral structure of the earth will ever lead to satisfactory information, in respect to the proximate causes of those convulsions which it must ever be the main object of a geological theory to explain.

We are not ignorant that all the hypotheses which have been submitted to the world on this interesting subject, do not imply the same degree of violent action on the shell of the earth, nor require an equally protracted deviation from the ordinary procedure of those physical causes which the Almighty employs as the ministers of his will. We shall have occasion by and by to illustrate the distinction now stated; meantime we go on to give some account of the work now before us, and of the very important object which the author professes to have in view.

Dr. Ure, we find, although he is described in the title-page of his book as Professor of Physics and Lecturer on Chemistry in the Andersonian *University*, is the head teacher of a Mechanics' Institution at Glasgow, founded between twenty and thirty years ago for the instruction of the lower orders of the people in that manufacturing city. Perceiving that good morals and religious belief do not keep pace with the progress of knowledge among the operative classes, he has resolved, as far as he can, to *Christianize* science, and thereby to lead his auditors, through the study of nature, up to nature's God. He reminds us that the agency of sceptical principles is no longer restricted, as before the French Revolution, to the upper sphere of speculative *savans*.

" Their grosser particles have settled down among the lower grades of society; they are disseminated in the trade-wind of periodicals, and have converted many a workshop and cottage, erewhile scenes of honest industry and quiet, into arenas of deceit, misrule and intemperance. Beings thus perverted with the pride of corrupt doctrines, lose all relish for pure knowledge. They turn a deaf ear to the charms of divine philosophy, however wisely she may charm. These are a few of the misera-

ble trophies of antitheism; these the fruits of a little learning, divorced from its divine origin and end.—To stem this torrent, by forcibly raising mounds in its way, would be a useless labour. We must remount to its sources, and give them a wiser and a safer direction. We must lead the lofty streams of science into the legitimate channels wherein they will flow without disastrous inundation, and spread happiness and fertility on every side. Thus they may once more become the waters of life, refreshing its labours here, and guiding it onwards to the regions of a blessed eternity. Placed for a quarter of a century at the head of the parent seminary for diffusing science among the people, and an eye-witness of many of the evils above described, it will not, I presume, be deemed unbecoming my character and functions if I shall humbly endeavour to draw forth the accordances of science and revelation in the structure and revolutions of our globe. May I indulge the hope of strengthening by this means the faith of the pious, and of removing many chimerical obstructions in the path of truth, so as to enable the candid student to discard his turbulent doubts, and to find ‘joy and peace in believing.’”

We have here a remarkable testimony as to the ambiguous nature of that gift which is now so generally conferred upon the labouring class, by means of which, as the author expresses it, the names of Newton, Laplace, Lavoisier and Davy have everywhere become household words. The plodding mechanic fancies himself suddenly grown an adept in dynamics, and the apprentice-boy a master of statical problems. That knowledge is power has become a trite observation, but it is not always remembered that, like other instruments, it may be used for bad as well as for good; and hence arises the necessity of laying the foundation of all scientific acquirements in sound religious principle, and of rearing the structure, too, in subordination to those higher interests which respect the peace of society and the eternal welfare of the individuals whom we may have undertaken to instruct. We find from some scattered notices in the Introduction to this *New System of Geology*, that the master manufacturers of Glasgow begin to have doubts in regard to the benefit derived by their workmen from attendance upon lectures. He tells us that for several years the proprietors of the great factories encouraged the attendance of their journeymen and apprentices, and frequently distributed tickets of admission to the most deserving, under a conviction that both their dispositions and talents were thereby improved. About the beginning of 1820 a general schism between the masters and workmen, occasioned, we believe, by the new views taken by the latter on the subject of the Combination Laws, extended through all the manufacturing districts of the kingdom; and it so happened that at the same period measures were adopted for founding Mechanics’ Institutions in all our larger towns, and for giving

efficiency to such other means as might be devised for popularizing even the most abstract of the sciences. "This coincidence in time," says Dr. Ure, "afforded, unluckily, a colour for ascribing to philosophy the spirit of misrule and irreligion which then took possession of many minds previously docile and pious." But he does not conceal, that, under the pretence of expounding to students the elements of mechanical and astronomical science, some teachers insidiously undermined the principles of natural and revealed religion, and thereby promoted the desire, too common in all conditions of men, of emancipating the conscience from the controul of an omniscient witness and an unerring Judge. Thus were the schools of philosophy rendered to a great and interesting body of our countrymen the "pest-houses of morals." He speaks too of pseudo-philanthropists, who, reviling the doctrines of faith, and renouncing the powers of the world to come, place scorers in the chairs of philosophy, and thereby pave the way for the introduction of atheism and crime.

Removed as we are from all practical acquaintance with the scenes described by Dr. Ure, and guided only by certain theoretical notions on the inexpediency of habituating the popular mind to speculations of so refined a nature, we were not prepared to hear, as a matter of deep complaint in one of the most populous of our cities, that "the spirit of misrule and irreligion has, in fact, taken possession of many minds previously docile and pious." Such information, coming from such a quarter, ought not to be treated lightly. No one, we presume, has had better opportunities than Dr. Ure of ascertaining the effect of speculative research on the minds of the working class; and if he who has been for a quarter of a century at the head of the parent seminary for diffusing science among the people, proclaims the danger which may attend its progress, and announces himself as "an eye-witness of many of the evils above described," it certainly behoves the guardians of public morals to exert their most earnest endeavours to prevent this divorce between religion and learning from becoming permanent.

So much for the motives which have induced the Professor of Physics in the Andersonian University to put forth a *New System of Geology*. He thinks that he has detected "certain intrinsic sources of change" in the constitution of the earth which seem to have escaped the observation of philosophers; and he feels that he is actuated by the wish to lead "popular students" to the moral and religious uses of their knowledge. His objects are therefore entitled to unqualified praise; but we regret to add that our eulogy can extend no farther, for his book will be found, when minutely examined, to be as little friendly to true science and re-

vealed religion as any work that has hitherto issued from the geological schools of France or of Germany.

In the present state of our knowledge regarding those physical causes which have been employed in altering from time to time, and in finally modifying the external features of the globe, the greatest favour that can be conferred upon theology is to abstain from attaching to its inspired Record all conclusions derived merely from geological research, whether as applied to the structure of the earth, or to the organic fossils which its several strata are found to contain. This branch of study is much too imperfect, and its results as yet possess too little precision, to entitle it to rank as an ally of revealed truth. In process of time the industry and zeal which are expended upon this field of inquiry, may perhaps produce such a return of knowledge as to afford an additional illustration of the Scriptural narrative; in which case the science of mineral combinations may take its place with astronomy, anatomy and chemistry, and be referred to as a system of causes and effects, of means and ends, of objects and contrivances, resting upon principles fully ascertained, and capable of being applied to the elucidation of the Divine attributes. But in the incipient state of discovery in which we now view it, where facts are opposed to facts, and the conclusions of one author refute the reasonings of another, we disclaim, in the name of religion, all alliance with systematic geology. In adopting this defensive policy, too, we make no exception in favour of any particular sect. Huttonians and Wernerians, Neptunists, Plutonists and Vulcanists, are equally objects of our suspicion when they come with the plausible profession in their mouths of *reconciling the great revolutions of the earth to modern science and sacred history*. First let them ascertain the precise nature and extent of the said revolutions, the causes in which they originated, the effects which they have produced, the ends which they were meant to serve, and the time at which they happened; and having collected a few facts which cannot be disputed, let them compare their conclusions with the Mosaical history, and we shall assure them of a perfect agreement between philosophy and sacred writ. The time was when even the alliance of astronomy, that most magnificent and perfect of the sciences, would have proved injurious to religion, because it was not yet sufficiently understood to be made consistent with the great principles of physical truth. The same remark applies to every other subject of human pursuit in its earlier and less mature condition; and hence it is manifest that the advocate for revelation acts wisely when he insists upon a separate line of evidence, and refuses the suspicious aid of scientific deduction, as a ground for belief in the heavenly oracles which he has received.

The philosopher, too, will profit by the freedom which accompanies an independent research. In pursuing the footsteps of nature through the labyrinth of physical causes, he ought to have no other object, in the first instance, than to follow resolutely wherever she may lead; being satisfied that, if he do not miss her traces in the darkness of her remoter paths, he will at length find himself on ground, whence he will perceive, at one glance, the harmony of all her operations, and their perfect consistency with the announcements of Sacred Scripture. The only boon required of him by the student of revealed truth, is to refrain from drawing conclusions until he shall have finished his investigation on a large scale, or have seen his science attain to fixed principles, established on the ground of an indisputable induction. In a word, the alliance between religion and science must be spontaneous, and their fitness for each other must be perceived by the least penetrating eye, before any attempt be made to join them. As long as they require to be *reconciled*, it is better that they should stand apart; for if the endeavour to accomplish that object do not succeed, a serious injury will be inflicted on both. For this reason we view with less apprehension the amazing facts brought to light by Sausure, Buckland and Cuvier, when they are stated simply as discoveries which the science of future ages may, perhaps, be able to explain, than when we see them placed in contact with the Mosaical narrative, and adduced by unwise friends of revelation as a proof that the son of Amram wrote by Divine inspiration. It has often been remarked that there are in the scientific world more false facts than false theories, numerous as the latter are acknowledged to be; and this is another reason why the promoters of philosophy and of revealed religion should occupy different routes as long as they are employed in the search for evidence, and show no haste to join each other until their tracks naturally converge to the same point at the end of their journey.

These remarks have been suggested by a pretty extensive acquaintance with geological hypotheses, as well from the pens of those who were indifferent to the effect of their speculations on religious belief, as from those more cautious writers who laboured to conciliate the feelings of their readers by an attempt to confine their conclusions within the bounds of the established faith. We are satisfied that they are all so far from being consistent with the Mosaical cosmogony literally understood, that every attempt to combine their principles must proceed either from ignorance, or from a wish to deceive. Even the work now before us assumes the existence of secondary causes and a succession of phenomena for which there is not the slightest authority in the book of Genesis. If it be said that an examination of the earth's surface sup-

plies the most indubitable evidence that such causes must have acted, and that such effects must have been produced, our answer is, that as there is no allusion to them in sacred history, they ought not to be brought forward as possessing the remotest claim to a divine sanction. It may be that there are appearances in the structure of the globe which cannot be reconciled to the brief narrative of creation presented in the Pentateuch; and if this be the fact, it is clear that we are thereby furnished with a still stronger reason for keeping the study of geology separate from theological commentary, and from mixing the opinions of an infant science with the dictates of inspiration. Nay, it is possible that the mineralogical history of the earth records many events with which Moses was unacquainted, and which it was not the intention of the Holy Spirit to make known to the simple people to whom the ancient Scriptures were first addressed. In the department of astronomy the most scrupulous divines have not hesitated to admit a similar supposition, and even to acknowledge that the Lawgiver of the Jews may have been ignorant of the magnitude, the revolution and immense distance of the planetary bodies. In this case every one will agree with Rosenmüller, that it would be absurd to object that the Sacred Scriptures thus lead men into error; for this objection could have no weight unless it was the design of those Scriptures to instruct mankind in *Astronomy*, which no one will readily suppose. We maintain, in like manner, that it was not the design of the Bible to teach men *Geology*; and hence, as it would have been foolish to have recourse to the book of Genesis to discover an authority for the Ptolemaic or the Copernican system of the stars, so is it absurd at the present day to employ the statements of Moses in support of Hutton's speculations or Cuvier's conjectures. Rosenmüller has well observed in respect to certain modern philosophers, that “eo delapsi sunt, ut *systemata recentiorum physicorum* in Mose quærerent, et verba miserè ad opiniones suas præconceptas detorquerent.”

Were we in want of farther illustration of the dangerous practice adopted by those who seek the elements of scientific truth in the pages of the Old Testament, and twist the words of the inspired writer to coincide with their own opinions and with the systems of recent philosophers, we should go, not to the volumes of sceptical writers either in our own country or elsewhere, but to the pious labours of some of our most ardent and conscientious believers. In the work of Granville Penn, for example, of which the main object is to establish the Mosaical geology on the ruins of the various systems of mineral geology, we find the bold assertion that the heavenly luminaries were not *created* on the fourth day,

but were then only rendered *manifest*, or visible—a freedom with the inspired narrative not exceeded by the wildest dreams of Buffon or Demaillet. He employs similar *postulata* as the basis of his whole theory, without any appearance of authority in the Sacred Writings; and as the views of Mr. Penn are nearly the same which are embodied in the *new* system of Dr. Ure, we shall exhibit an outline of them in the following quotation:—

“ In the first production of the mineral globe no *secondary* causes could have acted, because secondary causes could not exist until the *first formations* in which they were to reside had received existence. But as soon as a first formation was produced, its laws received their force; subject always to the controul and determination of their Divine Author. In the *first act* of creation this mineral globe was produced *at once*, compact, solid and complete, in all its *mineral* nature, order and composition; and as the first tree received its various *successive folds*, apparently, but not necessarily or really indicative of succession in time, so the *shell* of the earth received its various *successive primitive strata*, apparently, but not really indicative of such succession; both being essential to the ends for which they were respectively formed. From that moment the globe was subjected to its proper laws.”

At this stage the mineral conformation of the earth is supposed to have been complete; but the sea still covered the whole of its surface, and flowed round it in what Mr. Penn calls an “illimitable abyss.” To prepare a place for the water, therefore, it became necessary to *undo* a great part of the “nature, order and composition of the successive primitive strata.”

“ In causing the violent *disruption* and *depression* of that part of the solid surface which was to form a bed for the sea, the new laws and agencies of the mineral globe were rendered operative by their Almighty Creator, but by the rule of his own creative plan. The solid *frame-work* or *skeleton* of the globe was therefore burst, fractured and subverted by those agencies, and according to those laws, at the will of the Legislator, in all those parts where *depression* was to produce the *profundity*; and it carried down with it, in apparent confusion, vast and extensive portions of the materials or soils which had been regularly disposed and compacted upon it; leaving other portions partially dislocated and variously distorted from their primitive positions. So that the orders of the materials of the globe, which in the reserved, unaltered and exposed portion retained their first position and arrangement, were broken, displaced, and apparently confounded in the other portion which was to receive within it the accumulated waters. The *primitive mineral formations* were thus early interrupted and disordered in their continuity even upon the third day of their creation, and therefore anterior to the existence of any organized beings.”—“ Among the secondary agencies either employed in producing or necessarily accompanying this *tremendous primitive revolution* of the mineral globe, we may assume the power and agency of *volcanic expansion and explosion*; by which, acting with

extraordinary and extensive effect, a vast portion of the crust of the solid sphere would have become suddenly transformed from its native state into a condition of laceration and apparent ruin. We know that the admission of water to the subterraneous fires which are constituent within the system of this earth, produces volcanic action as a physical consequence; and the *fiat* of God, which by disruption gave extensive admission for the incumbent waters into the interior of the newly constituted earth, would have been followed by explosion equally extensive, in consequence of the provision of His own laws."

While the reader examines the above extract, let him not forget that it was written by an author who expresses the utmost indignation against all hypotheses on the subject of cosmogony, and denounces as an enemy to revealed religion every mineralogist who dares to suggest that certain additions might be innocently made to the literal statement of the Mosaical record. Where shall we find greater liberties than are taken by Mr. Penn with the first chapter of Genesis? After telling us that this "mineral globe was produced solid, compact and complete in all its mineral nature, order and composition," he proceeds to relate that on the third day thereafter, a large portion of it was reduced to a "condition of laceration and apparent ruin!"—that "the solid framework or skeleton of the earth was burst, fractured and subverted!"—and that this "tremendous primitive revolution carried down in apparent confusion vast portions of the materials which had been regularly disposed and compacted!" Where, we beg leave to ask, in the whole range of the Mosaical geology, as Mr. Penn is pleased to call it, shall we discover any traces of that *volcanic expansion and explosion* which gave a new form to the globe when it was only two days old, and tore asunder its primitive strata a few hours after they were first consolidated? It is not without reason, therefore, that we refuse the co-operation of those philosophers who undertake to reconcile the great revolutions of the earth to modern science and sacred history, and to shed upon the inspired narrative a light derived from recent discoveries in geological principles.

We have already hinted that Dr. Ure follows very closely, in the outlines of his hypothesis, the notions of Mr. Granville Penn. In truth the Andersonian professor of physics has committed a slight mistake in giving to his book the title of a *New System of Geology*, inasmuch as it contains nothing either novel or systematic. It is a mere compilation from very common treatises, his obligations to which are for the most part duly acknowledged. He pretends to no higher rank than that of a cabinet mineralogist; while as to the more difficult branch of geognostic research, he refers his readers to those laborious writers who have scaled the

summit of mountains and gone down to the bowels of the earth, who have inspected the formations of either hemisphere, and made themselves acquainted with every form which mountain rocks are known to assume. He presents no original observations, no new descriptions, no unexpected combinations, no interesting details. He has not detected the existence of any unwonted succession in the stratified minerals, nor of any unknown ingredients in the composition of the central masses upon which they rest. His leading object has been to distribute the most entertaining and best established truths, illustrative of the structure and revolutions of the earth, in the order of their physical connections and causes. He has endeavoured "to arrange multifarious and seemingly discordant facts into a chain of natural links," and in executing this task he has, he admits, "drawn freely from every source of geological knowledge within his reach."

Confining our estimate of Dr. Ure's performance, therefore, to his functions as an historiographer, we will endeavour to show that he has not succeeded in arranging the multifarious and apparently discordant facts supplied by others into a chain of natural links; but, on the contrary, that he has assumed the existence of physical causes which do not explain the phenomena which he attributes to their operation, and, secondly, that he has described geological events which there is no reason to believe could have occurred within the limits of the period to which he has restricted his inquiry.

We maintain, in the first place, that the physical causes which he has assumed do not explain the geological facts which he ascribes to their operation. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the primitive crust of the globe consisted of concentric strata of gneiss, mica-slate, and clay-slate, with partial layers of semi-crystalline limestone, and moreover that these strata no longer lie in beds concentric with the terraqueous spheroid, but are thrown up into nearly vertical planes and transpierced in many parts by towering masses of granite and porphyry, we, nevertheless, deny that the cause assigned for this change could have produced it. The cause alluded to is nearly the same as that specified by Mr. Penn for his disruptions and lacerations of the primeval globe; namely, volcanic action occasioned by the admission of water to the metallic bases of the several earths and alkalis. Dr. Ure reminds us that silicon, aluminum, calcium, magnesium, potassium, and iron are combustible elements, a mixture of which, at common temperatures, coming into contact with water or moist air, would cause fire and explosion. That these substances exist at a moderate depth below the surface of the earth, in the state of simple combustibles, he does not hesitate to

assert, on the ground that the phenomena of volcanoes and earthquakes cannot be otherwise accounted for. The heat, too, observed in subterraneous regions, progressively increasing as we descend, renders it farther probable, he thinks, that these combustible elements exist there in a fluid state; an effect which would result from a very moderate heat; one greatly inferior to what is requisite for the fusion of their oxides.

“ We therefore conclude that the primordial earth as it lay beneath the circumfused abyss, was at first endowed with concentric coats of gneiss, mica-slate, and other primitive schists; that at the recorded command of the Almighty, a general eruption and protrusion of the granitic, syenitic, porphyritic, and other unstratified rocks took place, which broke up and elevated the schists into nearly vertical planes, similar to what now exist, leaving commensurate excavations for the level of the sea.”

In short, the substance of the hypothesis is, that horizontal layers of slaty or other stratified bodies originally composed the outer parts of the globe, somewhat in the way that an onion is formed; and that the earth continued to possess this regular formation, until it became necessary to provide a basin for the sea; at which period a great volcanic action, excited, it is said, at a certain depth under the surface, hove up the mountains, dislocated the superincumbent strata, and thereby scooped up hollows for the congregated waters. Now, passing over the improbability that Divine Wisdom would proceed in a manner so inconsistent with foresight, as not to comprehend in the original scheme of our planet, a channel for the great deep, we deny that there is any authority in the analogy of nature for supposing that the oxidation of the metallic bases of the earths and alkalis would produce granite. All the knowledge supplied by experience, and by the minutest examination of volcanic districts tends to disprove such an hypothesis; for in no part of the world does the operation of internal fire on mineral substances produce a rock, bearing any resemblance to those granitic masses which are seen to support the primitive strata of the globe in both hemispheres. It is the boast of our author, that he can explain the revolutions which have taken place in the earth by a reference to causes which are still in activity; but he has not given an example from among the two hundred volcanoes which are at present burning in Europe, America, and Asia of one *coulee*, or stream of lava, consolidating into granite or even into porphyry. We hear of currents of basalt flowing on all sides, to the distance of twenty or thirty miles, accompanied with clinkstone, volcanic tufas, and with cellular and scoriform lavas; but although some of the cones ascend to an elevation of more than 15,000 feet above the

level of the sea, one of which too presents a crater eight miles in circumference, we are not told of any which raise from the bed of the ocean a granitic chain, like that of the Cordillera in the one continent, or like the Himalayan ridge in the other. We repeat, therefore, that the action of the most powerful volcanoes, that at present exist on the face of the earth, do not exhibit such results as would justify us in concluding, that the primeval mountains of the globe were raised up from the abyss by a similar agency.

But a still stronger argument against the supposition, that the appearances presented by the primitive strata are owing to the disruptive and lacerating action of internal fire, may be derived from the regular and uniform *direction* of the stratified rocks in all parts of the world. In examining mountain-formations on a large scale, there are two circumstances which deserve attention in the character of strata—their *inclination* and their *direction*. The former is measured by the angle which the slope of a bed or stratum forms with the plane of the horizon; the latter has respect to the points of the compass towards which the length of the strata extends, which, we need scarcely add, are usually in the direction of the mountain range itself. Observations made in the Alps, in the environs of Genoa, in the Fichtelberge, and in the Cordillera of Venezuela, induced M. Humboldt to regard the planes of the stratification of the earth, as forming an angle of about 52° with its meridian sections. On comparing all the observations of this kind made in France, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, and Scotland, philosophers have recognised a pretty general direction from west-south-west to east-north-east.

It is extremely difficult to believe, that an effect at once so general and so uniform, could have been produced by a cause so capricious as that of volcanic agency. Indeed it is not possible for us to conceive that an eruption from beneath of granitic, syenitic or porphyritic rocks, tearing the strata and throwing many of them into a vertical position, could have left them in a state of such regularity, that in every land under heaven, the direction of their planes should be almost entirely the same. Dr. Ure, indeed, tells us that from the shoulders and flanks of the stupendous granite peaks, mantles of gneiss and mica-slate depend in magnificent drapery. These schistose coverings, he adds, are arranged near the summit in folds almost upright, which lower down become sloped off with clayslate and limestone into a gentle declivity. But this observation, which has a closer affinity to his particular views than to geological accuracy, must not be understood to affect the general principle applicable to stratified

rocks, and which determines their *direction* in all the great mountain ranges hitherto approached by the adventurous curiosity of man.

The strongest point of the Wernerian hypothesis, in our opinion, rests upon the regular succession and uniform arrangement of the primitive strata. To one who has observed the order and appearance of these universal deposits, it seems much more probable that their properties, the same in all parts of the earth, should be the result of causes which have long operated in tranquillity, than that they should owe their present aspect to the violent action of a principle, which is distinguished more by the variety than by the uniformity of its effects. Our feelings sustain less violence, when we are called upon to believe that those immense formations, occupying the greater portion of the globe, and exhibiting every where the same qualities, were produced by a process of crystallization amid the waters of the primeval sea, than when we hear it maintained that the present crust of the globe is a ruin, torn and dispersed by furious explosions, occasioned by the admission of water into metallic combustibles in the bowels of our planet.

It is worthy of remark, too, that neither Mr. Penn nor Dr. Ure, has thought it necessary to inform us of the means by which the water of the ocean was admitted to the *silicum*, *aluminium*, *calcium*, *magnesium*, and *potassium*, in all parts of the globe at the same time, so as to throw up mountains of granite and porphyry. A certain degree of disruption in the shell of the earth must have taken place *before* the volcanic action could be excited; and as there are hills and seas in every region under heaven, the bursting of the strata, in order to admit the water to the combustible metaloids, must have been almost universal, prior to the operation itself which is said to have caused the tearing asunder of the great mineral beds. This essential point is not once brought under consideration. We are merely informed that Divine Wisdom found it expedient to provide a basin for the waters, which, during the first and second days, covered the whole globe; and that this object was accomplished, in the course of the third day, by turning up a large portion of the horizontal strata on their edges, the means employed being explosion from beneath. So happily are the great revolutions of the earth reconciled to sacred history!

A child, upon listening to this wise hypothesis, would naturally ask whether the raising of mountains on the face of a plain, would make a hollow for receiving the water which is said to have covered the whole of that plain. If there were not a subsidence as well as an elevation, the water would only stand

deeper on the plain than it did before, because the surface which it had formerly occupied being narrowed, the level of the fluid must necessarily rise. A mountain raised by an explosive force does not imply a corresponding valley; and hence, with all his apparatus of assumed physical causes, Dr. Ure has not succeeded in forming either land or sea. We have the greater reason, moreover, to condemn his failure in this attempt, because he was under no necessity to encounter the difficulty; it being an article of his geological creed, that the "present earth has resulted from definite creative *Fiats*, and not from the progressive operation of any mere physical forces whatsoever." Why then did he not rest satisfied with the simple, the sublime, the unembarrassed statement of Moses; "And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good?" There is no difficulty here. The sacred historian takes it for granted, that there was a basin or hollow on the surface of the globe unto which the waters could be gathered together; and does not insinuate, after the manner of his Allies in the present day, that it was necessary to begin a process of *explosion* and *disruption* before the Divine intentions could be fulfilled!

The next step in the theory is, to explain the origin of the transition rocks, to which the ingenious author proceeds in the following manner:—

"The erection of the subaqueous strata into the primitive mountains and plains was evidently accompanied with universal disruption. Innumerable fragments of both the upborne and upbearing rocks were tossed about and washed down into the congregated waters, along the precipitous shores and over the bed of the primeval ocean. These shattered fragments becoming agglutinated by their own pulverulent cement, soon recomposed continuous strata, which bear internal evidence of the violence which gave them birth. Thus were formed the *transition* rocks of geologists, mineral masses which denote the passage between the upright primitive, and the horizontal secondary strata, between those of inorganic and organic evidence. These rocks are called conglomerate or fragmentary, from their aspect and composition. In the course of the reunion and consolidation of their parts, a few of the organic forms with which the sea was beginning to teem, falling into their crevices, became imbedded in their substance. Here we see how some vestiges of animal existence appear in the oldest conglomerate or greywacke formation. The convulsions which, after a long period, caused the deluge, have also dislocated many of these conglomerates, so that strata of rounded pebbles assuredly aggregated in a horizontal position, are now found standing in upright walls. It is therefore demonstrable, that these puddingstone

strata were formed in horizontal or slightly inclined beds, and erected after their accretion. Such effects would be produced on the convulsive emergence of the pebbly banks out of the primeval ocean, either at the Deluge or some preceding catastrophe. There are mountains 10,000 feet high in the Alps, formed of firmly conglomerated pebbles. It will be proper to introduce here a general view of the order in which the mineral strata were progressively built up during the antediluvian period, under that ocean 'whose bed laid dry by the last great revolution now forms all the countries at present inhabited.' "

Here we find this advocate for Scriptural verity introducing into his system convulsions and revolutions altogether unknown to the Mosaical narrative! In reviewing the doctrines of Hutton and Werner, Dr. Ure gives way to the most furious indignation against the licentiousness of theorists who, not satisfied with the record of creative energy and divine *fiats*, profanely suggest the employment of physical causes and a progressive operation of the laws of nature, with the view of explaining some of the more recent orders of geological phenomena. But in the above extract he boldly adopts the very expedient which he condemns in others. He imagines a series of geological catastrophes between the creation and the flood, the "emergence of pebbly banks out of the primeval ocean," long after the Hexæmeron had passed away; the projection from the deep of strata containing "vestiges of animal existence;" and "convulsions which dislocated the conglomerates" and changed them from a horizontal to an upright position—for all which in the book of Genesis there is not the remotest shade of authority. We question not the geological facts, nor dispute the accuracy of the science by the principles of which he endeavours to account for them; but we unhesitatingly condemn the inconsistency of an author who denounces the use of hypothesis in former writers, while he himself employs it without any restraint and to the full extent of his wants. He admits that the rocks, replete with marine remains, and which of course must have been formed under the level of the ocean, long after the land and the water were separated by the divine *fiat*, are spread over two-thirds of the surface of every part of our continents which have been explored. They abound, he adds, at great elevations; rising to the loftiest summits of the Pyrenees, nearly 11,000 feet above the level of our present ocean, and to still loftier points in the Andes.

"It is remarkable, (we use his own words,) that the true geographical summits of the Pyrenean ridge are composed of secondary shell-limestones, which surpass the granite, gneiss, and mica-slates in elevation, and may have been deposited over the primitive rocks, while they stood under the primeval ocean. In fact, the secondary rocks, red sandstone,

alpine limestone, limestone of the Jura order, and trap, cover the primitive and transition rocks of the Pyrenees."

Every geologist knows that the strata of shell-limestone could only be formed in the ocean after the creation of mollusca and other tenants of the waters had taken place, and, consequently, that the Pyrenees and the Andes could not have been raised above the waves at that memorable epoch when, according to Dr. Ure, the mountains and the dry land generally were elevated by the explosive force of metallic combustibles. At what period then, and by what means were the Pyrenees and the Cordillera of the western continent projected into middle air, and constituted so principal a part of the framework or skeleton of the globe? The physical causes assumed by the author do not enable him to explain such an occurrence. The Mosaical record does not acknowledge those repeated "emergencies" of continents from the bosom of the ocean, bearing on their summits the most indisputable evidence that their strata must have been formed subsequently to the era of animal creation. Whatever the exigencies of geological investigation may demand, certain we are that the sacred history does not require such a latitude of interpretation. It has been insinuated, we are aware, by certain advocates for inspired truth that the whole of the land occupied by the contemporaries of Noah was submerged at the deluge, and is at this moment the basin of the Pacific or of the Southern Atlantic: but Dr. Ure, enlightened by the discoveries of the *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, is in possession of the most satisfactory proof, that the principal mountain tracts of Europe and of America must have been, before the Flood, surrounded by various tribes of animals, the fossil remains of which enrich the Museums of modern times. We therefore repeat that he recognizes the existence of geological events, which there is no reason to believe could possibly have occurred within the limits of the period to which he has restricted his inquiry.

This is the second point which we undertook to establish; but before we proceed to this new branch of our argument, we think it right to state, in the author's own words, the result to which he imagines himself to have attained, through the medium of modern science and of ancient history.

1. "That a great proportion of the present dry land, more particularly the secondary strata, which are replete with sea shells of the most delicate texture, distributed entire in regular beds, *have lain for a long period at the bottom of the primal ocean.*

2. "That within the schistose crust of the globe, explosive materials exist, which have given evidence of their convulsive and disruptive

powers in all its terraqueous regions and in every age of the world, from the protrusion of the primordial dry land till the present day.

3. "That the ocean, at whose bottom many of our present earthy strata were deposited, has not been lessened by dissipation of its waters into celestial space, or by their absorption into the bowels of the earth.

4. "That, therefore, its channel must have been changed by transference of a great portion at least of its waters from their ancient to their present basin; an effect referable to volcanic agency, which has operated by sinking the old lands and upheaving the new."

The reader of Dr. Ure's book cannot fail to observe that, in speaking of the changes which took place upon the geological properties of the globe between the era of creation and the deluge, he uniformly employs the ambiguous phrases of "antediluvian world," or "antediluvian period," as if he meant to restrict the operation of the physical causes by means of which those changes were brought about, to the 1656 years authorized by the Hebrew chronology. Now, if his theory has any consistency at all, we must believe it to be his intention to teach that all the secondary and tertiary strata were formed during the limited time now specified; and also that the continents and larger islands which are now inhabited by the human race, were for some centuries between the days of Adam and of Noah, covered with the waters of the ocean. The first land which was protruded by volcanic agency must, he acknowledges, have been very barren, bearing a great resemblance to the mountainous part of Wales, or to the highlands of Scotland; and yet, with an air of confidence which appears to rest on no good ground, he assures us that the first age of the world, extending probably through several hundreds of years, fully realized the universal and unfading spring of the poets. But the tremendous catastrophes of the crust of the earth that took place soon after this period, generated, says he, "a vast quantity of *detritus* from the older rocks, which at first diffused through a turbid ocean progressively subsided on its bottom in the chemical order of deposition; constituting beds of conglomerate limestone, red marl, and lias, varying in thickness and extent, according to the nature of the exploded and comminuted rocks." After a series of such tremendous catastrophes, and the formation of our present land from the broken pieces of primitive and transition strata, our portion of the earth was heaved up to the light of day, sometime we may conjecture, towards the end of the first millennium, or about the marriage of Lamech, the father of Noah. It is true that no notice is taken by the sacred historian of such a trifling occurrence as the elevation of Europe, Asia, and America from the bottom of the sea, or of the emergence of the Alps and the Andes with their patches of

tertiary rocks, beds of gravel, and strata of shell limestone. Noah, it is probable, was a young man when the island of Great Britain came up with its coal, chalk, and flint; and as he is supposed to have lived somewhere in that extensive country which is now covered with the Pacific Ocean, the news of such an insignificant phenomenon may not have reached him. At all events, there is no allusion in the inspired record to the mighty changes which Dr. Ure imagines to have taken place, among the antediluvian parents of the human race.

With a similar regard for the authority which he wishes to establish among his students in relation to the Mosaical narrative, he speaks of *mighty revolutions* which must have occasioned many "unrecorded inundations" before the universal deluge; and assures them that we "have every physical reason to conclude that each great antediluvian convulsion of the earth extended the empire of the sea, and abridged the boundaries of the land by a permanent submersion of some of its regions." These *submersions*, it is true, have been equally neglected in the book of Genesis with the elevation of the present dry land from the antediluvian sea; but this is no reason, we presume, for indulging the slightest doubt that both the one and other did take place, at some period in the life of Methuselah. The explosions and disruptions were still going on, supplying materials for new strata, or upheaving those which were already consolidated; and this process, we are informed by the author, bore some resemblance to the blasting of stones by gunpowder, a moderate charge of which under a stratum of freestone in a cliff, will be adequate merely to lift it along with its superjacent soil, whereas a greater quantity will break it into pieces and strew the detritus over the surrounding plain. The progress of our inquiries, says he, proves the globe in those times to have been the frequent subject of mighty convulsions, which have disturbed the strata over an extent prodigiously greater than the explosions of modern earthquakes and volcanoes could give us any reason to conceive. "It is certain that the sea must have participated in the violence under which the solid earth has evidently suffered. Irruptions of the waters over the land would unquestionably occur at every new crisis of the eruptive power so conspicuous in the coal measures and basaltic formations. He does not attempt to conceal from his youthful readers that a great portion of the waters of the ocean have been transferred from their ancient to their present basin, and that this was effected "by volcanic agency which has operated by sinking the old lands and upheaving the new."

"This transfux of the ocean could not be effected unquestionably without the most violent fractures and dislocations of the terrestrial

crust. Of the disorders and even metamorphoses of the earth's surface coincident with these great changes of the sea channel, geology furnishes innumerable proofs in mountain, valley, and plain. Many of these eruptive phenomena indicate a succession of catastrophes—an alternation of marine and fresh water floods, over no inconsiderable districts of the globe, at a period anterior to the penal cataclysm described by Moses ; the *last and greatest of that convulsive series*. This flood was not partial like its predecessors, which left the contemporaneous breeds of animals alive to be inhumed in the superior beds ; it was manifestly universal, since all the animal remains buried in its detritus belong to species now extinct ; and however closely allied to our existing genera, left no posterity on the earth. As we rise in the order of mineral supposition, or advance in geological terms, we perceive a progressive approximation in the *crisis* so to speak, as well as in the productions of the earth, to its modern condition in these respects. Thus in the lias and oolites up to the chalk, every thing organic speaks plainly of a fervid climate, actuating both the land and waters of these high latitudes of ours. But the *tertiary* strata of England and France bear record to a marked abatement of heat *some time prior to the deluge*."

Examining the above paragraph, under the impression that it comes from the pen of a philosopher who condemns with a loud voice all geological hypotheses which are not perfectly consistent with the writings of Moses, we cannot help expressing our surprise, in the first place, that he should assert in regard to the animals existing before the flood, that they left no posterity on the earth. The inspired historian relates that God commanded Noah to take into the ark a pair of every species of living creatures with the express intention of preserving their races to replenish the desolated globe. " And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee ; they shall be male and female. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, and of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee to keep them alive. And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten ; and thou shalt gather it to thee ; and it shall be food for thee and for them." There cannot be any thing plainer or more particular than this narrative, and yet Dr. Ure, the great advocate for Scriptural truth and literal interpretation, insinuates that Moses did not mean all he says in the sixth chapter of Genesis, but that we may imagine the preparations for the flood there described, had much the same object as the cares of an ordinary sea officer before he sets out on a long voyage. The earth, he tells us, was very much chilled by the deluge, the soil was rendered very damp, and the air extremely uncomfortable, and hence the necessity of a flesh diet, which was then for the first time permitted to man. Had Noah not provided himself

with an ample and various supply before the rains, he could not it is suggested, have found the means of gratifying his new appetite when he landed on mount Ararat. But the doctor nevertheless seems to impeach his management of the flocks committed to his care, inasmuch as the patriarch must either have neglected the useful creatures which he was directed to save from destruction, or have eaten them all up without any regard to issue or remainder; for it is evident to the geological eye that "Noah's stock died out" in a short time, and made way for an entirely new breed, created on purpose to supply the deficiency. Had the present race of quadrupeds been lineal descendents of the antediluvian, we may ask, says he, whence proceed those specific differences in bony structure, of which no corresponding examples occur among the skeletons of our existing species. Had all our present animal tribes, he repeats, been propagated from the ark which rested on Ararat, or some other lofty mountain in Asia, how comes it that the Kangaroo, echidné, ornithorynchus, and wombats are now confined to New Holland. Those who regard all our actual animals as the offspring of the primeval parents which travelled through the isthmus of the ark, will, he declares, in vain seek for types of our most prolific existing races among those diluvial ruins, where innumerable exuviae of the elephant, the bear, the horse, the ox, the deer are found. It is manifest, therefore, according to the reasoning of this learned head of the Andersonian University, that the animals which Noah collected into the ark were not meant to be "kept alive" but eaten; and moreover that in the list of quadrupeds which travelled through that *isthmus*, there were neither sheep nor goats, antelopes, roebucks, lamas, apes, camels, nor camelopards. We know not whether his "popular students" as he is pleased to denominate the mechanic auditors whom he is supposed to address, will, after such a harangue, leave his lecture room with a profounder respect for the Pentateuch than when they first read it in their simple ignorance. Let us at all events have no more revilings from Glasgow against Hutton, Playfair, and Buffon!

But the main point for our consideration, at this stage of our Review, is the statement made above, that the *tertiary* strata of England and France were in existence prior to the deluge. Nay, he boldly asserts that the more ancient organic remains of the regular secondary and tertiary strata "bear good evidence of having been inurned at a period *long antecedent to the deluge*." But how, or by what means, we demand, were those strata formed, after the work of creation was finished, the human race put in possession of the earth and every thing pronounced "very good?" The secondary and tertiary rocks we are told are composed of the *detritus*, that is, the sand and smaller fragments

of the primitive rocks which were shattered by the volcanic explosions of the third day, and gradually deposited and conglutinated at the bottom of the sea. Now as these strata in England have been ascertained to be about a *mile in thickness*, and consist of sixteen or seventeen different formations which denote, in the language of geology, so many distinct epochs and conditions of the mineral fluid which acted as the menstruum and medium of deposition, we have a right to expect some evidence in support of the hypothesis on which these facts are made to rest. Not only were those strata formed in the antediluvian age, but the process is said to have been completed, and even the tertiary beds, from 2000 to 3000 feet in thickness, raised from the ocean and fitted for the abode of man, at a period *long antecedent* to the deluge. In fact, although the sacred historian mentions that the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them, at the end of the sixth day, the work, according to Dr. Ure, was only beginning, so far at least as this globe was concerned. The only land which was then above water was fit for nothing but briars. "Consisting of primitive formations in the strictest sense of the geological word, it would prove in general a stubborn soil, prolific of every congenial weed, but ungracious to culture:" (a pious commentary on the *very good* of Moses!) and meanwhile, as men were multiplying their transgressions on the surface, rich foamy plains, composed of "red marl, lias, oolite, Oxford clay, chalk marl, plastic clay, and London clay," were forming for them under the muddy waves of the adjacent seas.

Nor was this process confined to a small section of the globe. On the contrary, as strata of the secondary and tertiary classes are found in all parts of the world, and compose in fact, by far the greater proportion of the land which is at present occupied by the human race, we must conclude, according to this theory, that the continents and islands which are in our days above water, were in the earlier years of the antediluvian fathers, at the bottom of the ocean, and raised up some centuries before the deluge. No geologist can have the slightest hesitation to assert that such an hypothesis is untenable in every part; and moreover, that the author, under the semblance of supporting the credit of the Mosaic narrative, exposes it to the most obvious and formidable objections. Does he not lead his readers to conclude that the present part of the inhabitable globe was formed of fragments of the original crust of the earth, dislocated and torn in pieces by subterranean fires, and that this process of formation took place while men were living and multiplying their numbers on some spots of its primitive surface? And does he not thereby admit the inference that the inspired historian was either ignorant of these facts, or purposely meant to conceal them—an opinion

which is utterly at variance with the respect that we owe to the Divine authority of the Pentateuch? Nor is the matter mended by the supposition of "mighty convulsions," "unrecorded inundations," "successions of catastrophes," and "alternations of marine and fresh-water floods." There is no proof of such things in the Book of Genesis; and, besides, as they are not adequate to the production of the effects for which, by means of them, the author attempts to account, his hypothetical liberties only involve him in the double charge of ignorance and of impiety.

It is enough to repeat the remark with which we began, namely, that the conclusions of geology, in its present imperfect state, cannot be reconciled with the Mosaical history of the creation, and therefore that every endeavour to expound the one by a reference to the other must not only fail of success, but expose the studies of geognostic mineralogy and of fossil organic remains to a degree of suspicion, on the part of serious Christians, to which they are not justly liable. From the character of the secondary strata, particularly from their compounded and sedimentary nature, and from the relics which they contain of animal life, there can be no doubt that much of the land which is now above the level of the ocean was once under it; and hence that the soils, from which the existing generations of men derive their food, have been formed from the detrition of older deposits long exposed to the action of water. But there is no ground on which to rest our belief that the process now mentioned has taken place since the earth was first prepared for the habitation of man, or that the results belong to the era of human history. In examining the structure of the globe, we discover manifest proofs of succession in the layers or strata which compose its outer shell—certain stages of the Divine workmanship accomplished by the gradual operation of those physical powers with which matter is endowed—but we are not furnished with the means of determining the distance between any two successive points in the series. These phenomena are all so many marks of the lapse of time, among which the principles of geology enable us to distinguish a certain order, so that we know some of them to be more and others to be less distant, but without being able to ascertain with any exactness the proportion of the immense intervals which separate them. Nor, for the reason formerly mentioned, are we likely ever to arrive at a full knowledge of those causes by which the ancient revolutions of the earth's surface were brought to pass. The thread of operation, as Cuvier expressed it, is broken, the march of nature is changed, and none of the agents which she now employs were sufficient for the production of her ancient works. The depositions which are now made along the shores of the sea, or at the bottoms

of lakes, bear hardly any resemblance to the schistose formations of mica-slate and clay-slate, or of primitive limestone; while the mineral substances which owe their origin to volcanic eruptions have scarcely anything in common with the oldest descriptions of granite and porphyry. Besides, were we to measure the period necessary for depositing the tertiary strata of England and France, extending to nearly two thousand yards in thickness, by the progress of any similar operation which falls under our own eyes, we should be startled by the result of the most moderate calculation. The following abridgement of Cuvier's remarks on the Parisian basin will afford an example of the hypothetical license, both as to time and physical agents, which has been employed in order to explain one of the most recent geological formations.

“ On reconsidering these beds from the chalk upwards, we conceive first of all a sea depositing on its bottom an immense mass of chalk, and mollusca of peculiar species. The precipitation of the chalk and of its attendant shells suddenly stops; the sea retires; waters of another kind, very probably analogous to that of our fresh-water lakes, succeed, and all the hollows of the marine formation are filled up with clay, *debris* of land vegetables, and of fresh-water shells. But soon another sea, producing new inhabitants, nourishing a prodigious quantity of testaceous *mollusca*, entirely different from those of the chalk, returns, and covers the clay, its lignites and their shells, to deposit on that basis thick beds, composed in a great degree of the shelly coverings of these new *mollusca*. By degrees this production of shells diminishes, and also comes to an end; the sea withdraws, and the soil is again covered with lakes of fresh water. Alternate strata are formed of gypsum and marl, which envelope both the *debris* of the animals bred in the lakes and the bones of those which lived on their banks. The sea comes back once more; it breeds at first some species of bivalve and turbinated shell-fish, which disappear, and are replaced by oysters. An interval now elapses, during which a great mass of sand is deposited. We are led to believe that no organised bodies lived at that period in this sea or that their exuviae have been completely destroyed, for none are to be found in the sand-bed. But the varied productions of this third sea re-appear, and we again observe on the summit of Montmartre, the same shells as were found in the marls placed over the gypsum, which, though really different from those of the coarse-grained lime-stone, are still considerably like them. Lastly, the sea withdraws entirely for the third time. Lakes or marshes of fresh water take its place, and cover with the remains of their inhabitants the tops of almost all the hills, and the surfaces also of some of the plains between them.”

All these changes of sea and lake, of salt water and of fresh, are described as having taken place before the deluge. “ They exhibit,” says Dr. Ure, “ an unfading picture of the convulsions which the primeval globe suffered a few centuries before its close.” But can the learned professor point out any coincidences between

the said picture and the description given by Moses the servant of God? No; and, therefore, we reject his aid as a supporter of revelation on geological principles. His attempt to reconcile the "great revolutions of the earth and animated nature to modern science and sacred history" has done no good, and may do much harm; because he has not only not succeeded in his undertaking, but has surrounded the subject with difficulties which do not belong to it, when studied in a separate and independent form. Well did Bacon remark, that if vain conceits come to be held in veneration, the understanding succumbs as if seized with the plague. "Some moderns," says he, "have indulged in this vanity with so little discretion, that they have endeavoured to establish a body of natural philosophy on the first chapter of Genesis, the Book of Job, and some other of the sacred writings; thus seeking the living among the dead. This vanity merits castigation and restraint the more, as, from the mischievous admixture of divine and human things, there is compounded at once a fanatical philosophy and a heretical religion. It is therefore most salutary, with a sober mind to render to faith what belongs to faith. *Tanto magis hæc vanitas inhibenda venit et coercenda, quia ex divinorum et humanorum male sana admixtione, non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio heretica. Itaque salutare admodum est, si mente sobria, fidei tantum dentur, quæ fidei sunt.*"

Besides favouring Dr. Ure with our advice to pursue his geological studies on geological grounds, and thereby to abstain from the mischievous admixture of divine and human things, by which both philosophy and religion are injured, we would counsel him to read his Bible with attention before he again ventures into the boundless field of physical speculation. This charity on our part was suggested by a singular fact, which occasioned to us at once amusement and surprise. After some discussion on the theory of dew and rain, he informs the reader that he had adduced his corollaries from the hygrometric laws which respect the constitution of the atmosphere, "*before his attention was drawn to the following curious historical notice of primeval meteorology.*" It affords a very beautiful, and to me quite unexpected accordance between the results of science and the records of faith." We naturally imagined that this "curious historical notice," to which his attention was drawn, had been discovered in some very rare scientific performance of the middle ages, not likely to be met with in the library of the Andersonian University. But upon proceeding, we found that the reference made by his friend was to the second chapter of Genesis, and that the unknown passage—the curious historical notice to which his attention had never before been directed, the unexpected accordance between science and faith—

was this.—“ For the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But there went up a mist from the whole earth, and watered the whole face of the ground!”

There are other proofs in his book that Dr. Ure has not read long nor very deeply in those sacred pages which describe the origin of our globe, and present the first outlines of human history. But we find no fault with his defective theology, or his bad rendering of Hebrew (p. 503); we confine our censure to his unwise and unsuccessful attempt to connect things together which have nothing in common, to found on Scripture the wildest conjectures of geology, and to seek a prop for our religious faith in the deductions of a science which is still entirely destitute of fixed principles.

ART. VII.—*The Life and Times of William Laud, D.D. Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* By John Parker Lawson, M.A.
London: Rivingtons. 2 vols. 8vo. 17. 8s.

THERE are perhaps few inquiries attended with more vexation of spirit and weariness of flesh than that which relates to the period of confusion and agony which ended in the establishment of our liberties, and the formation of our constitution. It must be a mighty spirit which, even at this day, should be able, in serene composure, to weigh the pleadings on either side of that tremendous cause, and to pronounce a judgment which future ages shall declare to be luminous and rightful. The investigation is, in parts, so intricate, so bewildering, and so “ full of perilous hazard,” that it can hardly fail to remind one of those living rocks of classic fable, which were constantly approaching each other with frightful collision—which threatened to crush the intruder that should venture between them—and whose terrors could be ended only by a crew of heroes and of demigods.* No *such* adventurers have yet attempted the toil and danger of these historical Symplegades, and left the navigation safe and open for future voyagers. Danger and difficulty still frown upon the inquirer, as sternly as ever, from the right hand and from the left: and the enterprise still seems to demand something more than mortal sagacity and daring.

* ———— δίδυμοι γὰρ ἔσαν
ζωαὶ, κυλινδίσκοντο δὲ κραιπνότεραι
ἢ βαρυδέπων ἀνέμων σίχες· ἀλλ'
ἤδη τελεύταν κείνος αἰταῖς
ἡμιθέων πλὸς ἄ-
γογεν.—Pindar.

Another remarkable circumstance in this controversy is the power which, to this day, it exercises over our feelings. It is impossible to engage deeply in it without a degree of excitement, which would be scarcely credible at the outset, and which appears almost ridiculous when we have for some time laid it aside. We are now at the distance of almost two centuries from the commencement of this great national fever. The crisis has long been over, and has ended most auspiciously for our health and vigour: and the progress of the disease, and the detail of the symptoms, are doubtless abundantly worthy of the profoundest consideration. But we should hardly expect that the study and exposition of *the case* would throw the various lecturers upon it into violent commotion. And yet, never did angry gentlemen of the faculty discuss the fate of the half-defunct patient in the next room, with greater acrimony, than modern polemics will sometimes manifest in their investigations into the causes and the treatment of a political distemper, which is now past and gone, like the violent maladies of our childhood.

It is true that these convulsions have exercised a mighty influence on the present condition of our political constitution, and on that account must always be signally interesting and important. But then the history of them relates to a conflict which our system is not very likely to experience again. A direct encounter between royal prerogative and popular right is no more to be apprehended by *us*, than a struggle of plebeian wealth and intelligence against feudal oppression. A crusade for the recovery of the holy sepulchre would hardly be less astonishing in these days, than an insurrection of the people of England against the power or influence of the crown. If we have anything to apprehend, it is, not from a strife for mastery between the various estates of the constitution—but from a still more frightful controversy—the controversy between indigence and property—between destitute, portionless, unemployed multitudes on the one hand, and the aristocracy of wealth and privilege on the other. Our danger is from the possible alienation of the public heart from those who sit in the high places of authority, whether in the character of legislators or executive governors;—who crowd into parliament, not as to a field where the national liberties or interests are to be contended for, but as the scene of a scramble for fat emolument, or of a struggle for personal distinction. A want of due sympathy, in short, between the classes who work, or who are idle because their industry is profitless—and the classes who either live in affluent and splendid indolence, or in a selfish pursuit of rank and power—this seems to be the most formidable sign of the times in which we live: and the contemplation of it (one would imagine) must

be rather too absorbing to leave thoughtful minds at leisure for intemperate controversy respecting the merits of Charles's quarrel with his parliaments, or the character and services of Laud and Wentworth. To an unimpassioned bystander it must seem as strange that people should heat themselves, and lose their temper in the agitation of such questions, as that the sorrows of Hecuba should, in a mere dream of passion, bring tears into the eyes, and distraction into the aspect of a poor player! Here are we, often wasting our spirits, and damaging our charity and candour, in the eagerness of our search into the times which gave birth to the distinctions of whig and tory; while whig and tory, and all other political denominations, are watched with a scowl of hatred and contempt by the brood of that many-headed monster, radicalism. We are tilting at each other in a sort of angry tournament, while the ground on which we stand is sown with dragons' teeth, which, peradventure, may soon spring up into furious and armed ruffians.

But whatever we may think of the intense and passionate interest which the contemplation of this period is sure to call forth, one thing is quite obvious,—the topic is one which mediocrity ought never to approach. The subject is too high and sacred to be touched by any but a superior hand. Neither gods nor men—neither Olympus nor Paternoster Row—neither the mansions of immortality nor the club-rooms of the metropolis—will concede a month's existence to a middling history of the “*Life and Times*” of any of the distinguished men who acted or suffered at or near the period of the great political schism of the seventeenth century. And for this reason we are somewhat concerned to find that the biography of Laud has been undertaken by the present author. It would be neither more nor less than uncivil mockery to compliment him, by ascribing to him the perfections required to form the historian of such a period. Industry, indeed, he seems to possess: and this quality has made him acquainted with a very ample range of authorities. He has, moreover, the faculty of making himself perfectly intelligible so long as he confines himself to the duty of an unambitious narrative; and there appears no reason whatever to question the impartiality of his statements as to mere matters of fact. But then, unhappily, he is often seized with the lust of impressive writing; and when he yields to that temptation, the event, we are compelled to declare, does but too frequently illustrate how short and direct is *the single step* from the sublime to the ridiculous. At other times he ventures into the region of argument and discussion; an exercise which is almost sure to betray his want of intellectual vigour and precision. When his subject requires the cogency of argument and disquisition, he sometimes reminds us of a person who should venture to lay

about him with a flail, without sufficient skill in the use of that somewhat unmanageable instrument; and he is guilty, occasionally, of such awkward aggression on his own cranium, as makes his readers tremble both for him and for his cause. At the same time, it is but justice to allow, that, on the whole, he is by no means altogether destitute of qualifications for his task. He is a devoted admirer of the subject of his labours. He appears to regard no toil as painful, and no time as wasted, *singula dum captus circumvectatur amore*. He is equally ardent in his love and veneration for the Church of which Laud was so uncompromising a champion. He has, moreover, an inexhaustible magazine of wrath at command, ready for discharge against Puritans and Calvinists, and the whole brood of Nonconformity. But here, again, it happens, most unfortunately, that he is rather more free than could be wished in the use of the *flail*; which—to our inexpressible pain and alarm—does sometimes rattle about his ears in a manner that would appal any one, whom an excess of zeal and self-devotion had not rendered insensible to smart and danger. In short—though we agree in many essential particulars with Mr. Lawson—though his views, his principles, and his conclusions are, in general, substantially our own—we cannot but deeply regret that (without the slightest intention to mislead) he has contrived to give to his work so much the character of a *case*, made out by a fiery and over-zealous advocate;—an advocate who seems to have scarcely eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor tongue to utter, nor understanding to comprehend anything which may be produced to the disadvantage of his client. We are sadly afraid that an intelligible and candid inquirer, solicitous for nothing but the truth, might be apt to shut the book, in utter despair, after perusing the first two hundred pages.

We will, however, detain the reader no longer with our speculations respecting the merits of the biographer; but hasten to an hour's contemplation of the character which has tempted him to his interesting but hazardous enterprise. Respecting Laud it has justly been remarked—that more good and more evil has been said and written of him, than of almost any other historical character that can be named. By some he has been extolled as a miracle of piety and benevolence, of learning, and of wisdom: by others as an exemplification of everything that is inhuman in tyranny, despicable in bigotry and superstition, diabolical in temper, and narrow in understanding. By his admirers he has been held up as the very mirror of loyalty to his king, of fidelity to the constitution as it then existed, and of enlightened zeal for the Church over which he presided. By his adversaries he has been described as the abject worshipper of the royal prerogative, and as a malignant conspirator against the liberties of his country. And

by those who profess to avoid either of these extremities it has been averred that, with the most unbounded devotion to the cause of the Church, he was, in effect, one of her most pernicious enemies; and that his baleful administration occasioned, or at least accelerated, her downfall.

This latter accusation has, if we remember right, been adopted by Warburton, if it did not originate with him. It is very much in his trenchant and sweeping manner; and, like many other of his positions, must be admitted with some caution, and understood with considerable limitation. That the administration of Laud was, on the whole, injurious to the church can hardly be denied. But then it is most important to keep in mind, that the injury was inflicted, not so much by the measures which he adopted, as by the manner in which he enforced them. There never, perhaps, lived a public man, who contrived that his good should be so virulently evil spoken of. His demeanour appears to have been singularly ungracious and unpopular, and his temper offensively irascible and hot. There was nothing affable or engaging in his general behaviour: and his very integrity was often made odious by wearing an aspect of austerity and haughtiness. It would almost seem as if prudence had been struck out from his catalogue of the cardinal virtues. In him, 'discretion never fought against nature.' He never appears to have been aware that the world is governed, or rendered ungovernable, by syllables, and looks, and gestures, and tones of voice; that manner is something with every person, and every thing with some. The consequence of this ignorance, or this disdain, of the ways of the world, was unspeakably pernicious to the cause, for which he, at all times, *counted his life not dear unto him*. In the minds of all who were ignorant of the essential worth of the man, the interests of the establishment were, by his harsh demeanour, associated with every thing that is odious and repulsive. For a considerable portion of his life he was generally regarded as the leader and representative of the ecclesiastical body; and the impression which he communicated to the public was, too often, that of unfeeling arrogance, and lofty impatience of controul. Whether the church could have been saved by any combination, in the person of its ruler, of those rare endowments which secure at once attachment and awe, no human sagacity, perhaps, can at this day be competent to pronounce. But it is by no means surprizing, that this one fatal defect in him should, even in the minds of judicious and impartial men, have connected his administration with the ruin of the establishment.

Two remarkable instances will readily occur to every one, illustrative of the deplorable effects of his want of self command. It

is well known how devotedly Laud was attached to the Duke of Buckingham: and it will not be thought surprizing, that the assassination of his friend and patron should have betrayed him into a transport of grief and rage. But who can forbear lamenting that he should be utterly unable to overmaster these emotions, even at the Council board; and that he should so far forget the statesman and the bishop, as to threaten Felton with the rack, if he refused to discover his accomplices? On reference to the judges, the torture was pronounced unlawful; and the consequence was precisely what might be expected from this unfortunate eruption of vehemence and passion, namely, the immediate circulation of the saying, that crown *law* was more favourable to the subject than crown *divinity*!

Again—when Lord Chief Justice Richardson was summoned before the Council for his officious and scarcely legal interference in the suppression of all Sunday sports and pastimes, the ungracious office of reproof should, unquestionably, have been left to the other members of the board. Unhappily, however, the impetuous temper of Laud disabled him from perceiving how unseemly a spectacle it would be for a Judge to stand and hear his condemnation from the mouth of a Bishop: and he accordingly took upon himself to administer so stern a rebuke, that the Chief Justice ran out, exclaiming, “that he had been almost choked with a pair of lawn sleeves.”

Nothing could be better fitted, than these outbreakings of a rash and hasty humour, to render odious both the prelate himself, and the cause with which, in the public estimation, he was identified. He would, in such unquiet times especially, not only be dreaded as the firm and conscientious disciplinarian, but detested as the rigorous and overbearing priest: and the Church would be sure to suffer grievously for the unpopularity of her governor.

Every one will recollect that Clarendon, who entertained the highest reverence and affection for Laud, was so deeply impressed with the lamentable consequences of this infirmity of his temper, that he once ventured upon a very free expostulation with the Archbishop; and this, too, when he was himself only a young practiser in the law. He has given a full and very interesting account of this conference in his own life; from which it appears, that Laud was far from displeased with the freedom of the young barrister, who seems, in truth to have gone pretty roundly to work with his Grace; for he told him plainly that it was exceedingly to be wished “that he could more reserve his passion towards all persons, how faulty soever; and that he would treat persons of honour and quality, and interest in their country, with more cour-

tesy and condescension, especially when they came to visit him, and make offer of their service." The reply of the Archbishop is abundantly mild and candid, but shows that the defect was then inveterate and incurable. For he said smiling, that

"he could only undertake for his heart; that he had very good meaning; for his tongue, he could not undertake that he would not sometimes speak more hastily and sharply than he should do, (which oftentimes he was sorry, and reprehended himself for,) and in a tone which might be liable to misrepresentation, with them who were not very well acquainted with him, and so knew that it was *an infirmity which his nature and education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with it.* For the state and distance he kept with men,"—he said—"he thought it was not more than was suitable to the place and degree he held in the Church and State 'or so much as others assumed to themselves, who had sat in his place.' " "And thereupon," adds Clarendon—"he told some behaviour and carriage of his predecessor Abbot (who, he said, was not better born than himself) towards the greatest nobility of the kingdom, which he thought was very insolent and inexcusable, and was, indeed, very ridiculous."*

From all these instances it appears that, what with an unhappy temper, and what with an imperfect knowledge of mankind, and what with an erroneous notion of manners, he contrived to array more hostility against his eminent virtues, than many of the worst of mankind have often armed against their vices. And, thus he may be said to have furnished some ground for the charge of Warburton, by unhappily exasperating those bad passions, which already were let loose for the destruction of the hierarchy.

But the meanest and most repulsive exhibition which has ever before been given of Laud, is in some respects almost complimentary compared with a recent representation of him by the same artist, who has recently furnished us with a portraiture of Cranmer. If we are

* It appears that Gauden ventured on a freedom similar to that of Clarendon. A few days after Laud's first confinement, he waited on him; and, on that occasion, represented to him that "it was no hard matter for a good and great man honestly to make himself gracious with the best and most people that, in some cases and postures of times, a wise man was not bound to do people more good than they could or would bear; nor was he to surfeit and tire them by overdriving them to better pasture."—This was shrewd and admirable counsel: but, at first it was listened to by Laud "with something of a severe brow." At length, however, he gravely and calmly replied; protesting with a serious attestation of his integrity, before God's omniscience,—that, "however he might mistake in the mean and method, yet he never had other design than the glory of God, the service of his Majesty, and the good order, peace, and decency, of the Church of England."

Gauden (whose opinion may safely be taken where he had no interest to bias him)—concludes his character of the Archbishop by saying, "Doubtless this prelate had more in him of charity, liberality, munificence, and magnificence, than ever I saw in any of those, who are the *having* and *getting*, not the *giving*, enemies of episcopacy." See Nic. Armin. and Calvin. p. 659 note.

to credit this likeness of him, Laud was, without exception, the most contemptible character in English history; and the parliament were to blame for their treatment of him, not because it was meanly vindictive and detestably iniquitous, but because so much good and serviceable persecution was absolutely thrown away upon so despicable an object. It is graciously allowed that he was no traitor within the statute: but this was, because his capacities were too limited to advance him to the dignity of treason. His talents for evil were so miserably poor, that it was beneath the majesty of a great nation to inflict upon him any thing but contemptuous mercy.* It is true that he was "*without benevolence or piety*,"—"without any sense of duty to God or man:" but, nevertheless, the impeachment or the attainder—the gibbet or the axe—were positively degraded by their employment on so insignificant and worthless a delinquent.

Such is the last new version of the character of Laud: and, in proof of his silliness and weakness, his "*incomparable diary*" is fixed upon as a performance which might make us "*forget the vices of his heart in the abject imbecility of his intellect*." Now, to us, this effort to vilify the understanding of a distinguished scholar and divine, appears to be neither more nor less than an impudent experiment, made for the purpose of ascertaining how much petulance and absurdity might be administered to the public, in a single dose, without producing a violent emetrical reaction. To estimate the powers of Laud by his occasional notice of dreams and omens, is just about as reasonable and candid as it would be to measure the capacities of Samuel Johnson by the scraps and fragments which record his fits of melancholy or superstition,—by his reminiscences of Tetty,—and by his prayers for the peace of her departed spirit. Again, to judge of Laud's sagacity or wisdom by the entries of matters of fact in his diary, is as ridiculous as it would be to look in the list of bankruptcies and promotions—in the court circular—or in the daily collection of accidents and occurrences—for a test of the ability of the conductor of a public Journal. The Diary of the Archbishop consists chiefly of dry memoranda of passing events, made obviously for his own private convenience. He no more compiled it with a view to publication, than a man joins in the most ordinary topics of daily discourse with a view to publication. Occasionally, it is true, he notices a dream, or an accident, to which imagination might give an ominous complexion. But he does this without appearing to attach the slightest permanent impor-

* This seems to be, likewise, the opinion of Mr. Godwin, who thinks that Laud should have been dismissed to obscurity and contempt,—Vol. i. p. 249.

tance to such shadowy suggestions. The mightiest understanding will sometimes be crossed, for a moment, by gloomy associations, or dim forebodings, especially when harassed and excited by affairs of overpowering interest. And these transient perturbations may be mentioned to a friend in the confidence of private intercourse, and then at once dismissed from the mind. Laud, however, seems to have been without the advantage of an intimate companion, with whom he could share his thoughts, (a circumstance which is much and justly lamented by Clarendon,) and, accordingly, he made a confidant of his Diary! Besides,—some allowance may justly be made for opinions and prejudices still current in an age, not yet wholly purged of those superstitions which haunt the twilight of imperfect knowledge and civilization. It is notorious that witchcraft and sorcery were firmly believed by many of the Puritans and Covenanters; and that their hatred was seldom at a loss to discover signs and prognostics of the Archbishop's fall. It is, therefore, either superlatively foolish, or intolerably malicious, to seize upon some half a dozen passages of a somewhat visionary cast, among his private memoranda, (extending as they do over a space of more than fifty years), and to produce these as evidence of a mind enslaved and enfeebled by superstitious fancies.

But though we cannot appeal to the Diary of Laud in support of his literary and theological reputation, we may assuredly consult it for a much higher purpose. It has been said that his letters to Strafford indicate no sense of duty to God or man; that his concern for the honour of the University—his anxiety to improve the condition of the clergy—his efforts to restore the decency and solemnity of public worship—and his solicitude to preserve the sacred edifices from ruin and profanation—all are to be ascribed to a feeling purely professional—to that *esprit de corps* which is often to be found in the most abandoned of human beings, and which implies no principle either of *benevolence* or *piety*. All this has been said; and let all this, *for the moment*, be admitted. We turn, then, to his private memoranda. We say nothing, at present, of the History which he drew up of his Troubles and Trial; nothing of his admirable private devotions;—but we appeal to the loose and unpremeditated fragments of his Diary for a triumphant demolition of the calumny which has called his piety and his beneficence in question. Is it possible for any man (except a confirmed believer in the turpitude and duplicity of his species) to witness the secret outpourings of the prelate's heart, and yet to charge him with a want of charity or religion? To what shall we ascribe his repeated expressions of trust in the merciful protection of Providence, and his frequent invocations of forgive-

ness on his enemies, persecutors and slanderers—(breathed and recorded as they were in the solitude of his chamber)—to what shall we ascribe these indications of a soul filled with love towards God and man? Must we, *charitably*, attribute them to a habit of professional hypocrisy, so inveterate as to pursue the individual even to his secret retirements?—a habit almost as insane as that of the miser, who robbed his own till when he was without any other opportunity of fraudulent appropriation! At the end of the Diary is printed a list of noble and munificent projects which the bishop had formed, and some of which he lived to accomplish: and are we gravely required to believe that these costly and benevolent designs were suggested by no feeling higher than that of a bigoted devotion to the credit of his order?—Are we to presume that the person who could make the following entry in his journal, was under no sense of duty to his Creator and his brethren?

“The way to do the town of Reading good, for their poor; which may be compassed by God’s blessing upon me, though my wealth be small. And I hope God will bless me in it, because it was his own motion in me. For this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much beaten them about it) till this night, as I was at my prayers.”—*Diary*, p. 50, January 1, 1633-4.

Is this, we ask, the language of one whose character was destitute of the elements which constitute an amiable and worthy individual, and who throughout his life was a stranger to any better motive than “the indulgence of a *malignant humour*?”

Once more—on the day that he was committed to the Tower we find the following memorandum:—

“I stayed at Lambeth till the evening to avoid the gazing of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The psalms of the day, psalms 93 and 94, and chap. 50 of Isaiah, gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it.”

“As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety and return to my house.”—*Diary*, p. 60, December 18, 1640.

We should be glad to know how the vindictive malice of Prynne himself would account for such an entry as this, if the benevolence and piety of the writer be denied. If this secret and simple record is not allowed to prove the habitual practice of liberality and kindness, and a deep sense of religious consolation, neither could it be established by the testimony of one risen from the dead.

We have expressed above some little surprize at the vehemence with which the controversy respecting these remote events and characters is occasionally carried on; and yet, we must confess

that, at this moment, we are, ourselves, not wholly unconsciously of a somewhat polemical commotion of spirit. For, after all, it is a most offensive spectacle to behold the memory of the illustrious dead lacerated and soiled by the hand of arrogant, unfeeling scorn. It is scarcely possible to witness such profanation with composure. Whatever may have been the defects of Laud, it cannot be denied that his munificence was princely—his learning eminent—his love of letters generous and noble—his integrity and disinterestedness unimpeachable—his religion deep and sincere—and his zeal conscientious, though sometimes excessive, and sometimes mistaken. And such being our conviction, we cannot witness without loathing, the savage delight with which his failings have recently been gibbeted, and his name associated with all that is base and despicable in human nature.

In justice to this distinguished prelate, we cannot, perhaps, do better than seize the present opportunity of rapidly surveying some of the leading occurrences of his life. We shall thus be enabled to place before our readers the origin of the bitterest calumnies which assailed him while living, and enable them to form a fair estimate of that course of action which brought him to his death.

He was born in the year 1573, at Reading, and (as his biographer is at some superfluous pains to satisfy us) of reputable parents. The stupid malignity of the Puritans, indeed, wearied itself with endeavours to depress the man, by speaking of his birth as absolutely mean and sordid—apparently unconscious that by lowering his origin, they were but exalting the merit of his elevation. His childhood was miserably weak and sickly, but he recovered sufficient health to attend the Free School at Reading. Here he remained till he was sixteen years of age, and in 1589 was sent to St. John's College, Oxford, where, according to Wood, he was noted for "a very forward, confident and zealous person." His very first theological exploit at the University marked him as an object of unextinguishable hatred to the Puritans, and to Abbot their patron and champion. In answer to a treatise by that divine, Laud had affirmed that the Church of Rome, though hideously corrupt, never ceased to be a Church, and that, from her, the life-blood was transmitted to our Apostolic and Episcopal Establishment. In short, he virtually maintained, (to anticipate an illustration of his own,*) that she was a true Church, much in the same sense that a thief is a *true man*; and that though she had greatly depraved her nature, she had never wholly forfeited or lost it. This view of the matter, though by no means remarkably gracious or complimentary, was nevertheless

* In his conference with Fisher.

an abomination to the Calvinists; and from that moment to the end of his days, Laud was detested and pursued by them, as a confederate of Popery, and a sworn enemy to the Gospel of Christ.

The year 1605 was distinguished by an event almost fatal to his peace of mind, and highly injurious to his promotion. He was then Chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, by whose urgent entreaties he was prevailed on to solemnize a marriage between that Earl and Lady Penelope Devereux. This lady, it appears, had been divorced from her husband, Lord Rich, in consequence of an adulterous connection with the Earl of Devonshire, who was desirous both of repairing by marriage the injury inflicted on her honour, and of giving legitimacy to the children which had sprung from their guilty intercourse. It further appears, that a verbal contract of marriage had passed between the parties previous to her union with Lord Rich, which had been forced upon her by the tyranny of her parents. The legal principles applicable to such a case were at that time extremely unsettled: and Laud, partly overcome by the solicitations of his patron, and partly moved by the interesting circumstances of the story, was tempted to choose the most indulgent doctrine, and to unite in matrimony two persons who had originally been engaged to each other, and whose affections had suffered such cruel disappointment. This unfortunate compliance exposed him for a long time to the displeasure of the king, to the upbraidings of his enemies, and to the reproaches of his own conscience. He ever after observed St. Stephen's day as an annual fast, in penitential remembrance of that great error; and composed a prayer for pardon of his offence, which we insert in the margin.* It may gratify the persecutors of his memory, to find him distinctly confessing that he did, on one

* "Behold thy servant, O my God, and in the bowels of thy mercy have compassion upon me. Behold, I am become a reproach to thy holy name, by serving my ambition and the sins of others, which, though I did by the persuasion of other men, yet my own conscience did check and upbraid me in it. Lord, I beseech thee, for the mercies of Jesus Christ, enter not into judgment with me thy servant, but hear his blood imploring mercies for me. Neither let this marriage prove a divorcing of my soul from thy grace and favour; for much more happy had I been, if, being mindful this day, I had suffered martyrdom, as did St. Stephen, the first of martyrs, denying that, whether either my less faithful friends, or less godly friends, had pressed upon me I promised to myself that the darkness would hide me; but that hope soon vanished away: nor doth the light appear more plainly, than that I have committed that foul offence. Even so, O Lord, it pleased thee, of thy infinite mercy, to deject me with this heavy ignominy, that I might learn to seek thy name. O Lord, how grievous is the remembrance of my sin to this very day, after so many and such reiterated prayers poured out unto thee from a sorrowful and afflicted spirit. Be merciful unto me; hearken to the prayers of thy humble and dejected servant, and raise me up again, O Lord, that I may not die in this my sin, but that I may live in thee hereafter; and living, evermore rejoice in thee, through the merits and the mercies of Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Amen."—vol. i. p. 116.

occasion, act in opposition to his conscience, though, perhaps, the secret expression of such deep and bitter repentance may somewhat perplex those who have persuaded themselves, that he passed his life in utter insensibility of all religious or moral obligations. For ourselves, though we are not surprized at the tenderness of his own wounded conscience, we cannot but think that if ever there was a case which called for an indulgent interpretation of ambiguous law, the case in question was, in nearly all its circumstances, of that description. At all events the offence was greatly exaggerated by the malice of his enemies; some of whom—and Abbot among the number—did not scruple to omit, in their representations of it, the most important fact in palliation of the delinquency—namely, that Lady Rich had been divorced from her husband.

In 1606 he narrowly escaped the outpouring of all the phials of Calvinistic wrath. He preached a sermon before the University, which was offensive to the Presbyterians. The Vice-Chancellor fulminated, but Laud was thunder-proof; and the storm, after growling for some time over his head, rolled away, and left him unscathed. His old adversary Abbot, however, seized the occasion, and openly pointed at him as one deeply tainted with the Romish leprosy; till at last it was thought dangerous to approach the heretic, or to salute him in the streets! Nay, the report of his defection from the truth was spread from Oxford to Cambridge; and Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, thought it needful to write him a letter of expostulation, in which he exhorts him after the following fashion:—

“Resolve one way, and know at last what you do hold, or what you should. Cast off your wings or your teeth, and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast. To die wavering and uncertain, yourself will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? God crieth with Jehu, Who is on my side, who? Look out at your window to him, and in a resolute courage cast down the Jezebel that hath bewitched you.”

Such, in those days, was the language of Hall to Laud!—of Hall, who lived to take up arms, in defence of the Church, under the auspices of the very man, whom he now took upon himself to tutor and to discipline!

It is needless to dwell on the history of Laud's smaller preferences. We pass to the year 1611, when, in spite of the most virulent opposition from the Puritans, he was elected President of St. John's College; soon after which, to the confusion of his enemies, he was appointed one of the Royal Chaplains. From this time he may be regarded as a public man. It was not, however, till the year 1616 that he obtained the Deanery of Glouces-

ter, a preferment of little value, but sufficient to assure him of the confidence of the king, which Abbot had constantly laboured to intercept. A little before this time it was that he was publicly insulted from the pulpit, at Oxford, by Abbot, the Regius Professor of Divinity (the brother of the primate), and, according to his own account, was "fain to sit patiently and hear himself abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as he sat." The circumstance is worth adverting to, chiefly because it illustrates the spirit which never ceased to persecute him till it brought him to the scaffold, and because it shows what were the opinions then stigmatized, as treasonable to the Protestant religion. The following is a specimen of the language of his assailant:—

"Some," said the preacher, "are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion serves them, that a man might say unto them, *noster es, an adversarium?*—who, under pretence of preaching against the Puritans, strike at the heart and root of the religion now established among us . . . If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it. They speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak against another, as against equivocation, the Pope's temporal power, and the like, and, perhaps, some of their blasphemous speeches. But in the points of *free-will*, justification, concupiscence being a sin after baptism, *inherent righteousness*, and *certainly of salvation*, the Papists beyond the seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the recusants at home make their boast of them." "Might not Christ say, what art thou? Romish or English? Papist or Protestant? Or, what art thou? a mongrel compound of both; a Protestant by ordination, a Papist in point of *free-will*, *inherent righteousness*, and the like? A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament, a Papist in the doctrine of the Sacrament? What! do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourselves there; for unto this where I am, ye shall never come."*

This passage is extremely important and memorable. It discloses to us the ingredients which entered into the composition of what Mr. Hallam has been pleased to term the *semi-Protestant divinity* of those days. And we would earnestly intreat our readers to keep this disclosure steadily in mind, when they would estimate the justice of the charge, that the theologians of James and Charles were guilty of a deliberate approximation to the Romish doctrine. To exalt the eucharist above a mere act of commemoration—to maintain the freedom of the human will—to doubt that the elect are favoured with a perfect assurance of Salvation,—all these were infallible symptoms of a relapse into superstition and corruption. Every step *from Calvinism* was held to

* Vol. i. p. 157. Heylin, pp. 61, 62. Rushw. vol. i. p. 62.

be *towards* Popery. All who were not fixed and stationary at Geneva, were denounced as meditating a desertion to Rome. By artifices like these it was that the character of Papist was made to adhere so strongly to Laud, that he could no more shake it off than he could escape from his own shadow. Let him say or do what he would, he was still no better than a servant of Antichrist!

On his promotion to the Deanery of Gloucester, he found there, in ample measure, the glories and blessings of the Calvinistic discipline. The Church was, altogether, in a state of scandalous disorder. It was as a vineyard which had been rooted up by the snout, and trampled under the hoof, of a wild and sordid fanaticism. The Cathedral was fallen to decay, and its worship was assimilated as nearly as might be to the service of the conventicle. The new dean, without loss of time, applied himself to the redress of these abuses; and in spite of the opposition of the clergy, animated and supported as they were by their Calvinistic bishop, he at last succeeded. The solemnities of divine worship, at Gloucester, were, by his firmness, effectually and permanently reformed. But then, the reformer, went forth more indelibly branded than ever with the mark of an incorrigible and malignant Papist!

The next symptom of his treachery to the Protestant faith was the introduction of an organ into the Chapel of St. John's College: for what was this, but to aid the incantations of the purple Sorceress? It was now beyond dispute, that he had sold himself to work *with greediness* all manner of antichristian iniquity, and superstitious abomination! And yet—to crown the infamy and the scandal—"in the full blossom of his sins," and with this damning proof of apostasy upon him, he received additional marks of the confidence of his sovereign. He was promoted in 1620 to a prebendal stall at Westminster; and on the following year was advanced to the Bishopric of St. David's. For this latter promotion he is said to have been indebted to the urgent recommendation of Buckingham and Bishop Williams: but it has been shrewdly suspected, that the good offices of the latter were considerably quickened by his own desire to retain for himself the Deanery of Westminster, a preferment which was then expected to devolve to Laud, and which he would probably have greatly preferred to the bishopric. It has further been alleged, that the king was violently averse to his promotion to the mitre; and that he declared, in his very broadest and most royal Doric, that the advocates and patrons of Laud would soon repent of their bargain.* We are in no condition to contradict this amusing story;

* "Tak him to ye—but ba ma saul ye'll repent it!"

but yet we know not well how to reconcile it with a fact, which would seem to show that he was still in secure possession of the royal favour; namely, that he was honoured by his Majesty with permission to hold the Presidency of St. John's in commendum with his bishopric. Of this license, however, he forbore to take advantage. "By reason," he says, in his Diary, "of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, on any colour, I am resolved, before my consecration, to leave it."* And he did leave it accordingly; a circumstance which we recommend to the attention of the enemies to his memory, as an additional evidence of his want of all "sense of duty towards God or man!"

The year 1622 was memorable for Laud's immortal conference with Fisher. The occasion of this theological encounter must appear whimsical and curious enough, when viewed by the light of modern notions and habits. The affair is literally as follows: The lady of the prime minister falls into the hands of a prowling Jesuit, who spares no pains to entice her back to the fold of the Universal Shepherd of Christendom. These practices soon came to the knowledge of his sacred Majesty; who, by virtue of his office as Supreme Guardian and Head Doctor of the Church, thinks it necessary to take the fair catechumen under his own especial tuition. Unfortunately, his paternal labours herein are far from answerable to his zeal. The illustrious dame remains still perplexed in conscience, and is in imminent danger of a relapse into superstition and idolatry. The royal theologian finds it necessary to call in the services of two other distinguished divines. The persons appointed to this office are Laud, and Dr. White (afterwards Bishop of Ely), who are pitted, in a regular match, against the Romish champion. Three obstinate conflicts, accordingly, took place, of which the last and most important was conducted wholly by Laud; and on each of these occasions the parties present, were the lady herself, (the prize for which the polemics were contending,) her husband the Duke of Buckingham, her mother, and the Lord Keeper Williams.

Of this Conference a full account is still extant, drawn up by Laud himself.† It is impossible for us to peruse it without

* Diary, p. 4.

† "A Relation of the Conference between William Lawd, then Lord Bishop of St. David's, now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit, by command of King James of ever blessed memorie: with an Answer to such Exceptions as A. C. takes against it. By the said Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. London, 1639." The exceptions of A. C., alluded to in this title-page, were contained in a Relation of the Conference printed in the year 1626, by another Jesuit, or the same, under the name of A. C., as we learn from Laud's Preface.

astonishment at the fact, that duke or duchess should be found throughout the land with patience to sit the dispute out to its conclusion. We grievously suspect that, in these degenerate days, peer and peeress and commoner would be about as deeply edified by such a theological monomachy, as my Uncle Toby and Trim were by the ingenious variety of evolutions exhibited by those great polemic divines, Gymnast and Captain Tripet. Like the honest Corporal, they would, probably, vote it to be little better than a Tom-fool sort of a battle, after all! Our astonishment, however, is still greater, that a person of liberal attainments, ample information, and literary habits, should now be found to pronounce the antagonist of Fisher despicable "*for the abject feebleness of his understanding.*" We should conceive that no person, with the slightest capacity of judging, could examine this treatise, without profound admiration for the powers and resources of its author. There is not a weapon in the magazines and armouries of primitive antiquity, or the scholastic ages, with which he does not appear to be perfectly familiar. There is no refuge of lies to which his sagacity does not enable him to trace his enemy, and from which his vigour and perseverance does not effectually unearth him. Well might he be entitled to say to his auditors,

καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνῆρόμῳ ἵχθους κακῶν
ρίνηλατοῦντι τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων.*

When Sophocles was presented by his sons to the judges as a dotard, unfit to be trusted with the management of his own property, he extinguished this unnatural persecution, in a moment, by simply producing his *Œdipus Coloneus*. If Laud were now to revisit the earth for the purpose of repelling, before a tribunal of competent intelligence and impartiality, the imputation of being a contemptible driveller, he would only have to request that they would carefully peruse his *Conference with Fisher*.

It is now, we believe, generally allowed by all Protestants who have minutely examined the Popish Controversy, that in this collision the Jesuit was demolished. And nothing, indeed, can well be more hopeless, at this day, than the attempt to fix upon Laud the charge of a secret attachment to those corruptions and absurdities which he has here so victoriously exposed. Even Mr. Hallam, who is among the bitterest enemies of his name, is compelled to allow that he then made a resolute and effective stand for the truth. It is impossible therefore to reflect, without indignation, on the fact, that, in his own time, it profited him nothing that he stepped forward to do battle against the adversaries of all

* *Æschyli Agam.*

religious freedom; that he still remained, in the estimation of his persecutors, "a most toad-spotted traitor;" and that, while his achievement procured for him the deep and venomous hatred of the Papists, it was unable to win for him a particle of courtesy and good-will from the most fanatical adversaries of Rome. Had he preached a Crusade against the Seven Hills, the Calvinists would have regarded it as a stratagem to betray them into the hands of the ancient Harlot and Enchantress! How could they trust a man who had the infamy to question whether the Pope was Antichrist, and Rome the Babylonian strumpet? How could they endure to look upon the triumph of one who had openly declared, that Popery and Puritanism were as the upper and the nether mill-stones, and that between the two the Church of England was in danger of being crushed to atoms!

We might here, properly enough, introduce some examination into the merits of the quarrel between Laud and Bishop Williams; but we decline the task, as both perplexing and repulsive. The affair, it must be allowed, was very far from creditable to either party; and it would, probably, be no easy matter to make an equitable division of the blame between them. If we may judge from his Diary, it seems to have weighed heavily on the spirits of Laud; and, whoever was the aggressor, it cannot be denied that the vengeance of Williams was watchful and implacable, and that it pursued its victim almost to the grave. Of that very remarkable person we shall only observe, that he appears to have been one of the most anomalous characters in history. He was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary powers and vast attainments. He seems, likewise, to have been of a capacious and munificent heart, utterly unable to confine itself to a low and narrow sphere of action. But, connected with those great qualities, there was a worldly spirit of intrigue; a sleepless and insatiable ambition; a lust of advancement and of power, which is always of most pernicious example in the person of a Churchman. To these (if Clarendon may be credited) we must add a genius for lying, so active and inexhaustible, that his inventive faculty must have been in a state of perpetual orgasm. He seems to have had his *tongue bent like a bow*,* in constant readiness for the discharge of fiction. To him a mere prosaic adherence to matter of fact must have been insufferably wearisome. The exercise of his singular powers he must have felt to be almost necessary to a pleasurable state of existence. Now this peculiarity might, of itself, be well nigh sufficient to guide us to a tolerably safe opinion relative to this unhappy dissension. Whatever were the failings of Laud, duplicity, most certainly, was not of the number. Even his persecutors were

* Jer. ix. 3.

compelled to bear witness to his uncompromising plainness and consistency. Williams, on the contrary, was habitually, and almost constitutionally, a liar; and who ever knew a liar whose integrity could be trusted, even in matters of life and death? Who would look for a scrupulous adversary in one to whom the practice of veracity was absolutely irksome? And how desperately formidable must have been the enmity of a person who was under the dominion of an aspiring temper, but free from the restraints of strict and lofty principle?

About this time it was that the funds of the Charter-house were rescued from confiscation by the uncourtly firmness and integrity of Laud. In vain was it urged by Buckingham, that such an appropriation would both ease the subject, and relieve the necessities of the king. The bishop inflexibly withstood his friend and patron to the face; and at the hazard of the favourite's resentment, and of the monarch's displeasure, preserved this noble foundation to the cause of charity and literature—an additional instance of his want of all moral and religious principle!

The coronation of Charles I. in 1625, provided the enemies of Laud with additional weapons against him, though they were so contemptibly feeble and pointless, that nothing but desperate malignity would have condescended to take them up. In officiating as Dean of Westminster for Bishop Williams (then in disgrace), he is said to have found among the *regalia* an ancient crucifix of silver, and to have ordered it to be placed upon the altar; and this precious ingredient was immediately thrown in, to give fresh effervescence to the charge of Popery, then beginning to grow stale and vapid. The clamour which it raised can hardly fail to remind our readers of the yell which was set up by the Dissenters, in the following century, against Bishop Butler, for fixing, or repairing, a cross in his Cathedral at Bristol. Of this silly and despicable accusation little more need be said, than that it almost refutes itself. It will be remembered that Abbot presided over the ceremonial of the coronation, and that it is hardly credible that he, of all men, would have endured for a moment the exhibition of the idolatrous symbol; and this was the answer actually given by Laud himself, (when the charge was produced against him at his impeachment,) accompanied, however, with a positive declaration, that he had not the slightest recollection of the circumstance in question!*

A much graver imputation was, that he had the shameless audacity to introduce an alteration into the body of the Coronation oath; and such an alteration, too, as tended materially to weaken the security of the subject. Such was the tragic emphasis with

* Troubles, &c. p. 318.

which this article was afterwards insisted upon, that it set the whole kingdom in a flame. And yet (will it be believed?) this enormous charge was, from beginning to end, utterly destitute of all foundation. A single sentence from the archbishop's full and irresistible reply to it,* will be sufficient to scatter the whole of this calumny to the winds. "With much labour," he says, "I got the books to be compared in the Lords' house; that of King James's coronation, and that of King Charles's; and they were found to agree in all things to a syllable." It was said at the time, and perhaps truly said, that if the charge could have been substantiated, this single delinquency might have been enough righteously to forfeit the archbishop's life. It turned out to be "false as Hell;" and was alone sufficient to cover the parliament with infamy.

The next promotion of Laud was to the See of Bath and Wells, in 1626; and in the same year it was, that he was appointed by the King to draw up instructions, for circulation among the Bishops and Clergy, exhorting them to a cheerful submission to taxes, imposed without the authority of Parliament, but necessary for the general peace of Christendom, and the welfare of the Protestant religion. Perhaps we may safely fix upon this as the very first questionable proceeding, of a political nature, in the Bishop's life. It is to little purpose to allege, as Mr. Lawson has done, that Laud was not to blame, because he acted, purely, in a ministerial capacity, as a faithful servant to the King. The measure was one which, if successful, must be a death-blow to a free Constitution: and it is absurd to say, that the agents of a monarch who makes any such attempt may justly escape responsibility. The true vindication of Laud, and others who thought and acted like him, is to be derived from the extreme indistinctness of the line which, in those days, was drawn by the law, between the prerogatives of the king and the rights of the people. We feel profoundly convinced that, when Laud issued these instructions, he was, throughout, wholly unconscious of any breach of the constitution, and entirely guiltless of any design against the liberties of his countrymen, and the *fundamental laws* of the land. There were many in those days who honestly held it for a *fundamental law* that, in cases of extreme exigency, it was the duty of the subject to aid the King, without waiting for the sanction of Parliament; and that the right of calling for such aid was an inherent and unalienable prerogative of the crown. And it will hardly be questioned, that if ever there was an emergency, which would warrant the exercise of that prerogative, such an emergency had arrived, when the Parliament drove the King into a war, and then left him destitute

* Troubles and Trial, pp. 318—324.

of supplies. We have, of late, indeed, heard it vehemently asserted, that "*a fixed hatred of liberty was the principle of the whole public conduct of Charles;*" an imputation, which, if well founded, would, justly consign many of his servants to infamy, as agents and ministers of despotism. It would be much nearer the truth to say, that his ruling principle was a fear of parliamentary encroachment; a resolution to transmit the royal authority in its full integrity to his children; a desire, in short,—not to alter the constitution—but to maintain the constitution as he had been taught, from childhood, to understand it. Whether these views implied any defect of intelligence or sagacity is a distinct question: but assuredly, it would be most unreasonable to regard them as indications of a want of patriotism. At the same time, it may be truly affirmed, that if ever a "*hatred of liberty*" did, for a moment, find its way into his heart, the conduct of his Parliament had been admirably fitted to introduce it there. They had exposed him to degradation and contempt in the eyes of all Europe: and if such were to be the effects of freedom, is it altogether surprising that they should engender some distaste for popular institutions, in the mind even of the most patriotic prince on earth? Can it be subject of wonder, that a monarch, environed on all sides with difficulty and dishonour, by the treacherous parsimony of the Commons, should begin to think it absolutely impossible to carry on the government, without an occasional resort to arbitrary and transcendent power? Was it wholly unnatural, that the royal prerogative should appear, to a prince so circumstanced, as a necessary moving force, in the absence of which the political mechanism would be liable to perpetual and ruinous stoppage, from the caprice or the obstinacy of a faction? We have reason to be most profoundly grateful that Charles was disabled from following out these formidable surmises into all their practical consequences. But we, likewise, contend, that nothing could be better calculated than the proceedings of the Parliament to drive him into such a train of speculation.

With regard to the views of Laud upon this important subject, it is but equitable that he should be allowed to speak for himself. His language, unquestionably, is not exactly that of the constitution, as it was finally modelled in 1688; but it is such language as was spoken at that day by multitudes, who had no "*hatred of liberty*," and no attachment to despotic government.

"I did never," says he, "advise his majesty that he might, at his own pleasure, levy money on his subjects, without their consent in Parliament. Nor do I remember that ever I affirmed any such thing as is

charged in the article. But, I do believe, I may have said something to the effect following: that, howsoever it stands with the law of God, for a King, in the just and necessary defence of himself and his kingdom to levy money of his subjects, yet, when a particular national law doth intervene in any kingdom, and is settled by mutual consent of the King and his people, these monies ought to be levied by and according to that law. And by God's law, and the same law of the land, I humbly conceive, the subjects so met in Parliament ought to supply their Prince, when there is just and necessary cause. And if an absolute necessity do happen *by invasion, or otherwise, which gives no time for councils or law*, such a necessity—but no pretended one—is above all law. And I have heard the greatest lawyers in the kingdom confess, that, *in times of such necessity*, the King's prerogative is as great as this.*

And then follow certain considerations which are always commodiously forgotten by those, who delight in representing the friends and servants of the King as a band of conspirators against the rights and liberties of Englishmen.

“And since there is, of late, such a noise made about the subversion of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and men's lives this way called in question; 'tis very requisite that these fundamental laws were known to all men, that they may see the danger before they run upon it. Whereas now, the Common Laws of England have no text at all. In so much, that many, who would think themselves wronged if they were not accounted good lawyers, cannot assure a man in many points what the law is..... And, under favour, I think it were a work worthy of Parliament to command some prime lawyers to draw up a body of the Common Law, and then have it carefully examined by all the judges of the realm, and thoroughly weighed by both houses, and then have this book declared and confirmed by Act of Parliament, as containing the fundamental laws of the kingdom.”†

It is well known that these comparatively moderate views were left far behind by the impetuous zeal of other Churchmen, and especially of Drs. Sibthorpe and Manwaring, the latter of whom did not scruple to declare, in a Sermon before the Court,

“that the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes, though without the consent of Parliament, ought to be obeyed, *at the hazard of eternal damnation!*”

This, to be sure, was, as Collier honestly terms it,

“a most extravagant divinity, subversive of the Constitution, and preaching against the Statute Book: and if pursued through all its consequences would make Magna Charta, and the other laws for securing property, signify little.”

Nevertheless, it seems hardly too much for the voracious loyalty of Mr. Lawson: for, having first fortified himself by sundry

* History of Troubles, &c. cap. vii. p. 150.

† Ibid.

admissions of the unconstitutional and unscriptural complexion of such principles, (just as a fire-eater prepares himself for thaumaturgy, by washing his tongue and throat with prophylactic liniment)—he tells us, at last, that

“ if *not even one* of Sibthorpe's and Manwaring's positions were *true*, they would yet be *justifiable*, inasmuch as it was *policy* to restrain the wild republicanism of the age, which was threatening so much danger to the state ! ”*

This assertion forcibly illustrates the extreme peril of sharp instruments, in the hands of persons whose discretion has not reached its maturity ! There are not many things in the book *quite* so monstrous as this : with sorrow, however, we confess that extravagancies are, occasionally, to be found in it, which bear a considerable family likeness to the above ; and we need scarcely add, that even a single prodigy of this description would be enough to deter us from following any author, with much confidence, through the labyrinth of those critical and awful times.

The Parliament, which met soon after, instantly commenced the exercise of their inquisitorial power. They summoned Manwaring,—extorted from him an humble submission,—sentenced him to be imprisoned during pleasure,—imposed on him a fine of £1000,—interdicted him from *ever* preaching again at Court,—and, for three years, from preaching anywhere,—and, lastly, pronounced him disabled from holding any ecclesiastical dignity ! A more impudent and atrocious violation of the constitution cannot be imagined than this portentous stretch of Parliamentary privilege. We have been told—and told very justly—that, (on a subsequent occasion,) if the king wished to prosecute the five members for treason, “ a Bill against them should have been sent to the Grand Jury.” We say, in the same manner, that if the Commons considered Manwaring's Sermon as a dangerous political libel, the Attorney General should have been directed to deal with it accordingly. If they imagined it to be a scandal upon religion, they might have voted a resolution to that effect, and have stigmatized it as calling for the censure of the ecclesiastical judge. But the sentence which they actually pronounced, was as directly subversive of the constitution, as the most outrageously arbitrary measure of the crown. It tended to transfer to a legislative body all civil and ecclesiastical authority, and ultimately all the functions of the executive government. It was calculated to arm against the cause of freedom all the prejudices and resentments of the king, and all the fears of his best counsellors and most faithful subjects.

In this part of his history, as in many others, Mr. L. indulges in much sonorous declamation, respecting the manifold demerits and abominations of Calvinism. That Calvinism was then rampant, and ready to fix upon the Church with fang and claw, is beyond all reasonable question. But, then, we love not to look upon weapons which—like many of those beneath the elbow of this assailant—must always recoil from the hide of that thick-skinned monster. We therefore hasten to the year 1628, when Laud was appointed to the see of London; a post which brought him into more immediate conflict with the faction then in conspiracy against the Establishment. Almost his first care, upon his elevation, was to obtain statutes for regulating the election of proctors at Oxford, and to prevent the disgraceful turbulence which had usually occurred on those occasions; and to collect and arrange the ancient statutes of the University, with a view to procuring a still more ample and honourable charter than that which it then enjoyed. One would hardly conceive it possible for malice and subtilty combined, to extort from these useful and exemplary labours any materials for accusation. But nothing is too hard for the perseverance and ingenuity of a vindictive and shameless faction. They contrived, on this occasion, to call up even the good deeds of the bishop, and to marshal them in judgment against him. His *wise* and generous exertions for the University were actually pressed into the service of his impeachment; and were produced in support of a charge so incredibly impudent and absurd, that nothing but the drunken wantonness of power could ever have suggested it, or dared to make it public—the charge, namely, that he had aggravated his other atrocities, by affecting the office of *Universal Lawgiver*! To this masterpiece of perversion, Laud replied in the indignant language, not of conscious innocence, but of conscious merit. He expressed an honest exultation in the accomplishment of his design; and declared that if there was any one action of his life which called for the public gratitude, it was his zealous interference for the improvement and the honour of his University.

“I wish with all my heart,” he exclaims, “the times were so open, that I might have the University’s testimony both of me and it. Since I cannot, a great lord in this house, when this charge was laid against me, supplied, in part, their absence; for he was overheard to say to another lord, I think my Lord Archbishop hath done no good work in all his life, but these men will object to it as a crime before they have done!”*

His eminent rank in the Church now seemed to call upon him for the most decided efforts to suppress the abominable and per-

* Troubles, &c. p. 305.

icious abuses of the pulpit; and he accordingly prepared himself for an assault upon this strong hold of sedition and fanaticism. He procured the celebrated Royal Declaration against "the perversion of the Articles, to support the doctrines of Calvin or any other individual." By this edict he filled still higher the measure of his iniquities. The fury of the Calvinistic faction knew no bounds. The depths of Satan (they exclaimed) were opened—the Arminians were invited and encouraged to sow their tares—a Jesuitical plot was formed for the subversion of the Gospel, and for the suppression of godly and painful ministers. A petition was accordingly presented to the throne, deprecating this restraint on the *saving* doctrines of God's free Grace in election and predestination, and predicting imminent ruin to the *state* from the followers of that *enemy of God*, Arminius! The raging element seems to have been most intensely concentrated in the Commons. It broke forth in every form of malignant invective. The Scriptures were ransacked for terms of reprobation to brand the Arminian corruptions. The Arminians were a band of desperate conspirators against the honour, the liberty, and the religion of their country. Arminianism, in short, was a prodigy which combined all the abominations of Popery, Despotism, and Impiety. Of this three-headed monster Laud was the keeper, and was ready, at any moment, to unchain it, and let it loose, to hunt and tear in pieces the people of God! Now, be it always scrupulously remembered, by persons who study this portion of our history, that the above language was uttered by men who had not in their whole composition a single element of religious moderation. They were agitated and convulsed by the fiercest spirit of Romish intolerance, at the very moment when they were raving against Rome. They yelled out syllables of dolour and of vengeance against persecution and oppression, and this at the very time when they would gladly have swept away all opposition by fire and sword. They had the effrontery to complain of the *bigotry* of the Church, while they, themselves, regarded a believer in free-will with as much abhorrence as a disbeliever in revelation; and would have committed the preaching of the Gospel to an Atheist as willingly—perhaps more willingly—than they would to an Arminian. And then, on the other hand, let it be kept in mind, that this tremendous burst of fury we are now contemplating, was occasioned solely by an attempt to banish controversy from the pulpit, and to restrain the Calvinising clergy of the Church of England from scattering fire-brands to consume the Establishment and the Monarchy. It is quite notorious, that religious enthusiasm and political discontent were, at that period, in the closest alliance with each other; and at this day, no unprejudiced commentator on history will ever

think of contending, that it was the duty of the hierarchy, or the State, to leave them in unmolested occupation of the strongest position which they could possibly take up. And yet, because Laud, in the midst of all this commotion, saw the path of duty "plain before his face," and spurned away all thoughts of the peril which environed it, he was hunted to death by the agitators of his own time, and his fame has been mangled and disfigured by the agitators of ours!

The wild strife and confusion around him, had no terrors for Laud. To the memorable vote of the Commons, whereby they liberally "rejected the sense of Jesuits, Arminians, and every other which differed from their own," he published a calm and sedate answer, containing certain considerations, which—being rather difficult of digestion—the fanatics affected to consider as unfit even to be tasted! The perfect singleness of heart with which he thus devoted himself to the discharge of his high and dangerous responsibilities, may be inferred from the whole course of his life, and is clearly evinced from the tenor of his correspondence.

"I have always," he says, in a letter to Vossius, "used every endeavour to prevent those dangerous and perplexing questions [about predestination] from becoming public topics of discourse before the people, lest, under the speciousness of defending the truth, we should be doing an injury to godliness and charity. My counsels have ever been those of moderation; with the intention, that men of warm dispositions, whose chief care does not extend to the interests of religion, might not throw all things into confusion. This course of proceeding has probably given some umbrage. But I recollect with what seriousness our Saviour has recommended charity to his followers, and with what caution and patience the Apostle wishes us to treat the weak. If I perish by arts like these, being made a prey to those disputants who gain the victory, (the usual fate of such as adopt moderate counsels,) my reward will be with me; and, except in God, I will seek for no consolation beyond myself."*

And this is the wretch who had no fear of God, and no regard for man!

From this time every unpopular, indiscreet, and violent measure was, without hesitation, and as a matter of course, ascribed to Laud. The pardon of Bishop Montague and others—the violation of the privileges of the Commons by a sheriff's officer—the message of the King to adjourn the House—and, finally, the dissolution of the parliament—all were ascribed to this pestilent heretic and traitor! To his pernicious counsels were ascribed the whole legion of mischiefs which besieged the commonwealth; and a modest proposition was once actually made by Elliott, that the

* Nichols's *Arm. and Calv.* p. 672.

King should be petitioned to leave him and Neile to the justice of the House! It is this period of his life which compels us to pause, and to reflect on the fatal error of investing spiritual persons with arduous secular responsibilities. There can be no doubt that Laud owed his ruin, in a considerable degree, to this mistaken and indefensible practice. Neither Lords, nor Commons, nor populace, could endure to see the post of prime minister filled by an Ecclesiastic. The usage might be tolerated in darker periods, when learning and intelligence were in a great measure confined to the clergy. But those days of ignorance were rapidly passing away. The laity, no longer disqualified by their want of education, for the highest departments of public duty, regarded the intrusion of Churchmen into political office with the bitterest jealousy and disgust. It is deeply to be lamented that Laud did not discern the spirit of the times; or that, perceiving it, he refused to yield to a feeling, which can hardly excite our wonder or condemnation. To a bishop, the most appropriate sphere of action is his diocese; and it might have been well for Laud had his chief care been directed to the administration of his, and if his concern in state affairs had been confined to the occasional and ordinary discharge of his duty as a privy councillor. If, however, he was insensible to this, it would be the grossest of all injustice to ascribe his blindness to the operation of a selfish lust of power. No man, probably, ever felt more deeply than he the weariness and painfulness of political life; and it is altogether marvellous that this feeling did not drive him into the comparative privacy of his ecclesiastical function. But his mind was full of energy and ardour—his courage was inflexible—his zeal for the king's service exalted—and his indignation at the shameful sacrifice of the royal interests, which his position at court was constantly exposing to his view, acted like a fire shut up in his bones, which would not suffer him to rest. He could not have withdrawn himself from the counsels of his sovereign without feeling guilty of ungrateful and treasonable desertion. Even when he retired from the Treasury, (which he did in a twelvemonth after his appointment,) he seemed so utterly unconscious that the office was unfit for a clergyman, that he laboured to procure Juxon for his successor, and expressed the highest satisfaction on the accomplishment of his purpose. And, assuredly, never was the Exchequer consigned to more able or more honest administration.

In 1630 Laud was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford—an honour which only incited him to additional splendour of munificence. The same year was unhappily distinguished for the trial and punishment of the fanatic Leighton, (father to the

archbishop of that name,) the author of a furious and all but treasonable volume, which he was pleased to call “*Zion’s Plea against Prelacy.*” The language of this book was such as might be expected from a lunatic. It showed that the author was fitter for Bedlam than the Fleet; and, in fact, the man died insane in 1644. The sentence pronounced upon him was horrible; and it was not only an act of inhumanity, but it was, according to the estimate of that incomparable master of ethics, the Duke of Otranto,* ten thousand times worse—it was a most egregious blunder! It at once converted a crazy rebel into a holy martyr. It is, however, a most extraordinary circumstance, that this enormity never was laid to the charge of Laud, on his impeachment, though it has since been pressed into the service of the enemies to his memory. It was not produced against him at his trial, though heaven and earth were ransacked for materials of accusation. The repair of St. Paul’s Cathedral—the setting up a few fragments of stained glass at Lambeth—the rummaging of an old crucifix out of the regalia—all these worthless remnants and shreds of evidence his persecutors were not ashamed, in their contemptible exigency, to collect and patch together, in order “to make up a show” of plausible arraignment; but not one syllable occurs respecting the monstrous punishment of Leighton, though the man himself was then living, (as *jailor* of Lambeth Palace, at that time converted into a prison,) and ready to be produced. Prynne would have gone a pilgrimage to the world’s end to procure such proof in support of this *invaluable* charge. It is said, indeed, by Neale, that when the sentence was passed, Laud pulled off his cap and thanked God for it. Neale’s authority for this assertion is Pierce, who found the statement in a despicable pamphlet, not by Ludlow himself, as Mr. Lawson supposes, but published in the name of Ludlow, about fifty years after Laud’s death. Till that time the circumstance was never once heard of. And if there was any foundation for the story, it is absolutely incredible that a fact like this should have escaped the scent of the blood-hounds who were seeking the archbishop’s life! Dr. Symmons, indeed, the editor of Milton, sagaciously discovers evidence of guilt in the entry of this matter in Laud’s Diary, and describes him as “recording, with calm rancour and cold-blooded exultation, the execution of those judicial barbarities.” He might just as reasonably conclude from the Diary, that Laud exulted in the assassination of Buckingham; for he records it with just as much apparent coldness of blood as the cropping of Leighton’s ears. The Diary, as Dr. Symmons must have known, contains little but a dry mention of facts, without reflection or commentary. And to infer, as he has done, from

* Fouché.

these, or any other materials which we are in possession of, that Laud actually "dictated the sentence," is a most reprehensible and shameless perversion of historical evidence.

The next important passage in the Bishop's life is his consecration of the Churches of St. Catherine Cree and St. Giles's. We call it *important*, because the circumstances were afterwards produced to eke out the miserable proof of his having traitorously endeavoured to subvert the true religion by the introduction of Popish ceremonies. His answer to this most iniquitous and trumpery charge may be found in his own History of his Trial; and the perusal of it is enough to make one almost ashamed of human nature. We can hardly imagine a more humiliating sight than that of the Grand Inquest of the English nation, sitting day after day, while the patient and unwearied malice of little minds was collecting its paltry ammunition, and stoning its victim to death, as it were, with pebbles. If anything can equal the feeling of scorn occasioned by such a spectacle, it is the disgust excited by a recent endeavour to transfer to Laud the contempt so signally due to his persecutors, and to represent him as a miserable trifler, who could find delight in "performing antics and grimaces in a cathedral." It has been forgotten, or suppressed, that if Laud were "*a ridiculous old bigot*," he shares the honours of that character with names no less illustrious than those of Andrews and of Mede.* Undoubtedly it is to be wished that he had rigidly confined himself to the appointed rites and ceremonies of the Church, and had abstained from a single practice or gesture on which the most vigilant hostility could fix the charge of innovation. By this wise discretion he might, with infinitely more effect, have discountenanced that sordid slovenliness by which the Puritans had rendered the Protestant worship contemptible and odious; and *by which too, be it always remembered, they were driving multitudes back within the attraction of Romanism.* The fanatics often swaggered into the Church, and sat there with their hats on during divine service. Laud, in his anxiety to correct their brutal irreverence, was desirous that they who entered a Church should testify, by an obeisance, directed towards its most hallowed spot, that they were conscious of entering a precinct dedicated to the Majesty of Heaven. The same feeling prompted him to give

* "Some bishops," says Gauden, "pleased themselves with a more ceremonious conformity than others observed. . . . Being aged and learned men, and more conversant with the antiquities of the Church than younger ministers, they found that such ceremonious solemnities in religion were then very much used, without any sin or scandal. . . . This, I suppose, made them hope that they might with the like inoffensiveness add such solemnity to sanctity, and such outward veneration to inward devotion; and yet be as far from Popery and superstition as the ancient Christians were." *Gauden's Tears*, &c. quoted *Nic. Arm. and Calv.* p. 702, note †.

peculiar solemnity to the rite of consecration; the fanatics having maintained that the sacredness of the place walked in and walked out together with the congregation. In short, like many other wise and holy men, he apprehended "that religion would grow strangely wild, hirsute, horrid, and incult, like Nebuchadnezzar's hair and nails, if it were left to the boisterous clowneries, and unmannerly liberties, which many would affect, contrary to the public appointment of the Church."* And therefore it was that he laboured to discourage that pernicious humour which was always ready to burst out into violent alarm, as if "every man went about to cut the throat of the Reformed Religion, who applied scizzars or razor to pare off rudeness and rusticity, or to trim it to any decency of outward ministration."† His zeal in these reforms may possibly have stepped some paces beyond the boundaries of prudence. But surely "a thousand decent ceremonies, such as those enjoyed by the Church of England, do not amount to one Popish opinion; nor are they so heavy as one popular and erroneous principle which tends to licentiousness and profaneness."† It is, therefore, impossible sufficiently to admire the magnanimous contempt of all justice and common sense which could discern, in such matters, a proof of treason or apostasy. It can be exceeded only by the exemplary candour and judgment which, in these days, has laboured to degrade the antagonist of Fisher into a poor and superstitious dotard.

The year 1633 was that of Laud's advancement to the primacy. At London his predecessor had been the passive and indolent Montaigne. At Lambeth he succeeded to the ruined discipline and authority which had been left by Abbot. In either case, therefore, he had to bear a burden, of such formidable accumulation, that it would have bowed down to the earth a less firm and inflexible spirit. His predecessor Abbot, most unfortunately, brought with him to the primacy the theology of Geneva, and probably some secret attachment to her discipline. At all events, if he loved the Church of England, it is most certain that he loved Calvinism infinitely more. He seems, indeed, to have thought that nine-tenths of Christianity were comprized in a detestation for Arminianism and Popery. And accordingly he threw open the gates of the Church for the admission of a tumultuary garrison, animated by a fanatical aversion for the *Anti-Christian* doctrines of general redemption. This fatal relaxation of our ecclesiastical polity he justified to himself by the maxim—"Yield, and they will be pleased at last." When Laud succeeded, he instantly threw himself into the breach, with a directly opposite principle—"Resolve, for there is no end of yielding." The post he under-

* Gauden's Tears, &c.

† Ibid.

took to maintain was one of tremendous peril. But to him difficulty and danger were words almost without meaning when the times required a vigorous course of action. The discharge of his duty to the Church was to him as the breath of life. And accordingly his very first measure, after his promotion to Canterbury, was the revival of an unpopular canonical regulation, that no person should receive holy orders without a title. That this rule is eminently wise and salutary is evinced by the general adherence to it which has survived to this day. At the time of Laud's advancement its usefulness had received a negative but irresistible proof, in the miserable consequences of its long neglect. It never had been enforced by Abbot; and the result was just what might have been expected: the Church was overrun by a multitude of indigent clerks, wholly unprovided with any regular maintenance: and these clerical adventurers were, at all times, ready to undertake itinerant or other lectureships, and to become the heralds of fanaticism and sedition at the will of their puritanical patrons, on whom they were entirely and most abjectly dependent. The steady application of this rule by his predecessors might, doubtless, have prevented measureless confusion, and protected the Church against the influx of an irregular and independent force, whose operations were ruinous to her discipline and stability. Unhappily, the long disuse of this measure gave to the revival of it by Laud the ungracious aspect of an arbitrary innovation. It was reprobated as a fresh instance of the Archbishop's enmity to all genuine godliness, and of his restless passion for the luxury of despotism. The *real* ground of this furious and vindictive clamour is now evident as the light of heaven. It was fatal to the principle of popular election, which is the very life and soul of Nonconformity, and the very bane of the respectability and *true* independence of the clergy.

The interference of the Archbishop with the foreign Protestant churches in this country, and the attempt to force upon them the offices of the Church of England, are proceedings unquestionably alien from our modern notions and principles of toleration. But Laud lived in an age when the rights of conscience were not held sacred by any one party, either political or religious: and, under such circumstances, who can be surprised that he should honestly regard this exercise of controul as absolutely required by the seditious spirit of the times? To him it appeared intolerable that these congregations, while they were enjoying protection and peace in this country, should set an example of alienation from the National Church; and this at a period when her own children at home were most unnaturally failing in their allegiance towards her. And then it would be the deepest injustice to forget, in an

estimate of this and all his measures, his ardent love for the Church of England—his passionate persuasion that she was framed according to the model of apostolic purity and sanctity—and his earnest, though chimerical desire, that her discipline and worship should be spread throughout all Christendom. In the estimation of his adversaries, indeed, this warmth of attachment was among the very blackest of his enormities. In this propensity—as in every word, and deed, and look, and gesture of his—they saw nothing but symptoms of a rooted aversion to the Reformed Faith, and a settled desire for its final overthrow.

The proceedings against Prynne and his brother libellers are too notorious to require a lengthened examination. In these cases, as in that of Leighton, the punishments were frightfully excessive. It is infinitely to be deplored that there was no warning voice to remind the judges of the folly, as well as the cruelty, of punishing men till the sympathies of the world are engaged on their behalf. No writings or ravings of these dogged enthusiasts could have done the government half so much mischief as their public exposure and mutilation. But whatever may have been the absurdity or the barbarity of these inflictions, it is monstrous to heap up their undivided enormity upon the head of Laud. That he approved the sentence is true; but it is also true that he abstained from voting upon it,* because the virulence of the delinquents had been chiefly directed against himself. And then it ought, in all equity, to be kept in mind, that these coarse operations of penal justice were the relics of a sanguinary and uncivilized age. They were the excesses rather of the times than of individuals. In the days of Elizabeth, Stubbs had his right hand cut off merely for an address to the queen, in which he somewhat too bluntly urged her majesty to consult the future peace of her kingdoms by an eligible marriage: and as Laud observes, “Penry was hanged, and Udal condemned, and died in prison, for less than is contained in Mr. Burton’s book.”† No one in our own times will ever think of alleging such instances in vindication of

* His own words are: “In the giving of this sentence I spake my conscience, and was, after, commanded to print my speech. But I gave no vote; because they had fallen so personally upon me, that I doubted many men might think spleen, and not justice, led me to it. . . . Though I did no more than is before mentioned, yet they, and that faction, continued all manner of malice against me: and I had libel upon libel scattered in the streets, and pasted upon posts. And on Friday, July 7, 1637, a note was brought to me of a short libel, pasted on the Cross in Cheapside, that the Archwolf of Canterbury had his hand in persecuting the *saints*, and shedding the blood of the *martyrs*. Now what kind of saints and martyrs these were, may appear by their libellous writings; courses with which saints and martyrs never were acquainted.”—*Troubles and Trials*, pp. 144, 145.

† *Troubles*, &c. p. 145. Penry was the author of *Martin Marprelate*; and Udal was one of his auxiliaries.

the severity inflicted on Prynne and his associates. But they may very justly be produced to repel the malice which seizes this occasion to picture Laud as a monster of inhumanity, and an enemy to the liberties and the religion of his country.

The inauspicious attempt to introduce the English liturgy, and a body of canons, into Scotland, furnishes another long chapter in the volume of the primate's delinquencies. This subject is of course much too copious and complicated for more than a transient notice of it. It is well known that Scottish Episcopacy was shattered by the iron hand of the Reformation. It was broken to pieces like a potter's vessel. James, indeed, busied himself almost his whole life long in collecting the fragments, and gluing them together again. But the task was well nigh hopeless. There was scarcely a possibility of making a good job of it. He did indeed contrive to cement the ruins in such a manner as to give the fabric something of the semblance of what it once had been. After all, however, it was but a sorry exhibition. The joinings and the patching were all visible. The work had no appearance of grandeur or solidity. It was, evidently, ready to fall to pieces on the very first shock. That shock was given it by the rashness of Charles, when, with an outstretched arm, he presented the detested Service-Book to his northern subjects. The enterprise showed how miserably feeble was James's restoration of the former system. The result of the attempt was, that Episcopacy was soon in the dust—that Scotland was in rebellion—and that the people ran to subscribe the solemn league and covenant as if they were writing their names in the book of life. The temporal power of the crown was made to bow before that dominion, in which kings and nobles are but "God's silly vassals;" and the Presbyterian Kirk was raised up in such glory, that she was vaunted to be—"fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners!"

The history of Scotland at this period is, it must be confessed, altogether sufficiently revolting. The truth seems to be, that the inordinate wealth of the Popish Church of Scotland—the profligacy, arrogance, and idleness of its hierarchy—and the despicable ignorance of its clergy—all these together had made the savour of Episcopacy to be so utterly abhorred, that the re-action against it kept the kingdom in a state of agitation for considerably more than a century after. The least fragment of it caused their stomachs to heave, and "cast the gorge." The bowels which were not offended or disturbed by the coarseness, blasphemy, ribaldry, and nonsense of the Presbyterian preachers, were thrown into convulsions by a particle or a drop of the original regimen. As Prynne had declared in England that Christ was a Puritan, so the anti-

prelatists in Scotland discovered that Christ was a Covenanter. The covenant was Christ's marriage contract. They who refused to subscribe it were atheists; and it was maintained from the pulpit, that "the wrath of God would never leave the kingdom till all the prelates were hanged up before the Lord, like the seven sons of Saul." While men were in this temper, it was not wonderful that they should look with an eye of positive fury on all the confidential advisers of the king. Neither was it all surprising that the utmost intensity of their wrath should be directed against the English primate, by whose advice all ecclesiastical measures were supposed to be adopted and conducted.

Their vengeance accordingly embodied itself in the form of a set of Articles, which their commissioners presented to the House of Lords on the 16th December, 1640, and challenging the Prelate of Canterbury as the prime cause on earth of the pernicious innovations which had been recently attempted in their country. The answer which he prepared to those charges may be found in the *History of his Trial and Troubles**—a work which he drew up in the Tower with great care; but which Burnet, in his careless, gossiping, hasty manner, consigns to utter contempt, probably on a very superficial examination of its contents. This sweeping censure was too much even for Warburton; as it must be, we should imagine, for every one who will carefully peruse Laud's noble vindication of himself against the Scottish Articles. For ourselves, we confess we are lost in astonishment at the effrontery or the infatuation which can dare to speak of "the abject imbecility of the intellect" which could produce this defence. To us it appears scarcely possible that any mind, not absolutely deranged by its prejudices, should contemplate this effort without admiration, especially when it is remembered that its author was verging towards his seventieth year, when he was thus tied to the stake, to be "baited with the rabble's curse." Every one must surely be struck with its blunt and vigorous eloquence—with its profound erudition—with its consummate mastery over all the topics involved in the accusation—with the consciousness of integrity which breathes in every line—with the high-minded scorn which it manifests for the combination of malice and ignorance frequently betrayed in the proceedings of his adversaries—with the honest indignation with which it hurls back the stupid and shameless calumny, that he had acted like a traitor to the religious liberties of England and of Scotland, and that he bore within his bosom the heart of an Apostate. That he was in correspondence with the Scottish bishops respecting certain projected alterations, he avows; that the intended Canons were submitted to him for

* Page 87—143.

revisal, he likewise confesses; neither does he attempt to disguise that he assisted in the preparation of the Service-book. But he denies distinctly that he obtruded himself into these offices. He acted throughout by the express injunction of the king; and, with regard to the Liturgy, he declares that his own wish was to introduce that of England unaltered; that, finding this would hardly be endured, he desired to decline all further concern in it; but that, being commanded to assist, he gave his best attention to make them as perfect as might be. It is likewise true that he seems, throughout, to glory in the work, and deeply to regret its failure.

"I will never deny," he exclaims, "the joy, while I live, that I conceived of the Church of Scotland's coming nearer, both in the Canons and the Liturgy, to the Church of England. But our gross unthankfulness both to our God and our King, and our other many and great sins, have hindered this great blessing. And I pray God that the loss of this, which was now almost effected, do not, in a short time, prove one of the greatest mischiefs which ever befel *this* kingdom, and *that* too."*

Again:—

"The worst thought I had of any reformed Church in Christendom, was to wish it like the Church of England, and so much better as it should please God to make it. . . . And I hope that was neither to negotiate for Rome—nor to reduce them to heresy in doctrine—nor to superstition and idolatry in worship—no, nor to tyranny in government; all which are here most wrongfully imputed to me. And the comparing of me to the Pope himself I could bear with more ease, had I not written more against Popish superstition *than any Presbyter of Scotland hath done*. And for my part I could be contented to lay down my life to-morrow, upon condition the Pope and Church of Rome would admit and confirm that Service-book, which hath been here so eagerly charged against me. For, were that done, it would give a greater blow to Popery (which is but the corruption of the Church of Rome) than any that hath yet been given; and that they know full well. . . . The reformed churches had need look well to themselves; for if they came out of Babel to run down to Egypt, they'll get little by the bargain."†

Whether or not this is the language of a mistaken man, may fairly be open to discussion. But we feel quite certain that it is the language of a most able, sincere, and honest man—of a man who imagined that he was employed in devising blessings for the Scottish people, not in forging chains for their bodies and souls; of a man who believed himself engaged in a work which entitled him to gratitude, and not to hatred and persecution unto death.

We cannot forbear to add one more extract, illustrative of the admirable wisdom and moderation of his views on an important point of discipline. The Scotch complained that he had pro-

* Troubles, &c. p. 100.

† Ibid. pp. 134, 135.

posed to omit from the canons the clause by which a minister was to be *deposed*, if he were found *negligent* in converting Papists.

"I did think," he says, "to leave out this on two grounds. The one, that the word *negligent* is too general an expression, and of too large an extent to lay a minister open to deposition. And if Church governors should forget Christian moderation, a very worthy minister might sometimes be undone for a very little negligence. . . . The other ground why I omitted this clause is, because I do not think the Church of Scotland, or any other particular Church, so blessed in her priests, as that every of her ministers is, for learning, and judgment, and temper, able and fit to convert Papists. And therefore I did think then, and do think yet, that it is not so easy a work, or to be made so common, but that it is, and may be, much fitter for some able and selected men to undertake. And if any man think God's gifts in him to be neglected, (as men are apt to overvalue themselves,) let them try their gifts, and labour their conversion, in God's name. But let not the Church by a canon set every man at work, lest their weak and indiscreet performance hurt the cause, and blemish the Church."^{*}

It is remarkable that in this answer, Laud maintains and avows, with the utmost confidence, the unlawfulness of resistance to constituted authority. He does not appear to consider it as a questionable doctrine. Though the enemy was boarding him, he never thought, for a moment, of hauling down these obnoxious colours. The Scotch had complained, that "for their protestations, and other lawful means which they used for their deliverance, Canterbury procured them to be proclaimed rebels." That he procured them to be so proclaimed he positively denies: that he so considered, and so spoke of them, he broadly admits.

"Truly," he says, "I know of no *lawful* means that they used, but taking up arms against the king; and I, for my part, do not conceive that lawful for subjects to do in any cause, of religion or otherwise. And this, I am sure, was the ancient Christian doctrine. . . . They say that I did openly and often speak of them as of rebels and traitors. That, indeed, is true. I did so. And I spake of them as I then thought, and as I think still. For it was as desperate a plotted treason as ever was in any nation. And if they did not think so themselves, what needed their act of oblivion in Scotland? or the like in England, to secure their abettors here?"[†]

We are far from producing this passage in the expectation, or the wish, that the obsolete and unpopular doctrine in question may find grace in the sight of the present generation. We advert to it purely as indicating the noble and unabated courage of the aged prelate; his profound reliance on the justness of his own principles; and his belief that the times demanded an unreserved avowal

* Troubles, &c. p. 103.

† Ibid. pp. 125, 126.

of those principles, even in the very jaws of destruction. Armed, however, as he was in honesty, it was needful, at all events, that he should be immolated. It was necessary, in the first instance, to remove from the presence of the king a faithful and intrepid counsellor, who would loudly and solemnly protest against the sacrifice of Strafford—one who would not, like Williams, tell his sovereign that he had a private conscience and a public conscience, and that, on matters of public import, he was at liberty to consult the latter, and to disregard the former; but one who would plead, trumpet-tongued, against the deep damnation of abandoning to destruction a faithful, devoted, and heroic servant; one, in short, who would join with honest Juxon in speaking to him of the authority of conscience as *one and indivisible*, and in adjuring him, as he valued his present honour and his eternal peace, to perish under the ruins of his palace, rather than consent to violate its dictates. This service the adamant integrity of Laud might have rendered to his sovereign in that hour of darkness. But the children of disobedience were wise in their generation. They saw how necessary it was to deprive the king's unsteady virtue of its best support, and Laud was accordingly despatched to the Tower. It was further necessary, as Ludlow remarks, that the primate should be sacrificed *for the encouragement of the Scotch*; and it was moreover highly expedient that religion should enter largely into his impeachment, since otherwise it might be difficult to maintain the exasperation of the people against their victim. Accordingly both English and Scotch addressed themselves to the work with a sympathy and unity of purpose, which never was more perfectly exemplified in a knot of blood-hounds. Prynne was the leader of the chase, and his voice was heard, baying more loudly and furiously than all the rest; and though he could no longer “prick up his predestinating ears,” his nostril, “sagacious of the quarry,” was in restless and incessant quest. With all this keenness and perseverance, the pack were often grievously at fault. Their wishes, indeed, were *swift to shed blood*; but the scent lay so dull and cold, that their steps were tediously slow; and any thing but revolutionary malice must have been baffled and reduced to despair. It is satisfactory to know that, in the present age, these atrocities are pretty generally consigned to the infamy they deserve. They are reprobated by Mr. Hallam. They are condemned even by his commentator and admirer. They are viewed with abhorrence by all who retain an unperverted sense of righteousness and humanity. With regard to the general merits of the Long Parliament, there may be, at this hour, every possible shade and variety of opinion. But where is the man who can re-

flect on their brutal and shameless oppression of Laud, without feeling the truth of the exclamation,

————— “ δόλια βελευτήρια,
ψευδῶν ἀνακτες, μηχανορραφοὶ κακῶν,
ἔλικτα, κ' οὐκ ἐν ὕγιει, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ
φρονοῦντες—ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖτ' ἂν 'Ελλάδα.”*

And what bosom does not echo the solemn meditations of our own poet,† on this disgraceful sacrifice?

“ Pursued by Hate, debarred from friendly care ;
An old weak man for vengeance thrown aside,
Long ‘ in the painful art of dying’ tried,
(Like a poor bird entangled in a snare,
Whose heart still flutters, though his wings forbear
To stir in useless struggle,) Laud relied
Upon the strength which Innocence supplied,
And in his prison breathed celestial air.
Why tarries then thy chariot? Wherefore stay,
O Death! the ensanguined yet triumphant wheels,
Which thou prepar’st, full often, to convey,
(What time a State with madding faction reels)
The Saint or Patriot to the world that heals
All wounds, all perturbations doth allay?”

We cannot forbear to dwell for a moment on the mode of procedure against the archbishop, as furnishing a magnificent specimen of the justice of revolutionary tribunals. It would seem as if the malice of his assailants, baffled by the difficulty of finding matter against him, indemnified itself by calculating on his demolition at the rate of so many grains a day. He was committed on the 18th December, 1640. He remained in the custody of the Black Rod for ten weeks, at a ruinous charge to himself, before the articles of impeachment were brought up to the Lords. On the 26th February, 1641, the articles were exhibited. On the first of March he was committed to the Tower, and there he actually was kept for nearly *three years*, without a trial, to the imminent danger of his health and the dilapidation of his fortunes. During this period the work of persecution and confiscation went vigorously forward. An assessment of £16,000 was imposed on his estates, by way of damages to Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, and a fine of £20,000 for his share in the proceedings of the Convocation, in enacting canons after the dissolution of parliament, although this measure was not ventured upon without the express sanction of the crown lawyers. In other respects too he was treated like one whose guilt was already established. He was stripped of the ecclesiastical patronage attached to the pri-

* Eurip. *Androm.*

† Wordsworth.

macy. His revenues were sequestered, his palace seized, and himself exposed to the miseries of indigence and privation; reduced to the necessity of petitioning for an allowance out of his own property, and, at last, of living, in a considerable measure, on the bounty of his friends. To complete this course of outrageous iniquity, his papers at Lambeth were seized. His apartments in the Tower, and even his very pockets, were rifled by Prynne, under a parliamentary warrant; and a mass of papers, which he had prepared for his defence, together with his Diary and prayer book, were taken from him; and, lastly, the books of the Council Table, Star Chamber, High Commission, &c., were (as he complains) exquisitely searched for matter against him, and yet he was wholly denied the use of them for the purposes of his vindication! And thus it was that, to use his own expression, he was "sifted to the very bran." And yet he exclaims,

"I am thus far glad even of this sad accident; for by my Diary your lordships have seen the passages of my life; and by my prayer book the greatest secrets between God and my soul; so that you may be sure that you have me at the very bottom. Yet, blessed be God, no disloyalty is found in the one, no popery in the other."*

For three years was the aged archbishop thrown aside to languish in prison without a trial. And when the hate of his enemies was at leisure to remember him, the indefatigable malignity of Prynne was employed to put together the pieces of *this broken business*. To Prynne, likewise, was entrusted the marshalling of the evidence—to Prynne the most inveterate of the prelate's enemies—to Prynne, who notoriously "kept a kind of school of instruction" for the preparation of the witnesses, wherein his "tampering was so palpable and foul," that one who was a stranger to Laud, said that "he could not but pity him, and cry shame upon it."† At one time the spirit of the archbishop was nearly sinking under the weight of this detestable conspiracy, and he had even some thoughts of "deserting his defence." This despondency, however, he speedily shook off, and fixed his hopes, under God, upon the "honour and justice of the Lords," who were to try him. The trial came—and then it was apparent that, to rely on their integrity, was to lean on the staff of a broken reed. The following statement must surely consign to everlasting contempt the august body which sat in judgment on the archbishop.

"It did trouble me," he says, "to see so few lords in that great house. For, at the greatest presence there was, any day of my hearing, there were not above *fourteen*, and usually not above eleven or twelve. Of these, one-third each day took or had occasion to depart before the charge of the day was half given. *I never had any one day the same*

* Troubles, &c. p. 412.

† Ibid. p. 219.

lords all the morning : some leading lords scarce present at my charge *four days* of all my long trial, or *three* at my defence ; and, which is most, *no one lord present* at my whole trial, but the Lord Gray of Wark, the speaker !”*

When the hearing came on, the charge against him usually lasted till two o'clock. He was allowed till *four* only to prepare his answer, scarcely time enough to peruse the evidence, and his counsel were not permitted to come to him till his answer had been made. His witnesses were not allowed to be sworn, and after his answer one or more of the committee replied upon him. By this time it was generally about half past seven ; and then, weary and exhausted, and with his clothes wringing with perspiration, he was obliged to go back in the evening by water to the Tower.† Such was the treatment of the Primate of all England, before the assembly of his peers ; and this too when he was bowing under age and infirmity, and worn down with a life of anxiety and toil. His mighty spirit, however, bore him bravely and stiffly up, under all hardships and indignities ; and he says himself, “ I humbly thank God he so preserved my health, that I never had so much as half an hour’s headache or other infirmity all the time of this comfortless and tedious trial.”

On the 2d of November he was summoned to the bar of the Commons, (being held no longer entitled to the privileges of a peer,) and was told by the speaker that an ordinance was drawn up to attain him of high treason, but that they would not pass it till they had heard a summary of the whole charge ; which was accordingly delivered. On the 11th November he was allowed to pronounce his defence ; and this he did with such consummate ability, such intrepid bearing, and such evident consciousness of innocence and high-desert, that it won him the admiration of all men, and extorted expressions of wonder and commendation even from Prynne himself. The rest of his history is too well known to need repetition. He poured out his soul unto death with the calmness that became a Christian bishop ; and to this day his blood cries out of the dust against the wickedness which sought his life.

And does not his memory cry out as loudly against the malice which has pursued it from that time to this ? Is it not wonderful that any one should now be found to declare himself persuaded, that Laud was in his heart a deliberate enemy to the liberties and the religion of his country ? We are not so insane as to undertake the vindication of all his measures. We venture on nothing so desperate as the defence of every article of his political creed. We are willing, at least for the sake of argument, to surrender

* Troubles, &c. p. 217, 218.

† Ibid. p. 218.

his theory of the constitution to the *tender mercies* of the most licentious modern whiggery. Our souls have no delight in the spectacle of episcopacy invested with the robe of political or religious inquisition. We reflect with no complacency on the apparition of a churchman, holding the crozier in one hand, and the seals of civil office in the other. We heartily rejoice that the elements of our polity have at least fallen into a combination, which can scarcely ever produce or endure a repetition of such phenomena. But these avowals we hold to be perfectly consistent with our veneration for the memory of Laud, and with a cordial abhorrence for the virulent and contemptuous spirit which still frequently assails his name.

To his alleged political delinquencies it cannot be necessary to revert at length. With regard to them, the whole case lies in the compass of a nutshell. His own natural disposition, it may be conceded, was somewhat arbitrary and austere. He could look with no indulgence on whatever tended towards anarchy and confusion. His principles as a churchman were in harmony with this temper. As he, and as most divines then read the Scriptures, rebellion was one form of impiety; and resistance to the prince, was treason against heaven. No wonder then that he watched with emotions of dismay the spirit which was then abroad, and which, as he believed, was threatening the church and the monarchy with destruction. No wonder if he wrought himself into a full and honest conviction that "*thorough*" and decisive measures were required to guard from invasion the legal rights of the throne, and to preserve the empire from ruin and dishonour. We eschew the temerity and hardihood of affirming that his views as a statesmen were always wise, or that his mode of prosecuting them was uniformly prudent. A burning zeal and a cholerick temperament overpowered, occasionally, his better judgment: but it is the cruellest of all injustice, to ascribe his errors to the influence of a cankered and malignant heart. He has been charged with traitorous designs against the *fundamental laws* of the country. We are satisfied, on the contrary, that his design was to support the *fundamental laws*, as they were understood by himself and by other illustrious men of his day. And they who hate his memory most bitterly must allow that his purposes were wholly untainted with sordid and worldly wisdom. He followed his convictions honestly, faithfully, and courageously. No perversion has yet been able to defraud him of the praise of disinterestedness, or to fix upon him the guilt of selfish duplicity and falsehood.

But the ravings of the malcontent have always been directed mainly against Laud's administration of the Church. It is here

that the features and the attributes of the evil Spirit are said to be most fearfully discernible! He has been painted as the presiding demon of the Star-Chamber; as the arch-fiend of the English inquisition; as a monster that never was at rest unless he had "*Puritans to pillory and to mangle.*" On this matter a word or two may be expedient, because we suspect that to this day there is much confusion of thought prevailing upon it, in spite of all that has been said or written upon the subject.

It must be remembered, then, that the administration of church government in those days involved two distinct objects: first, the treatment of such persons as came under the general description of sectarians, or separatists; and second, the exaction of uniformity in the celebration of public worship within the Established Church.

Now with regard to the former of these two objects, it is hardly possible at this day for any mortal to open his lips in palliation of the conduct of such men as Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud, without being saluted with a shout of derision and mockery. We live in an age which recognizes the right of every individual to leave the Church for the Conventicle, and the Conventicle for the Church, or to divide his favours impartially between them, or to abandon both Church and Conventicle altogether. The consequence is, that most men have lost the faculty of comprehending that there ever could be a time, when it was thought lawful and right to punish or to molest individuals for worshipping God conformably to the dictates of their conscience or their caprice. It is needful, therefore, to remind them that there have been such times; and that as the law then stood, it fell within the positive duty of ecclesiastical governors to animadvert upon revolt and defection from the national communion. It may further be confessed, that they sometimes addressed themselves to the discharge of this duty with a zeal and ardour scarcely credible in these days of liberal indifference; and that, when examined by the light we now enjoy, their proceedings were occasionally such as might appear to wear a fierce and unfeeling aspect. It must lastly be stated, that the tribunals, by which those proceedings were chiefly carried on, were of an arbitrary and dangerous nature, and have since been indignantly swept away from the constitution.

It may possibly be asked, how oppression like this could ever be endured? and the answer is, that it was not endured very patiently; and by none so impatiently as by those who "*hotly lusted*" to inflict the same oppression themselves; whose fingers were actually quivering with eagerness to grasp the two-edged sword of temporal and spiritual authority. It has been said by Warburton that Laud was for an arbitrary king, and for an in-

tolerant church. We should be glad to know who, in those days, was *not* for an intolerant church? If the prelates were for an intolerant church, that many-headed bishop, the presbytery, was for a church beyond all comparison more intolerant. The persecuted saints detested the rulers of the episcopal establishment, not merely as tyrants, but as usurpers. Their complaint was that the meek and holy ones of the earth were kept out of their inheritance by hirelings and apostates. They looked forward with sickening expectation to those blessed times when the secular arm should be at the command of God's elect, and execute his righteous judgments upon heretics, prelatists, and all other enemies of holiness. A system of indulgence and toleration they loudly scorned and denounced as an abomination and a snare; as no less than a perfidious abandonment of the cause of truth. And when their day was come, most luminous and faithful was the *practical* commentary which they put forth upon the texts that had been eternally in their mouths! All this is perfectly notorious: and all this must be distinctly in the mind of every speculator of our history. And yet we find the memory of such men as Laud made a *hissing and a curse*; as if intolerance were exclusively the vice of the rulers of the Establishment; as if the sectarians sought only the peaceable enjoyment of their own tiresome absurdities; and as if the faction, who cried out against the inhuman bigotry of the Church, had any other object under heaven, but to secure for themselves a strict monopoly in the privilege of persecution.

The enforcement of uniformity in the services and ceremonies of the Church was another object of ecclesiastical administration: and nothing can be more outrageously absurd than the clamour against the hierarchy for their faithful discharge of this duty. That we may be able to comprehend this the more clearly, let us consider for a moment what we should think of any bishop of modern days who should surrender the rites and formularies of the Church to the caprices or the scruples which might at any time be wandering up and down his diocese? What should we say if he were to suffer his clergy to use, or to omit, at their pleasure, the cross in baptism, or the ring in matrimony, or the surplice at the desk or the altar; or should allow the communion table to be dragged from the eastern wall into the middle of the Church, at the fancy of dissenting or radical churchwardens? And what right could men have to murmur in those days, if the supreme authorities enforced, in these particulars, a compliance with the law of the land, and with the usages and the canons of the Establishment? And how, more especially, could the members of the clerical body have the effrontery to complain of habits and of ceremonies, their compliance with which they knew to be an express condition of

their being allowed to enter the ministry? The matter may, perhaps, be best illustrated by reference to another profession. Let us, then, imagine some captain, of paralytic conscience, to appear before his colonel for military nonconformity; and to state, in his defence, that he was Christ's soldier and servant—that he had renounced all worldly pomp and vanity—that, accordingly, he begged, among other things, especially to protest against the abominations of lace and embroidery, and to represent that a man can fight as stoutly for his king in drab dittos, as in regimental foppery. We need hardly suggest what would be the answer of the commandant, and how utterly unmoved he would be by all outcry against the wickedness of molesting and cashiering brave men for the sake of frogs and tinsel. And why should greater respect be due to clerical consciences which might be afflicted by that livery of superstition, the hood and surplice? But upon this matter let us hear Laud himself.

“All I laboured for in this particular was, that the external worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness. And this the rather, because first I found that, from the contempt of the outward worship of God, the inward fell away apace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself. And, secondly, because I could speak with no conscientious persons, almost, that were wavering in religion, but the great motive which wrought upon them to disaffect, or think meanly of the Church of England, was that the external worship of God was so lost in the Church, (as they conceived it,) and the churches themselves, and all things in them suffered to lye in such a base and slovenly fashion in most places of the kingdom. These, and no other considerations, moved me to take so much care as I did of it; which was with a single eye, and most free from any Romish superstition. *As for ceremonies, all that I enjoined were according to law.*”*

Where then—we should be glad to ask of whig, or radical, or liberal, or nonconformist, or free-thinking Christian—where is the bigotry and the despotism of the Archbishop's proceedings? and where, among modern legislators, or even lawyers, could be found the impudence which should thrust such matters as these into an impeachment of high treason? But it was the peculiar misery of Laud to succeed a prelate who *cared for none of these things*. Whether from indolence, or from timidity, or from a contempt for the decent solemnities of divine worship, or from his admiration of the whole pandects of the Calvinistic system, Abbot had suffered a shameful waste and dilapidation to overrun the lawful discipline of the Establishment. He had suffered the sacred edifices to become so ruinous and filthy, that they almost caused the services of the Lord to be abhorred. He permitted the commu-

* Troubles, &c. p. 150.

nion table to remain in the body of the church, wholly unprotected from perpetual desecration and pollution. He allowed the hallowed enclosure of the Establishment to be haunted by every form and variety of disorder. It was the fate of Laud to perform a lustration of the violated sanctuary, and to cast out the unclean and hateful things which had made their dwelling there; and the ignorant rabble were, accordingly, taught to curse him, not only as the minister of tyranny, but as the hierophant of superstition.

A more serious accusation against him is, that he cruelly vexed and persecuted the painful and godly ministers of the Gospel. The plain truth of this matter is, that he used the powers which the law put into his hand for the suppression of polemical and inflammatory preaching, which was then employed to send into every corner of the realm a spirit of frantic disaffection to the hierarchy and the throne. And beyond all question, if the sanctuary were to be desecrated by similar abuses at the present day, the case would be eminently fit for the paternal castigation of the diocesan, or for the more vigorous good offices of his majesty's attorney-general. It never could be endured for a moment, that virulent libels against Church and State should be vented from the chair of spiritual instruction; or that the pulpit should be converted into the rostrum of sedition. Neither can it be doubted, that it would have been a cowardly abandonment of duty if the Primate of all England, in those times, had looked passively on, while faction and fanaticism were taking counsel together, and strengthening the hands of each other. The tribunals then resorted to for the suppression of such outrages were, indeed, formidably adverse to the liberties of the country. But Laud found them established; and it would be the consummation of absurdity and injustice to make him answerable for the vices of their constitution. But on this point, again, let us hear the accused speak for himself; and then let us say whether his accusers ought not to have blushed for their iniquity.

“ I have not by myself, nor by my command to my officers, silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, or excommunicated any learned, pious, and orthodox preachers, but upon just cause proved in court, *and according to law*. . . . Nor have I, by their suspensions, hindered the preaching of God's word, but of *schism and sedition*; as now appears plainly by the sermons frequently made in London* since the time of liberty given and taken, since this parliament first began. . . . And whereas in their late remonstrance they say—*the high commission grew to such excess of sharpness and severity as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition, and yet, in many cases, by the Archbishop's power was made much more heavy, being*

* A very curious collection of specimens of puritanical eloquence may be found in Nicolls' Arminianism and Calvinism compared.

*assisted and strengthened by the authority of the council-table—I was much troubled at it, that such an imputation from so great a body should be fastened on me. . . . Therefore, to satisfy myself and others in this particular, I did cause a diligent search to be made in the Acts of that court, (which can deceive no man,) what suspensions, deprivations, and other punishments had passed in the seven years of my time before my commitment. Then I compared them with every one of the three seven years of my immediate predecessor (Abbot)—for so long he sat, and somewhat over, and was in great esteem with the House of Commons all his time—and I find more by three suspended, deprived, or degraded, in every seven years of his time, than in the seven years of my time, so cried out upon for sharpness and severity, even to the equalling of that commission almost to the Romish Inquisition. So safe a thing it is for a man to embark himself into a potent faction; and so hard for any other man, be he never so intire, to withstand its violence.”**

We should hardly have been tempted to revert to such topics as these, had it not been lately asserted, that a schism about trifles, in the time of Elizabeth and of the first Stuarts, was converted by persecution into a systematic political opposition. We protest against this representation, as most egregiously insidious and unjust; as tending to arm all the resentments of mankind against the Church, and to engage all their sympathies on the part of the Presbyterians. It would be a much more righteous statement of the case to say, that the opposition in question was, mainly, the result of a struggle for existence on the part of the Establishment, and for supremacy on the part of the Nonconformists. The malcontent faction was, for a time, defeated; and, of course, it was filled with “unconquerable hate;” and became, at length, the natural sanctuary for all the turbulence which before might happen to be afloat in the political system. And hence the conflict, which terminated in the overthrow of the Church and the Monarchy. That Calvinism and Presbyterianism are “*no such monsters*” at the present day, *may* very possibly be true. Time and circumstances may have done much to tame them. At the period in question, however, their claws were sharp, and their fangs venomous, and their temper desperately savage. It was necessary to protect the public against their furious and destructive aggressions: and the measures taken for this purpose were not so much measures of persecution, as measures of precaution and self-defence. To change our illustration:—the fruits which, in their early growth, were corrosive and deleterious, are at present, perhaps, comparatively mild and innocent. *Crudi posuere pericula succi*. But we must not too hastily condemn those who manifested the most violent aversion and disgust at the austerity of their original flavour.

* Troubles, &c. pp. 163, 164.

Of all the repulsive peculiarities of the Holy Discipline, as it exhibited itself in those days, there was none, perhaps, so remarkable as its coarse and hard-featured resemblance to the Popery, which was the object of its professed abhorrence. The Presbyterian system was, in its principles, as sternly and avowedly intolerant as the Pontifical chair. It extended no hope of salvation beyond the pale of its own communion. It affected a dominion paramount to all earthly magistracy. It proclaimed a war of extermination against heresy. It was ready to compass earth and sea for proselytes. Violence and terror were employed to establish its infallibility; and if Popery had its Council of Trent, Calvinism had its Synod of Dort. If it abjured the idolatry of the mass, it may fairly be said to have found a substitute in the ordinance of preaching;* for, to the Presbyterian, the sermon was almost as much the life and soul of public worship, as the sacrifice of the Eucharist was to the Catholic. If it renounced altogether the *merit* of ritual performances, it seemed to indemnify itself by setting up, instead, the *merit* of neglecting them. Lastly, if the Romish discipline tended to transfer the care of men's consciences from the sinner to the priest, precisely similar to this was the effect of the System of Geneva—if we may trust to the representation of it by Milton; who has left us a picture of the domestic conscience-keeper, touched with inimitable force of caustic humour. As the prose works of Milton are not now in the hands of every one, we are quite certain that our readers will be glad to see it introduced here.

“A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things *only* because his pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any burden that some would gladlier put off to another, than the charge and care of their religion. There be—who knows not that there be?—of *Protestants and professors, who live in as arrant and implicit faith, as any lay Papist of Loretto*. A wealthy man, addicted to his pleasures and to his profits, finds religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that, of all myste-

* The almost superstitious estimation in which preaching was held by the Puritans, is thus adverted to by Laud in his Conference.

“I have often heard some wise men say, that the Jesuit in the Church of Rome and the precise party in the Reformed Churches agree in many things, though they would seem most to differ. And surely this is one: for both of them differ extremely about tradition; the one in magnifying it, and exalting it into Divine authority; the other vilifying it, and depressing it almost beneath human. And yet, even in these different ways, both agree in this consequent: *that the sermons and preachings by word of mouth of the lawfully sent pastors and doctors of the Church are able to breed in us Divine and infallible faith; nay, are the very word of God*. And no less than so, have some accounted their own factious words as the word of God. . . . And it may be observed too, that no men are more apt to say that all the Fathers were but men, and might err, than they that think their own preachings are infallible.”—*Conference with Fisher*, p. 100.

ries, he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? Fain would he have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he, therefore, but resolves to give over toiling, and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; some divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys, into his custody; and, indeed, makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say, his religion is now no more within himself, but is become an individual moveable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him. His religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep; rises, is saluted; and (after the malmsey, or some well-spiced brewage, and better breakfasted than He, whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem) his religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop,—trading without his religion!”*

Such being the notorious character and tendency of the *Calvinistic* fanaticism, we may readily imagine the indignation and disdain of the *Arminian* Laud, on finding himself assailed and hunted down as the confederate of Popery. The preceding outline of his history will enable us to trace the rise and progress of this despicable slander: and every one, conversant with those times, must now perceive, that, to charge him with a design to subvert the Protestant religion, would be about as reasonable, as to affirm that he was a party to the Gunpowder Plot. The calumny, however, did its office. The falsehood was eminently serviceable in its day; and (as he himself complains) contributed more to his ruin than double of all the other machinations against him. Even to this hour, it carries on a sort of ambushed warfare against his fame. The inaccurate, or superficial student of history, is still apt to rise with a secret, undefined impression, that there must, after all, have been something unsound in the religious principles of a man who, all his life long, was gored and worried by a faction that seemed to thirst incessantly for the blood of *Papists*. And thus it is that his memory has been defrauded of due reverence and honour, and that the Church has lost a portion of that strength which she derives from the fame of her most illustrious fathers.

Among the circumstances which in his own time greatly strengthened the belief of his apostasy, was the offer of a cardinal's hat, made to him on the very morning that his predecessor,

* Milton's *Areopag.* Prose Works, vol. i. p. 316, Ed. Symm. This was written in 1645, when the Church was depressed, and the Presbyterian system triumphant.

Abbot, expired. The affair, unquestionably, has, at first sight, a very odd appearance; and, to our apprehension, the mystery is not instantly cleared up by the nature of the Archbishop's demeanour on the occasion. If, at this day, a person, professing to be an emissary of Rome, were to wait on the Primate of all England with a similar proposal, His Grace would, probably, lose no time in bowing the gentleman out of the room; and having done so, he would, doubtless, congratulate himself on having got rid of a visitor not altogether right in his mind! Nothing could be more different from this than the conduct of Laud. He seems to have betrayed neither astonishment, nor indignation, nor disturbance of any kind. He calmly replied to the person who came to him in secret with the offer, that "something dwelt within him which would not suffer that, till Rome was otherwise than it was at the present time."* To us such an answer seems, at first sight, strangely ambiguous and faint. We should perhaps have expected that he would meet the proposal much in the same manner that St. Basil or St. Ambrose would have received an offer of election into the College of Augurs or Pontifices: whereas, the language of his refusal seems to imply that there was nothing extravagantly absurd in the arrangement; and that, if Rome would but submit to some material reforms in her system, the Archbishop of Canterbury might, without any violation of consistency, become a member of the sacred conclave.

A moment's consideration may be sufficient to solve what, at first sight, appears absolutely inexplicable. In the present age, a reconciliation between the Romish and the Protestant communities appears to be as utterly chimerical, as a coalition between the religion of the Cross and that of the Crescent. A *Protestant Cardinal* sounds, to our ears, almost as strange as a *Christian Imâm*. But, in the days of Laud, the case was widely different. The breach between the Churches was then by no means universally regarded as altogether desperate.† It was, indeed, a most

* Diary, p. 49.

† The prevalent feeling, that the breach with Rome was not absolutely irreparable, may help to account for the very courteous and complimentary style of intercourse which was occasionally kept up with her by some distinguished Protestants. Sully relates‡ that he received from Paul V. a singularly flattering epistle, conceived in the strongest terms of esteem and admiration, but expressive of ardent wishes for his conversion. On the topic of conversion, Sully, in reply, says not one syllable; but, in the matter of compliment, he pays his holiness in his own coin; and even talks of the honour of *kissing his feet*: a strain of civility which, he confesses, might rather discompose his Protestant friends. It is well known that James I. considered himself as a sort of martyr—certainly not less than a confessor—of the Protestant faith; and yet did the pope invite this Protestant confessor to send his son, prince Henry, to Rome, for the completion of his education; a proposal which, though declined, was declined with courtesy. It will also be recollected that Charles I. addressed the pope in a style

‡ Vol. iv. p. 20, English Translation.

tremendous schism; but one which (according to the views of many) it was not wholly beyond the power of charity and wisdom to repair. It is probable, indeed, that the utter hopelessness of any such attempt was well understood at Rome. But the mother and mistress of all Churches would have strangely forgotten her cunning, had she proclaimed to the world that the gates of reconciliation were shut for ever; or, had she renounced the advantage, sure to result to her from an attempt, which, she well knew, must end in a more full exposure of the disunion of her enemies. There was nothing, therefore, in the proposal to Laud which was at all contrary to her policy; and it had this signal recommendation—that, whatever might be its success, the very offer itself would probably throw suspicion and discredit on one, whom she notoriously hated as her most formidable adversary.

These considerations, we apprehend, may be sufficient to render this whole transaction quite intelligible. They may help us both to account for the offer itself, and to explain the peaceable reception given to it by the archbishop. The proposal was, certainly, not treated by him as it would be treated now. He did not repel it as an insult. He did not reject it as a visionary scheme. He calmly intimated that great changes must take place at Rome, before an Anglican prelate could become a member of her hierarchy. And there can be no question, that, when he gave this answer, he contemplated, with perfect integrity of heart, the possibility, at least, of such a coalition, as might enable a Protestant churchman to accept, without breach of conscience, the patronage of the Roman pontiff. In his reply to the Article of Impeachment, which charged him with a traitorous attempt to reconcile the two Churches, he most distinctly avows that he did both wish and labour for such a reconciliation. He declares that he ever heartily prayed for the unity of the whole Church of Christ, and for the peace of torn and divided Christendom. His desire was that England and Rome might meet together, provided their union might be accomplished without a sacrifice of truth, or an abandonment of foundations. But if this could be done, God forbid—he exclaims—but I should labour for a reconciliation. The language in which he proceeds to repel the imputation of a traitorous design against the Protestant faith, is such as might be expected to burst from a heart outraged beyond all endurance by the remorseless iniquity of his oppressors:

“ I do here make my solemn protestation in the presence of God and of

which, in the present day, would hardly be regarded as quite consistent with sincere Protestantism. Now all this leering and ogling between Rome and her revolted subjects could hardly have taken place, if reconciliation had been considered as something perfectly visionary, and beyond the pale of possibility.

this great court, that I am innocent of anything, greater or less, that is charged in this Article, or any part of it. . . . Let nothing be tendered against me but truth, and I do challenge whatsoever is between heaven and hell to come in and witness whatever is against me in this particular.”*

But although Laud thus openly and intrepidly avowed his desire for a † reconciliation, which might concede to Rome a precedence of honour among the Christian Churches, it appears that, at last, he entertained no very sanguine hopes of success. He was apprehensive—as he declares—that “some tenets of the Roman party, on the one side, and some deep and embittered disaffection on the other,” had rendered the design impracticable. It is nevertheless most revolting to see an Archbishop of Canterbury pursued with *railing accusations* for a liberal and charitable project, which had the cordial good wishes of Grotius, and other illustrious men; and which was actually revived by another Archbishop of Canterbury ‡ early in the following century.

And now—in conclusion—what shall we say of this man? Was he faithless to his country and his God? Was he without all sense of moral and religious obligation? Was he haunted solely by the furies of a malignant temper? Was he a conspirator against the fundamental laws of England? Was he either a corruptor of the national religion, or a traitor to it? Or—if none of these—was he the driveller and the dotard which he has, of late been represented? Was he, in short, the “monster or the idiot” on whom the Church, with maternal infatuation, has lavished her especial favour and affection? Is it possible to listen to such ravings as these without being saddened at the thought, that a deceiving spirit will sometimes steal even into the study of the historian?

A candid mind can surely have no difficulty in forming a just estimate of the worth of Laud. In temper he was, perhaps, untractable; in manner impetuous and repulsive; in opinion stiff, and occasionally obstinate. His very virtues were of a severe and somewhat forbidding physiognomy. Both his excellencies and his failings, however, were intimately connected with a detestation of all iniquity. He seems to have had no conception of a compromise with delinquency, whether in high places or in low. He was prepared, at all times, to *set his face, like a flint*, against every quarter from which danger was to be apprehended to the

* Troubles, &c. p. 162.

† Much interesting information respecting this project may be found in Nicolls' Arminianism and Calvinism compared: a compilation which contains a vast mass of important and curious matter; thrown together, however, in such unfortunate confusion, as often to render it nearly useless and unmanageable.

‡ Wake.

interests of virtue and religion, to the service of his king, or to the honour and stability of the Church; and hence it was that he provoked the rage of the Puritans, the pride, licentiousness, and cupidity of the courtiers, and—more bitter than all—the malignity of the Scots. He abhorred and dreaded the demon which then seemed to possess the people; but he was unable to cast it out, (for it was then the hour and the power of darkness;) and accordingly the evil spirit *leaped upon him, and overcame him, and prevailed against him.* He despised the selfish arrogance of the aristocracy, and confronted it, perhaps, with something too much of the pride of churchmanship. He further was resolved that the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and, accordingly, he dragged the vices of the great before the spiritual judgment-seat. And thus he armed against himself *principalities and powers* of another kind: till at last the court and the faction were emulous of each other in their zeal for his destruction. He, lastly, at the command of his sovereign, made a desperate assault on the prejudices of the Scottish nation, and this at a time when all the elements within her were ripe for commotion at the very first signal. The weapon was, unhappily, launched at the flanks of a monster “teeming with arms.”* The presiding power was instantly and implacably incensed; and, shortly after, the ministers of vengeance—voluminous and scaly reptiles—were seen rolling towards him, with erect crest and sanguinary glare, to crush and to devour him!

In the midst of the perils with which his unflinching and stern integrity had surrounded him, his spirit never seems to have quailed for an instant. For years together he heard the cry becoming deeper and deeper, but yet his eye was ever steadily fixed upon his adversaries. His name was often placarded over the town as an enemy to God and man; but there was within him a sense of duty to God and man, which kept him serene and unmoved, in the midst of the plague that walked in darkness, and the arrow that flew by noon. When the dogs of persecution were close at his heels, his fortitude remained unshaken. He presented a firm and undaunted front to the very last, and came forth to his death with the cheerful aspect of one who is conqueror, and more than conqueror. And let it be remembered, that this was not the intrepidity of a stubborn and brutal temper; for his *Diary* speaks in the language of human apprehension respecting the dangers that arrayed themselves against him; and it speaks, too, in the language of heavenly forgiveness respecting the malice of his adversaries. Neither was his firmness the result of a robust and hardy constitution; for feebleness and suffering had been his por-

* *Fœta armis*, .En. i. p. 237.

tion, even from his earliest childhood. His was a moral and religious courage, which made him strong in the midst of weakness; which gave him youth and lustiness, while bowing beneath the load of adversity and age.

To the meekness of Laud under calumny and persecution, the following noble testimony is borne by Limborch:—

“The very reverend William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who on account of his religion was beheaded by hot zealots, here shows himself entitled to the highest admiration. Though attacked with grievous accusations, and loaded with numerous calumnies, in his most familiar letters to Vossius he gives no utterance to curses against his ferocious enemies; but, imitating the example of his Saviour, when reviled, he reviled not again; and when attacked, he threatened not, but blessed them who cursed him, and poured forth the most ardent prayers for his persecutors.”*

Now, even if the letters to Vossius were not extant to speak for themselves, the report of Limborch would be superior to all exception; for, Arminian as he was, he was the friend and correspondent of Locke, and notoriously attached to free institutions. Here, then, we have a character, which has been spurned at as more worthy of “*unmitigated contempt than any other in our history*,” and which, yet, exhibits a most exalted pattern of magnanimity and forgiveness:—a temper so “*diabolical*” as to have been the torment of its possessor, and yet open to the most blessed influences of Christian meekness! The forgiving disposition of Cranmer, we have been told, belonged to the character of the man; it was the virtue of “*a class who are never vindictive and never grateful; whose only object is self-preservation; and who, for this, conciliate those who wrong them, just as they abandon those who serve them.*” This is the way in which resolute, hardy, unscrupulous prejudice can reason down virtues into vices. But how is malice itself to dispose of the placability of Laud? Although he forgave his enemies, he did little enough to *conciliate* them; and, as for his personal safety, he seems, all his life through, to have held it in utter disregard, when brought into competition with the demands of duty. What, then, shall we say? Was he (to put the question in the language of the calumniator)—was he “*above revenge, or below it?*”—was he a Christian, in whom religious principle was strong enough to master his just resentments?—or, was he a mean-spirited, tame, pigeon-livered wretch, who “*did lack gall to make oppression bitter?*” We leave this inquiry to the same high-minded sagacity which has endeavoured to vilify the patience and clemency of Cranmer. It may

* Limborch's Preface to the *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Epistolæ*, quoted in Nic. Arm. and Calv. *Introd.* p. cxxxi.

be a gratifying exercise of ingenuity to reconcile courage under affliction, and long suffering under injuries, with an infernal temper, and a character that merits nothing but contempt!

Our readers would, probably, be wearied by much additional reference to the scornful estimate which has been presented to us of Laud's intellectual powers. We shall therefore content ourselves with calling in the testimony of John Hales, who, we presume, will hardly be rejected as an incompetent witness on a question of mental endowment. It is well known that some views and principles were held by that admirable scholar and Christian, tending to an undue disparagement of the authority of the Church; and that, by the archbishop's invitation, he attended at Lambeth, for the purpose of a personal conference with his Grace. From this encounter they came in, says Heylin, "high-coloured, almost panting for breath, enough to show that there had been some heats between them, not then fully cooled." And Hales afterwards confessed,

"that he found the archbishop, whom he knew before to be a nimble disputant, to be as well versed in books as in business; that he had been ferreted by him out of one hole into another, till there was none left to afford him shelter any where; that he was now resolved to be orthodox, and to declare himself a true son of the Church, both for doctrine and discipline; that to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his Grace's chaplain, because by naming his Lord and patron in his public prayers, the greater notice might be taken of the alteration."

Now we do hope that there is not quite folly or impudence enough extant in the world, to set up the flippancies of Laud's detractor against the judgment and the experience of such a man as Hales! It has, indeed, been insinuated by some, that he was enlightened rather by his Grace's patronage, than by his arguments or his abilities. It would be the most shameful of all injuries to the memory of this incomparable person, to deem a syllable *necessary* in answer to so disgraceful a calumny. The very name of Hales *the ever memorable* is sufficient for its demolition. To Laud's eternal honour, however, it ought to be mentioned that he obtained for his convert a canonry of Windsor; and it is impossible to advert to this fact, without adding, that nothing but strong importunity could overcome the reluctance of Hales to accept this preferment. He soon lost it, together with his Eton Fellowship, on the first eruption of the Civil Wars; and died afterwards in actual beggary. He survived his patron, however, many years; and when he heard of his murder, burst into tears, and ardently wished that he could preserve the archbishop's life by the sacrifice of his own.

Of the liberal and charitable spirit of the archbishop it is need-

less to speak. This is an honour which the most inveterate perversity never can tear away from him. In this particular he seems to have been emulous of that ancient and munificent piety to which we owe the venerable edifices and the noble foundations that form both the strength and the glory of this land. His vigilant and generous care for the interests of learning must, still further entitle him to the grateful admiration of his country, so long as literature shall be cherished and honoured among us. His anxiety on this subject is attested by his vast and costly contributions to the literary treasures of Oxford: it is attested, perhaps still more gloriously, by the illustrious names* which owed their advancement to his influence or favour. Some minds there are which can find delight in searching out the lowest and the meanest of all imaginable motives for every action that may wear the semblance of virtue; and a mind of this stamp will probably experience a grovelling satisfaction in the thought, that the munificence of Laud, and his patronage of distinguished men, might be nothing more than professional ostentation—an artifice for connecting his own name with the honours of genius and of learning—an expedient for exalting the Body, “*with whose consequence his own consequence was identical.*” We can feel little but compassion for any heart, which is driven to such an imitation of the great accuser; and we are quite assured that it will find no sympathy among the wise or good. To remove Laud from his rank among the benefactors to the cause of religion and of letters, is an enterprize which far exceeds the strength of the whole corps of “drummers, who are now beating up the *march of intellect.*”†

But the dream is done. The *march of intellect* is a startling *point of war*, and awakens us from the “fierce vexation” of the visions of other times, to scenes of present and perhaps not less appalling reality. The sour and atrabilious visages of sectarians and covenanters, and the stern and angry forms of republican incendiaries are vanished from before us. The spectacle of a prostrate throne, a ruined church, and a persecuted hierarchy, is gone. The reeking scaffold of Laud, and the triumphs of the fanatical and sanguinary rabble, are withdrawn from our contemplation. We awake, and find ourselves once more in the midst of a scene that bears at least the outward aspect of peace, and stability, and unexampled grandeur. The interval of two hundred years has developed our national resources of every description to an extent which our ancestors would have regarded as absolutely chimerical. But then the process of time has like-

* Usher, Hales, Chillingworth, Morton, Montague, Pococke, Hall, Saunderson, Sheldon, Juxton.

† We here borrow an expression from *Montesinos*.

wise brought on a portentous but silent fermentation throughout the whole mass of society. All its elements appear to be in a state of deep and restless, though not always of loud, commotion, and to be perpetually tending to new and untried combinations. Whether these symptoms promise a safe and prosperous result, or threaten a violent and ruinous explosion, no limited acquaintance with the moral chemistry of our nature can venture with perfect confidence to anticipate. *Thus* much, however, is certain,—that the agitation ought to be incessantly watched by men of the profoundest skill and the most perfect self-possession, lest by the withholding of the requisite ingredients, or by the infusion of pernicious ones, the mixture should burst into conflagration; and universal havoc should result from the ignorance or the trepidation of the manipulators.

Such is the state of things to which thoughtful minds must arouse themselves, whenever they alight from their visionary excursions among the generations that have passed away. And, undoubtedly, it is a condition pregnant with tremendous interest: so tremendous that, to an eye accustomed to the incessant contemplation of it, all former periods must shine with a “pale and ineffectual fire.” In the midst of all the “trembling of heart, and the failing of eyes, and the sorrow of mind,” which will at times come over us, while engaged in such meditations, we are not ashamed to confess that there is one point to which our hopes are constantly reverting, on which our souls are fain to rest, when “*wearied in the greatness of their way:*” and that point is no other than our National Church. We have lately had occasion to show what a salutary and conservative principle this was, in several other awful vicissitudes through which this country has passed: and we still fix upon it as the principle which, duly and faithfully applied, will, under Providence, mainly contribute to her preservation, in the midst of future changes and convulsions.

It cannot surely escape our observation that there is a spirit abroad which is ready to combine itself either with popery, or with dissent in all its manifold and whimsical varieties, with any society or any interest, in short, which may be supposed to contain within itself the seeds of discontent and disaffection. It is a spirit which is ready to become all things to all men. To the non-conformist it will become as a non-conformist—to the papist it will become as a papist—to the weak it will become as weak, and will use the language of candour and moderation—to the daring it will appear as full of strength and hardihood, and will speak openly of the things which pertain to anarchy and demolition. Its object is to banish all fear of God and all reverence

for the powers that be; but, nevertheless, it can take the form of an angel of light, and burn like a seraph, when pointing to the glories of that period which is to witness the regeneration of the human race. It is a spirit, too, which is constantly labouring to enter into the herd and to possess them, that it may drive them down the steep, where at last they must struggle and perish.

Now believing, as we solemnly do believe, that the flame which came down from heaven is burning with greater purity and brightness in the Sanctuary of our Church, than elsewhere upon earth, to what other quarter should we look for the element, which is to overcome and to purge off the baser fires now glaring round us, or to save us from the deceitful lights which are dancing before us, and alluring us to our destruction? For this reason it is, that we never cease to invoke whatever there is yet among us of constancy, of virtue, and of devotion, to watch over this sacred and celestial fire, and to guard it from pollution or extinction. We call on the friends, and the patrons, and the protectors of the Church, as they value the safety or the grandeur of their country, to see that the Sanctuary be kept from dishonour; to labour that our Zion may be an *eternal excellence*, and a *joy of many generations*. If they would pray, and travail for the prosperity of Jerusalem, that peace may be within her walls, and plenteousness within her palaces, let them remember that it is mainly *for the sake of the house of the Lord that they should seek her good*; that her chiefest glory is, that to her the nations of the world are looking up, as to the fortress, in which is deposited the *ark of the testimony of Israel*; and that when this glory shall depart from her, the abomination which maketh desolate is near at hand.

Under these impressions it is that we have returned from expatiating over those times when the altar and the throne were laid together in the dust. And feeling that an eminent portion of the Church's strength and splendour is derived from the unsullied renown of her fathers, her confessors, and her martyrs, we have laboured to rescue from foul defacement the memorial of one venerable name. In the discharge of this sacred duty, it has not been our purpose to conceal the frailties of the man, but to vindicate him from contempt and infamy, and to give him his due rank among the ancient worthies of the realm. And so long as perfect integrity and sanctity of purpose, with a heart devoted to the service of his God, his sovereign, and his country, can win, for any human being, the reverence of posterity, so long must an illustrious place, among English prelates, be, in all righteousness, assigned to Laud.

ART. VIII.—1. *An Historical Enquiry into the probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany. To which is prefixed, a Letter from Professor Sack, upon the Rev. H. J. Rose's Discourses on German Protestantism; translated from the German.* By E. B. Pusey, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 8vo. 1828. 7s. 6d.

2. *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, in reply to Mr. Pusey's Work on the Causes of Rationalism in Germany; comprising some Observations on Confessions of Faith, and their Advantages.* By the Rev. Hugh James Rose, B. D. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, and Vicar of Horsham, Sussex. London: Rivingtons. 8vo. 1829.

WE entertain great respect both for Mr. Rose and for Mr. Pusey, and have therefore felt unwilling to interpose in a controversy which they are thoroughly capable of managing, without any help from us. But as the dispute is now drawing near to its conclusion, it is probable that neither party would feel particularly obliged to us for abstaining from all notice of its proceedings and results, and the publications on both sides have supplied us with such ample materials for coming to a decision, that we shall be able to lay the general issue before our readers almost in the words of the writers themselves.

The main object and drift of Mr. Rose's Sermons before the University of Cambridge, was to warn young students in Divinity against an excessive and unlimited confidence in the Theologians and Critics of Germany; and he established sufficient grounds for his recommendation, by showing that a large proportion of these celebrated writers had departed to a frightful extent from Scriptural Christianity. Nothing has hitherto been said or written, nor can any thing be said or written hereafter, capable of overturning this portion of Mr. Rose's discourses.

It seems indeed to us, that all necessity for further inquiry on this head is superseded by the admission of Mr. Rose's opponents. The very title of Mr. Pusey's work proclaims that Rationalism was *lately* predominant in Germany; and in the introductory letter from Professor Sack, which Mr. Pusey prefixes to his Enquiry, we have the following account of the past and present state of things in that country :

“ If then this point of view be adhered to, that all German innovations in theology discharged themselves principally in two main channels; the one in which scientific clearness and freedom were the object of honest exertion, the other in which an inward indisposition toward the

peculiar character of the Christian Religion, moulded the yet uncompleted results of historical investigation with a shallow philosophy into an unconnected revolting commixture of naturalism and popular philosophy, all the phenomena in the history of theology will be sufficiently explained. That better race of authors, for the most part too little acquainted with the principles of the science of scriptural interpretation, and the defence of religion, committed indeed many an error, but with a chastened judgment they again struck back into the right path. It was natural that they should occasionally fail at first sight to recognise the shallowness and pervertedness of enquiries of the second sort; and that to a certain degree participating in the fascination with which the spirit of that time had invested every species of tolerance, they should expose themselves to the injustice, by which their purer endeavours were subsequently confounded with those of the deistic naturalist;—an injustice frequently practised in these times in a crying manner, not by Romanists only, but by Protestants of too exclusive a system of theology. And now that this better sort of temperate, religiously disposed, and scientific enquirers have gained a better basis, rule, and method, partly through their own more enlarged acquaintance with the province of their science, (to which belongs also the acknowledgment of its limits;) partly through the exertions of decided apologists and apologetic doctrinal writers; partly, and not least, through the endeavours of a deeper philosophy; and lastly, in part through the religious stimulus caused by momentous political events; now also that studies in ecclesiastical history, alike deep in their character and pure in their point of view, have quickened the sight for discerning the essence of Christianity; our German theology is attaining a pure and scientific character, which it could not have acquired, so unfettered and in such full consciousness, without first discharging itself of those baser elements.

“Much is yet left to be done, much to clear away; but the more that genuine apologetic and hermeneutic principles, derived from the nature of belief and of thought, possess themselves of the mind, the more will those falsifying theories of accommodation, those wretched explanations of miracles, those presumptuous critical hypotheses, give place to a perspicuous view of the essence of Divine Revelation, to a living understanding of the prophetic and apostolic writings, and consequently to a purer exposition of the main doctrines of Christianity. You must not allow this hope to be obscured by what you may have seen of the struggles of supernaturalism and rationalism, or perhaps may read most obnoxiously exhibited in several of our periodical works. Within the province of proper theology this contest is not so important as it often appears, and the more it develops itself the less lasting can it be; inasmuch as an independent rationalism is irreconcilable with the very idea of Christian theology, and a bare supernaturalism, which goes no further than what its name expresses, does not contain the slightest portion of the substance and doctrines of Christianity. If then it is true, that through a genuine study of scriptural interpretation and of history, a better theology has begun to find place among us, the distracting influence which this conflict exerts, must of necessity here also be gra-

dually diminished: on the other hand, it will probably continue, possibly yet more develope itself, in the more direct province of religion, in philosophy and in politics, where amid many a struggle and many an alternation, it may systematise itself in the contrast of a religious and of an atheistic, or of a sincere and of an hypocritical character of thought, and then again from the various points of mutual contact unavoidably re-act upon theology. This danger is, however, no other than that to which the English Episcopal, nay even the Romanist, and indeed every part of the Christian Church, is exposed; and this disease, thus universal to mankind, may indeed delay, but cannot preclude the restoration of German theology, derived from the genuine sources of philological and historical investigation combined with that experience in faith, which brings the mind and heart in vivid contact with them.”—*Pusey*, pp. ix—xi.

And an extract from Twestin, ‘a valuable author,’ often quoted by Mr. Pusey, speaks still more strongly to the same effect, and forms an appropriate conclusion to the volume:

“The mass of the Lutheran Church, the people namely, as they were but little affected by the defects of the old Theology, so have they also been by the revolutions of the new; if there have been attempts to adapt it to them, yet have not the innovations been able to penetrate either very deeply or very generally; the people has, on the whole, remained true and attached to the faith of their fathers. The religious ideas seem indeed to have lost in strength and efficacy; the habits, the whole form of domestic and public life no longer express the same uniform reference to the Christian ideas, which they formerly did: worldly-mindedness, deficiency in faith and in piety, may have gained ground; yet perhaps it is only, that what formerly lay concealed under a scrupulous adherence to forms, now displays itself more openly. Let but the evangelical faith again be energetically preached, the evangelical congregations will appear more readily than many now dare to hope. Not so much a reanimation as a new arousing of the already existing life is necessary; it is a condition like that of the chrysalis in the coverings of the pupa; the old formations have been dissolved, the anatomist sees within the larva nothing but shapeless matter; yet there do lie within it the preparations for a new organization, wherewith the being, unfolded into a higher class, goes forth from its envelopements.

“With regard to the learned and cultivated classes, at least a certain tolerance towards the faith of the Church has revived, among many, a reverence and a need of it. It has been perceived, that the way which has been hitherto trod led to no blessing; the illumination has not produced its vaunted fruits; philosophy has not justified the confidence with which it was exultingly greeted; after the foundation of positive faith had been undermined, in many, very many, the general truths of the so-called natural religion sunk in the ruins; the unsatisfactoriness of a scepticism is now felt, which conceals itself perchance under loud-sounding phrases, but deceives not the experienced, who has been tried in the struggles of life, and which deserts its adherent without consola-

tion in the presence of death. We have become convinced, that by the side of the many systems, which in part without any great expenditure of intellect and of originality, have yet found approbation or been tolerated amongst us, that of the old Church, which is inferior to no other in consistency and depth, may with honour maintain its place; whoever consequently undertakes to defend it, has at least (with the exception of a few journals and a few individuals, the representatives of an earlier period,) no longer to anticipate the common contempt and the hostility of all the self-deemed wise; and if the larger number, like the Athenians of old, (Acts xvii.) reserve the further investigation for another time, yet is there here and there another Dionysius the Areopagite among them, who finds here what he had hitherto sought in vain."—pp. 179—182.

After perusing these passages, the reader must agree with us in thinking that Mr. Rose is absolved from the necessity of saying a single word in defence of the main position in his Sermons. His opponents, whether German or British, may wrangle as long as they like about particular parts of his statement. It may or may not be true that he has exaggerated the evil which he points out; he may or may not have qualified his charges sufficiently; but their general accuracy can be questioned by no one; and his warning voice against the abuse of German Theology has not been raised in vain.

The other great division under which the answers to Mr. Rose may be arranged, is that which relates to his opinion respecting the unpropitious influence which has been exerted over the theology of Germany by the want of episcopal government, and of adequate articles of religion or confessions of faith. On this part of his subject we neither think that Mr. Rose has made out his case in the same satisfactory manner as in that which has already been considered, nor do we believe that the case can be made out with any thing like completeness or certainty. Mr. Rose cannot value Episcopal Government more highly than we do; nor shall we yield to him in our sense of the advantages which the Church of England has derived from subscription to her articles. But it is not to the inferiority of the German Church in these respects that we are disposed to attribute its *late* lapse into rationalism, but to other more extensive causes, which we may possibly advert to hereafter. In the mean time let us state the charge brought forward against Mr. Rose, and his reply:

“The causes accordingly incidentally assigned in Mr. Rose’s work (for his professed object was to give an account of the actual state of Theology, not of the causes in which that state originated), seemed partly inadequate to produce so great a revolution, partly of too negative a

character to be entitled to the name. The weight in particular ascribed to the neglect of a controlling superintendence, and of adherence to the letter of the symbolical books, appeared to confound the withdrawing of what are, at the utmost, but means of prevention, with the introduction of a positive agency. Yet the stream must be filled from some other causes than those which merely shake the floodgates by which it is restrained: nor, unless it were thus swelled beyond its usual height, could the mere opening of a free course to its tide produce so extensive and desolating an inundation. Did the removal of these checks necessarily or probably involve the downfall of the religion, which they were employed to fence in, a strong probability would exist against the truth of that religion, which was thus incapable of maintaining, unassisted, its own ground, and of producing an adequate conviction of its divine origin. The question does not here relate to the use of articles, either to restrain individual error, or as the depository of the faith of highly-gifted and enlightened men, with the standard of whose belief it may be beneficial for all to compare the results of their own conviction; but whether any relaxation of the binding force of these articles will produce not merely deviation from their doctrines within the bounds of Christianity, but the abandonment of the principles and the authority of Christianity itself. The affirmative of this question is indeed implied in the conduct and avowed principles of the Church of Rome, but it has, exteriorly to that church, received hitherto only the unwelcome support of Hobbes, and another English deist. Though fully assured of the excellence of Mr. Rose's intentions, the author could not but think, that the view supported in his work involved the abandonment of the fundamental principles of Protestantism, and derogated from the independence and the inherent power of the word of God. That Scripture did need no such adscititious means to preserve generally its healthful truths from such corruption as would neutralize their efficacy, appeared to result from the history of the early Church, in which for above two centuries no symbols were at all received, and even when heretical speculation did render such safeguards necessary in individual cases, they were extended no further than the emergency of such cases required; the rest of the body of Christian doctrine was committed to the keeping of unauthoritative tradition, expounding the word of Scripture: that a recurrence to Scripture is sufficient to regenerate the system when corrupted, independent of, or in opposition to, existing symbols, resulted from the various portions of the history of the Reformation. It must be repeated that it is not intended by the maintenance of these views to derogate from the value of articles generally, much less of such as are drawn up with so much judgment and moderation as our own; their value is certainly very great both to individuals, as presenting a test by which to examine the character of their own faith, and to the Church, as enabling it to exclude those who depart from the principles upon which itself was founded. The view, in which the author felt it impossible to participate, was not a supposed probability that the Church might suffer from individual deviations, but the supposition that the whole or the greater part of the body must *necessarily* decline, unless it were voluntarily to bind

its hands by the resolution never to deviate from the letter of the faith of its earlier state."—Preface, pp. viii—xi.

In justice to Mr. Rose we must extract his reply to this severe charge.

"I should have some difficulty in expressing my surprise, when I found myself accused of absurdities so very gross, as the confounding the causes of the mischief with the instruments which effected it, or the pain which I could not but feel at being charged with attributing the blessings of Christianity to the regulations which may tend to prevent weak men from rejecting them in their own persons, and wicked men from robbing others of them. I cannot, indeed, sufficiently express my deep sense of shame and degradation, when I am compelled, as a Christian, to protest against being thought to believe that man's carelessness or man's sin can bring to nought that purpose which God has decreed to bring to full effect. I naturally recurred to my work to see what grounds any carelessness of phrase might afford for such accusations. I found there that I had not only pointed out the withdrawing the controlling superintendence as the means only, not the cause, but had absolutely (p. 10, line 8) printed the word *means* in italics. At the same time I will freely confess, that I found two, or perhaps three sentences, on which, taken apart from the context, a well-trained critic, who was determined to prefer an accusation of such egregious folly against me, might perhaps have founded it."—*Rose's Reply*, pp. 36, 37.

"When, after having stated directly and positively in page 10, that the want of control in the German Churches was the *means* by which so much evil was effected, I added in page 11, in pursuing this statement, that 'the evil was to be imputed entirely to the absence of all control,' &c. I really never supposed that this or similar sentences would be taken out of connexion with the context. I might add, that if they stood in no such connexion with the context, I should not have imagined that any one who did not believe me an idiot could deduce such a meaning from them. Let me illustrate my argument by taking up Mr. Pusey's own figure. A few months ago a new canal near my residence burst its banks after a severe flood, blew up the lock, and did extensive damage. On inquiring of a friend how the mischief had arisen, his answer was, that 'it was caused *entirely* by the carelessness of the attendant, who had not drawn up the flood-gates.' Would Mr. Pusey accuse my friend of the extraordinary folly of believing that the accumulation of water had nothing to do with the matter, and that the keeping the flood-gates down was the real cause which deluged the surrounding meadows, or would he, which is still more to the purpose, attribute any impropriety of expression to him? The fact is, that some things are so plain and so undoubted, that men take them at once for granted, in common argument, spoken or written, and suppose that others do so likewise. If it were not so, it would be necessary, in asserting any proposition, to assert, at the same time, every other connected with it; and when we went the great length of expressing our belief that two and three make

five, to enter a very earnest caveat against being supposed to doubt that two and two make four.”—*Rose's Reply*, pp. 38, 39.

“Mr. Pusey seems to imagine that because I have a very high value for Articles and for a control over opinion, I think that a want of them would lead to a *downfall* of Christianity. I have never said this, I have never said anything like it. I disclaim such a belief with as much sincerity as Mr. Pusey, and I claim to be recognized as holding, with as much sincerity as he does, the belief that no human neglect and no human error can *destroy* that religion against which its divine Master has promised that the gates of hell shall never prevail; or derogate from the inherent power of that Scripture which shall not pass away when the heavens and the earth pass away. But would the downfall of Christianity (even if such an evil could be contemplated) be the only evil to be feared or guarded against? We might not fear that the efforts of evil men could strike the sun from heaven, but are we, therefore, to make no efforts to clear away the ‘smouldering smoke’ which obscures it from our view.* The truth is simply this, that Mr. Pusey has made a singular confusion between the preservation of the Christian Religion and the welfare of particular Christian Churches. He knows that Christianity wants no protection from man, and he therefore imagines that no such protection can be required for the good of Christian communities.

“Now I know of no promise that Christianity shall not experience very severe temporary injury—shall not receive very deep wounds—shall not be exposed, though, I admit, for a time only, to confusion and mischief to a frightful extent: I am not ashamed to avow my belief, that when mischief is afloat, from whatever causes, human care may (under God’s blessing) check it, and human carelessness may give it space and opportunity to work dreadful evil. It is my belief also that there is in man such a tendency to exalt his own speculations and to deify his own reason and opinions at the expense of Scripture, that there is a need of some control over this tendency, not to protect Christianity, but to protect Christian communities from dreadful though temporary mischiefs.”—*Rose's Reply*, pp. 40, 41.

Into the general question of Subscription to Articles, which is ably treated by Mr. Rose, we cannot enter at present. With the restrictions which he has now adopted, we see no cause to dissent from the opinions which he lays down and defends: but we must proceed to the newer and more inviting ground which has been entered by Mr. Pusey, and into which he is followed without hesitation by his respondent.

The ground-work of the former gentleman’s volume is to be found in the prefatory letter of Professor Sack.

“But this leads further to those other charges of Mr. R.’s work, which indeed constitute by far the most important portion of its contents, the condemnatory representation of the direction which theology took for so long a period, and in part still takes, in so great a portion of the German

* Burke’s *Letters on a Regicidal Peace*, Works, vol. viii. p. 237.

authors: and here it is my duty both candidly to avow the pain which I also feel at such numerous aberrations from the purity of Christian truth; and yet distinctly to indicate that this evil, when contemplated in the due connexion with the free developement of theological science, (and how can science exist without freedom,) appears partly to have taken place beyond the limits of the Church, partly to have been a necessary point of transition to a purer theology, partly to have been less widely extended than the author represents."—*Letter from Professor Sack*, pp. v. vi.

"Had our author possessed a vivid conception of the spirit of German theology, which toward the middle of the preceding century was more rigidly attached, than was ever the case in England, to a false system of doctrine, combined with a confined idea of inspiration, and a stiff intolerant method of demonstration, which impeded the healthy process of a scriptural and deeper theology; had he moreover, by the study of the noblest authors of our nation in that earlier period, whether in philosophy or in practical or elegant literature, learnt the inward desire after a noble genuine freedom of mind, for which at that time Protestant and Romanist longed, he would deem the rise of a new and partly daring direction of theology, not only a natural but an interesting phenomenon; he would have acknowledged that in part the legitimate requisitions of science in philology and history, led to the adoption of that new course; that many also of those so-called innovators, were well conscious that they possessed a Christian and good scriptural foundation and object, but that almost all were so deficient in firm scientific principles in the execution of these views, that too much freedom and too open a course was given to the bad, the capricious, and the irreligious, to violate the sanctuaries of the Bible, by a semi-philosophical babbling and a lawless criticism."—*Letter from Professor Sack*, pp. viii. ix.

Mr. Pusey expands and confirms this reasoning in the following passages.

"Such a system could not endure; it contained within itself the seeds of its own dissolution; a re-action was almost the unavoidable consequence, unless some one, or some succession of men, gifted with Luther's pious and discriminating mind, should establish a separation between this accumulation of narrowing human definitions and the simple truths of the Gospel, should replace by the influential faith of the heart the barren contentious scholasticism, by which the understanding alone was occupied, or rather was distracted. It was the natural effect of a system, in itself partly untenable, and of which every untenable point was developed to its utmost extent by other deductions and hypotheses, to provoke the inconsiderate rejection of a whole, whose every part was maintained with equal decision, and as of equal importance; it was the direct tendency of the endless disputes about abstract points, in which the different parties were agreed about nothing, but that unquestioned certainty might be arrived at, and that they were each in possession of that certainty, that distaste and doubt of the whole should be engendered; it was the natural consequence of so vast a system of abstract doctrine, apparently influential

in the production of discord alone, that the authority of the whole should be questioned : to what purpose, it would be asked, should so vast a body of doctrine be made known to mankind, some of which in its own nature can have no influence, and the rest has none ? doubt of the whole would further be excited by the manifestly weak or distorted basis, upon which much was rested ; aversion would be created by some unscriptural doctrines, repugnant to the nature of God ; opposition by the intolerance of their supporters : there are few probably who would not have been confirmed in their difficulties by such an antagonist as Göse, who seems to have sought a triumph over, rather than the conviction of his sceptical, but probably more Christian opponent. Other causes actually coincided, but these furnished a well prepared soil for the seed of unbelief, under whatever immediate circumstances it might be planted.”—*Pusey*, pp. 49—53.

“ The final issue of this great developement is yet too incomplete, the extensive re-animation of a living Christianity too recent, the degrees in and the forms under which it has often been restored too various, to allow a stranger now to pronounce upon either the causes or the extent of that restoration, or to express any opinions upon the individuals who have been, under Providence, the means of that restoration. From the very advanced state of theological education in Germany, a vast influence is at all times in active agency, of which no conception can be formed either from its printed literature, or from a residence at a limited number of universities. By far the largest portion of German theology is a floating capital ; so that no just estimate can be made from the printed works of any theologian, of the extent or variety of his usefulness, while a great proportion will always remain, who are the instruments of a widely diffused blessing, to which their embodied theology bears not the remotest proportion : still more difficult is it for a stranger, especially for one who has only witnessed in his own country a scrupulous adherence to a received system, to see how far much which is contrary to his own views may not only not be injurious, but, in a different state of things, even beneficial to the essentials of Christianity. Much that appears to be dangerous in a system, which has not been in all its parts deeply examined, is found in a more advanced stage to be useful or necessary : the wind, which might be fatal within a narrow channel, serves only to bear onward more prosperously in its way the vessel which has taken a freer and a bolder course.

“ Without, however, venturing to define the causes, or name the instruments of this great renovation, the gains of this long and perilous career are in part obvious ; the banishment of a reliance upon the mere letter of a received system, of a mere intellectual conception of Christianity, of a deadening formularism, of the undervaluing of Scripture in behalf of an over-refined human system, of an uncharitable polemic, which partly rivetted the attention upon mere collateral or subordinate points, partly obliterated the import of the most momentous truths ; (acting as these evils did on practical as well as scientific theology) ; and the renewed and energetic life given by the opposite of all these aberrations, are on the purely religious side an immeasurable, inestimable gain ; on

the scientific side the principles established in each theological science, and its more comprehensive and juster cultivation have been productive of yet greater benefit to theology than even the enlarged and correcter knowledge, which has resulted from the continued investigations produced by these collisions; many theories (as those on the principles of interpretation) which were partially developed by different minds, and injurious while partial, have in their more enlarged application become favourable to the purer developement of Scriptural truth: many weak points, which before were stumbling-blocks in the reception either of Revelation or of the essentials of Christianity, have been removed or replaced: it has indeed been necessary to examine deeply the foundations of Christianity, but thereby has the rock upon which it rests, been again discovered from amid the accumulation of human theories by which it was concealed, but which yielded to the first shock of the storm or the flood: while in the well-founded confidence, which past experience has given to the German enquirer, there is a rich promise, that the already commenced blending of belief and science, without which science becomes dead, and belief is exposed to degeneracy, will be perfected beyond even the degree to which it was realised in some of the noblest instruments of the earlier Reformation. Nor is it any slight advantage (compared to its earlier state) that no investigation is now entered upon with that hesitating timidity, which contemplates the results with reference only to an existing human system, thereby producing an unconscious bias to blink the difficulties by which the wished-for conclusion is opposed, and becoming unsusceptible for that portion of truth which may exist in a scheme at variance with one's own. Controversy, whether within or without Christianity, would have been spared much of its bitterness, have been sooner ended, and produced richer and earlier results, had this candour been more uniformly exercised.

"How soon these great results may be fully realized can be known only to Him 'in whose power are the times and seasons' of his Church. Yet, in contemplating the probability of their arrival, it must be recollected that the individuals employed in their acceleration must be weighed, not counted; that every individual who has extricated himself from the mazes of unbelief, as many of these have done, is not only a witness to others of the living force of Christianity, but is himself so much the firmer and more energetic a minister of the faith which he has won; that many, who themselves still stand short of a perfect Scriptural faith, are yet in various measures and degrees engaged in promoting its final renovation; that there may be the same Christian feeling in very different forms of expression, or that the basis may exist, though the intellectual developement of it may be impeded by the intricacies of an earlier-admitted system of philosophy; and that, in the sceptical struggle after truth, of many who are yet in doubt with regard either to the essential doctrines of Christianity, or to revelation itself, there may be often more of the Christian spirit than in an unhesitating traditionary belief. The final issue of this crisis may be impeded by a mistaken political interference, which can now only create re-action, or engender hypocrites; or, in a lesser degree, by the distractions and irregularities

produced by the intervention of foreign religious bodies; yet it seems neither too sanguine nor presumptuous to hope that the time is not far distant when the religious energy, now widely visible in Germany, shall produce its fruits, and the Evangelical Church, strengthened by the increasing internal unanimity, fortified against error by past experience, and founded on a Scriptural faith, shall again, in religious as well as scientific depth, be at least one amongst the fairest portions of the universal Church of the Redeemer."—*Pusey*, pp. 173—179.

These are the results of Mr. Pusey's inquiries into the causes of the late *Rationalism* which was lately predominant in Germany, and we confess our inability to perceive the connection between the different portions of his argument. That *formalism*, either in doctrine or in practice, must diminish the influence of religion, and so conduce ultimately to unbelief, may be admitted. But there is no chapter in the History of the Christian Church from which we learn that infidelity arises generally or immediately from "a stiff and formal orthodoxism." The main stream of that infidelity which has been poured over Europe during the two last centuries, has its source in the corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Roman Catholic took his religion upon trust from his priest and his pope, and when these props were taken away, it became necessary to dig down to the very foundations of the temple, before the rock upon which it rests could be made manifest to the eye of all men. The right of inquiry and private judgment proclaimed at the Reformation, was abused by many who were far more ready to judge than to inquire, and the confidence, credulity, and carelessness of the dark ages were succeeded by a prying and sceptical curiosity, which visited all nations in their turns, and has not yet taken a final leave of any.

In Germany the peculiar habits of the people led a portion of them in the first instance to a mystical, and more recently to a critical and philological scepticism, from which there is reason to hope that they are gradually recovering; but it is idle to extenuate this unquestionable evil, and quite unnecessary to apologise for it.

Mr. Rose has argued this part of the question in a most conclusive manner.

"I do not, as I have before said, think myself competent to explain all the causes of Rationalism—but I cannot be blind to many of them. Nor can I fail to see that Mr. Pusey, in adopting the theory of the Germans, has attributed all to *one* cause, and that evidently an insufficient one. He has, in short, been dazzled by a specious theory, which has blinded him to every thing beyond itself. This theory ascribes every thing to the re-action from 'dead and contented orthodoxism,' and the polemical spirit arising from it; and it, therefore, rests upon an assumption totally unsupported by reason and experience, viz. that all the movements of the theological world are independent on any external causes.

It has justly been objected to Henke* (from whom I conjecture that Mr. Pusey very much derived the notion), that it is quite unreasonable to refer every evil and mischief to orthodoxism—that it is an agent well deserving the consideration of the historian, but not capable of such mighty effects as he attributes to it. I cannot but believe that external causes had much to do with the strange scenes presented in Germany. Foreign literature, in general, and the writings of the French and English deists, in particular, produced much impression on German opinions. The extraordinary movement in all branches of literature in Germany itself, at the commencement of the last century, and not least among the philologists, communicated itself to theology. The influence of the talented but profligate and infidel court of Frederic, was most favourable to the progress of an unchristian spirit in the literary world. The peculiarities of German society and government at that time prevented men (speculative by their national character) from checking and directing their speculations, by a practical acquaintance with any of the more important affairs of business, of society, and of the state. The constitution of German universities, by making the stipend of the professors depend on the number of their pupils, unquestionably gave a sort of premium to striking speculation and brilliant novelty. Nor must we lay out of our calculations the miserable effects of desolating wars, tearing up society by the roots, and breaking up the most sacred and holy ties of life. All these things were, I am persuaded, active agents in producing the dreadful evils which afflicted Germany for so long a period in the last and present century. The phenomenon is so curious that I need not apologise for these remarks, nor for endeavouring to show, as I shall now do, that Mr. Pusey's view which attributes all to one solitary agent, or at most attributes a very slight influence to one or two of the causes I have enumerated, is narrow, unsatisfactory, and fallacious in its statements. I wish then to point out that more evil is attributed to the polemical spirit which prevailed, than on a fair consideration of the mischief of such a spirit can be justified—that the extent of that spirit is overstated—that the ignorance and negligence of the various branches of study is exaggerated, and that on these and other grounds, the argument with respect to re-action is not tenable. I shall thus show that orthodoxism is not quite the demon which Mr. Pusey makes it, and that his picture of an orthodox body of clergy, is rather like a caricature than a faithful representation. It is, indeed, a horrid picture, and I cannot but wonder that Mr. Pusey himself was not startled by it on the score of charity, when he remembered that he was describing, not a few particular offenders, but almost the whole body of the German Lutheran ministry for a period of nearly two centuries. That they were bigoted, violent, implacable, cruel, ignorant of every branch of clerical knowledge, and regardless of Scripture truth—that they were not only careless about vital Christianity, but that they ruined and destroyed it—that their distinguishing quality, in short, was a blind and bigoted adherence to the letter of their system, are statements which, in various forms, are repeatedly made.

* By Stäudlin, in his posthumous work on Church History.

“ My reply to Mr. Pusey then is as follows. He seems to consider it as a ruled case, that there can be no Christianity where there is a polemical spirit, and that when he has established the existence of such a spirit, he has done much to destroy the character of the early Lutheran Church. Now I willingly admit all the evils of controversy. But I must add, that there are circumstances where controversies, and vehement controversies, must of necessity arise; and that it is not quite just to neglect the inquiry, whether there were such circumstances in the case before us. I am persuaded there were, and I appeal to the history of the times, in confirmation of my opinion. The variety of petty states, the different systems pursued in each, the perpetual contact of the two Protestant systems, and the vigilance of the common enemy of both, made controversies quite unavoidable. But if they be so, can Mr. Pusey justify the passing so harsh a sentence on men, who were at first driven into controversy by a sense of duty, even if circumstances fostered a stronger spirit of controversy than was absolutely necessary. I must next ask whether it is true in fact, as Mr. Pusey seems to think, that controversy and Christian piety cannot exist together? The polemic, I allow, especially the angry polemic, is no amiable character; want of charity, and bitter judgments of our adversaries, are, I confess, unlovely and unchristian. But that they who have been guilty of these faults are no Christians; that they have no perception of the beauty of Christianity, and no love for it; and that they show forth none of its spirit in their lives, are inferences which I could make without pronouncing a sentence of equal condemnation on every one whose conduct is ever inconsistent with his Christian principles, that is to say, on all mankind. When I remember that even the best and wisest men are liable to delusion; that most men are too often under its influence in all their judgments, and unconsciously swayed by party feelings; when I remember that the frailty of our poor nature often subjects even the kindest and best of us to some transport of anger and of bitterness, and that, pass by a little space, and the eye turns with the kindest look, and the hand is stretched with the sincerest kindness towards those with whom we may have been engaged in no kindly warfare, I at least cannot join in Mr. Pusey's severe judgment. Even he, on one occasion, honestly states that a bitter polemic was the author of some of the most beautiful and pious hymns in the German Church. To condemn the inconsistency thus displayed may be praiseworthy, but to deny the possibility that they who are guilty of it can be Christians, is to exclude mankind at once from the privilege of entering the pale of Christianity. I would rather feel with Horsley, that they who in the frailty of their nature, or under the excitement of circumstances, have indulged in the exercise of unkind thoughts and words, have, nevertheless, often and often, when the period of anger was past, on their bended knees offered up their earnest prayers, that whatever of carnal wrath might have mingled itself in their fierce contention, might be forgiven alike to themselves and their antagonists. Nor let it be said, that the Christianity which has not taught men to subdue their evil passions is of no avail. Let it rather be remembered, that that great work is not effected at once; and that they who, in the flower of

their age, and the heyday of their blood, may have been often but too fierce in their strife and their controversy, have, as the spirit of Christianity took a deeper hold, laid aside by degrees every evil and angry feeling.”—pp. 106—112.

“I have thus far gone on general grounds only, and referred only to the common experience and judgment of mankind. But I must next allege that the theory which Mr. Pusey advances, is not at all supported by facts. His work is so brief, that he could not support that theory by any large induction of facts; and it was, therefore, the more incumbent on him to see that he was accurate in those he did adduce. But I regret to say that this is not the case. On the contrary, the very harsh judgments which he has given of the writers whom he adduces as specimens of the others, and on whom, therefore, he rests his whole case, are not justified by the authorities to which he refers. For he tells us in his preface, that he was at a distance from many books, and that he, therefore, refers to mediate authorities. I can have no possible right to judge of the extent of Mr. Pusey’s acquaintance with the works of the early divines of whom he speaks. But, as I find (I believe I may say always) what he says of them, and what he quotes from them, in Schröckh, in Buddeus, or in Weisman, I complain very seriously that he brings forward only the unfavourable remarks which these writers make on any author of whom they are speaking, and omits every thing which they allege in his favour; and I think that he thus makes out a case which goes very far beyond the truth.”—pp. 115, 116.

These remarks are severe—but not more so, we sincerely think, than the occasion justified, and even called for. The particulars subjoined by Mr. Rose fully substantiate his opening statement, and leave him decidedly master of the field.

There are one or two other points to which we must briefly advert. The first relates to the strong resemblance which has been discovered between Mr. Pusey’s pamphlet and the lectures of Professor Tholuck. In the preface to the former we find the following passage:—

“There remains in conclusion only, to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance derived from the MS. of a German friend, who has carried on the same inquiry, and whom, though the author is not permitted to name, he cannot but express his sincere sense of his kindness, as well as his thankfulness for the advantages, which through that kindness he has been, on many occasions, permitted to enjoy.”—p. xiv.

Mr. Rose seems to think that the extent of Mr. Pusey’s obligation to Professor Tholuck is greater than the preceding declaration would lead us to suspect.

“There is a point connected with this last observation, to which, as I must hereafter introduce Professor Tholuck’s name in union with Mr. Pusey’s, I am compelled to advert. About three or four months after the publication of Mr. Pusey’s book, in turning over an American periodical, called the *Biblical Repertory*, I discovered, to my surprise, not

only a considerable portion of the most material and remarkable facts in Mr. Pusey's work, following one another in the same order as they do there, but in some cases the very same reasonings and inferences from them. These occurred in a report of the lectures of the well-known Professor Tholuck, delivered at Berlin, translated and published with his permission. I thought it only candid to inform Mr. Pusey of the circumstance; observing that some explanation was certainly needed, if he wished to save himself from unpleasant animadversions, and that I should have great pleasure in affording him an opportunity of making an explanatory statement in the course of these pages. In reply he informed me, that, undoubtedly, the facts in question were taken from Tholuck's Lectures, the MS. of which had been lent to him, on condition of his not bringing forward the name of the author, and that it is the MS. alluded to in the close of his preface. Mr. Pusey entered into some farther explanations, but as I felt the business to be one of considerable delicacy, I requested him to let what statement he thought proper appear in his words rather than mine; and I accordingly received from him the letter which the reader will find as an appendix to this pamphlet. I felt myself obliged, as I have already said, to advert to this matter, which I should have preferred to pass over in silence; but as I am often combating opinions which are rather Mr. Tholuck's than Mr. Pusey's, I could not do so. I shall, however, quit this topic with observing, that Mr. Tholuck owes some explanation to Mr. Pusey. Mr. Pusey's work was printed in May or June, 1828, and up to that time the prohibition as to the mention of Mr. Tholuck's name was, it appears, continued; while in the preceding January, this very MS. was published in America, not in part, but altogether, and under Mr. Tholuck's express permission."—pp. 105, 106.

The Appendix contains Mr. Pusey's explanation of this affair, together with a list, and that a long one, of what "he has borrowed" from Tholuck. His statement is candid, and to us satisfactory. We conceive that the original declaration in his preface is sufficient to negative all suspicion of intentional unavowed plagiarism. It would have been better, perhaps, if the acknowledgement of assistance had been expressed in terms more expressly indicative of its extent; yet enough was certainly said to place the literary honour and the literary gratitude of Mr. Pusey above suspicion.

The second point on which we feel compelled to offer a few observations, is the practical effect of such an inquiry as that which has been instituted by Mr. Pusey. Was it a judicious exercise of learning and talent, to compose that sort of apology, which his volume unquestionably contains, for the rational divines of Germany? Mr. Rose had warned theological students against the infidelity which abounds in the works of certain critics. If his charges were erroneous, it was right that they should be disproved. If the critics are innocent, they were entitled to a vindication.

cation. Even if their unsound parts can be cut away, and the remainder turned to some useful purpose, good service might be done to the cause of religion and learning, by pointing out the method in which this separation may be effected. But to admit the evil in its fullest extent, and leave it without attempting a remedy; to deplore the unexampled prevalence of scepticism in the most distinguished of continental Protestant churches, and then employ the fruits of great erudition and labour in building up, or propping up, a fanciful theory, which is supposed to account for the origin of the evil—this is not the practical course which an English theologian ought to pursue.

But Mr. Rose has directed our attention to another peculiarity in the work of his opponent.

“ I have already complained of the indefiniteness of Mr. Pusey’s language on a particular point, and I must make the same complaint of the manner in which he speaks of the state of theology at all preceding times, and of its prospects in general. When he speaks of the early German divines, we find him allowing (p. 35) that in their learning they were often superior to those of other ages; and we know, without Mr. Pusey’s information, that they held all the great truths of the Christian scheme. Yet they are unsparingly condemned. They were deficient ‘ in scientific spirit, in freedom from prejudice, in comprehensive and discriminating views.’ We pass to another class. We find it allowed (pp. 132, 133) that Ernesti had got rid of the defects of the old theologians; that he had restored the true system of grammatical interpretation; and that he was ‘ faithful to the sum of Christian doctrine.’ In him, however, it seems, ‘ the evils of a mere external conception of Christianity were apparent;’ he was ‘ destitute of the key which would have opened to him the fuller riches of Scripture.’ But at present, we are told that we may be gladdened (p. 4) by the ‘ results of a purer, more active, more vivifying faith, which are now apparent;’ that there is (p. 176) ‘ an already commenced blending of belief and science;’ and that we may even expect (p. 115) ‘ a new era in theology, whenever the principles which it (Schleiermacher’s *Kurze Darstellung*) furnishes for the cultivation of the several theological sciences shall be acted upon.’ Is it too much to ask from Mr. Pusey to explain what this and many more expressions of the same sort may mean? What, especially, is meant by this ‘ already commenced blending of belief and science?’ Does it signify any thing more than that a right belief as to essentials is now, in Mr. Pusey’s opinion, joined to a sound knowledge? If it means no more, why the severe condemnation of almost all former schools and former men? Will right belief and sound knowledge ensure a pious heart in the nineteenth more than in the seventeenth century, merely because the forms in which the belief may be expressed, and the knowledge conveyed, are more judicious in the one than the other? If it means no more, why indulge in language, which, to young men especially, must convey the idea of some vast improvement over former schemes of theology, without any corresponding reality? If it does mean more, let us

be distinctly told what is the new light broken upon us. Let us not be left to vague expectations of a new era in theology—to be formed too by the writings of one, of whose attainments and genius I may think with as much respect as Mr. Pusey, but the nature of whose belief is an enigma, which cannot be satisfactorily solved even by the Germans themselves, and who is known to English readers only by a work which Mr. Pusey himself would, I am sure, be the first to condemn.”—pp. 160—163.

It was not without regret that we encountered the above-mentioned phrases in Mr. Pusey's pamphlet. The mention of “scientific spirit,” and “freedom from prejudice,” and “blending of belief and science,” smack of a school in which Mr. Pusey ought not to enroll himself—the school, namely, of those who think themselves wiser than everybody else, while in truth they say nothing well but what has been said a hundred times before, and seldom venture into novelty without stumbling upon paradox or nonsense. The existence of such a school among us can no longer be disputed. But its progress should be strenuously and systematically opposed by every one who values the character and safety of our Establishment. One opponent, of a formidable calibre, will that school find in Mr. Rose. The contest in which he has been recently engaged has terminated in a signal victory, and the spirit in which he triumphs is worthy of a Christian hero. We trust that he will long continue the able defender of the Church, against the sceptical criticism and hazy metaphysics, the idle speculations and presumptuous novelties of the age.

ART. IX.—*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Thursday, May, 14, 1829, at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.* By the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, M. A., Rector of St. Paul's, Shadwell; Professor in the East India College, Hereford; and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London. Rivingtons. pp. 44.

WE are about to present our readers with Mr. Le Bas's eloquent description of the state of the poorer clergy; but we must detain them for a moment by some observations upon the *Festival* which gave occasion to his discourse. It is high time that this Festival, or whatever it may be called, should be reformed. At present it has the merit of being the most expensive and least productive charity in existence. Nothing can surpass the pomp and promise of its getting up, except the meanness of its performances. First we have Divine Service and a Collection in the Metropolitan Church; secondly, a Royal Duke; thirdly, the Lord Mayor; fourthly, the Archbishops and Bishops; fifthly, a Preacher of eminence in his profession; sixthly, a *Feast*; seventhly, sixteen

Stewards chosen from the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, and contributing no less than fifty pounds a piece; eighthly, a large assemblage of the principal people in the country; and lastly, a Collection, which on the average of the last twenty years does not amount to a thousand pounds!!! The sum contributed by the stewards is eight hundred pounds, and with this enormous outlay the institution contrives to obtain a return which is actually greater by one-fifth than the sum expended in obtaining it. The Festival works at the trifling cost of rather more than 44 per cent. Such a state of things ought not continue another year. The nuisance is universally acknowledged, and ought to be abated. The institution should be entirely remodelled, either by uniting it formally with the Clergy Orphan Society, or by some other scheme which shall give it a local habitation, and entitle it to public support. The stewards' fines, or at least five-sixths of them, ought to go in aid of the charity; and the dinner (if a dinner there must be) should be paid for by those who eat it. The music at the Cathedral should not cost a penny. The Choirs of St. Paul's and Westminster-Abbey are able to furnish an ample treat to the lovers of Sacred Music, without the aid of mere professional singers; and it is monstrous to think of paying a *Choir* for exerting themselves in behalf of the destitute children of the clergy. When by these simple means the fund actually applicable to the purposes of the charity shall have been doubled, or tripled, or quadrupled, the appropriation of it should also be changed. At present it is employed in apprenticing out the children of clergymen, and each steward has the privilege of naming a child. There is nothing appropriate in this expenditure of the money, nor any security for a discreet and useful application of it. If the sum were employed in completing the education of the more promising children in the Clergy Orphan School, and fitting them either for Holy Orders, or for the situation of schoolmasters, it is probable that much greater interest would be felt in the success of the institution, and much greater exertions be made in its behalf.

We humbly submit these facts and suggestions to the managers of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, and more especially to the archbishops and bishops: they do not originate in a wanton love of innovation, but in a sincere desire to do good. Most of the ancient charitable institutions connected with the Church have required and undergone extensive reforms within the last twenty years. The institution now under consideration stands in need of similar treatment, and we trust that it will submit to it without resistance or delay.

But we must proceed to Mr. Le Bas's Sermon, which, as all who are acquainted with his writings must have anticipated, is

well calculated to increase the public interest in favour of the Sons of the Clergy. Take the following samples:—

“Surely, then, we at this day may joyfully exclaim, who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? And what is the victory which subdueth the world, but even our reliance on the victory of the Son of God? What is it but this which made evangelists, and apostles, and martyrs, to partake of the triumph of their Saviour, and to *be of good cheer*, when assailed with tribulation, and *pressed*, to all appearance, *out of measure and above strength*? What is it but this which enabled them to exult in affliction, rejoice in the midst of sorrow, to survive in the midst of death? And what is it but this which, at the present day, can sustain the followers of Christ, and more especially the ministers of the Gospel of Christ, who are placed as standard-bearers in the front of the host, and whose office it is to show that the dominion of the prince of this world is overthrown? When our Lord spake comfortable and glorious things to his apostles, *that in him they might have peace*, we cannot suppose that the blessing and the privilege was wholly confined to them. We cannot suppose that they alone were to taste the fruits, and wear the honours of his victory. Look back to the things which he had just spoken for their consolation, and you will find that they are precisely the cordials which alone can strengthen the heart of the Christian at this very day; and without which the faithful steward of God’s mysteries must often faint under his trials, and without which too the duties of his calling must sink into a drowsy and spiritless formality. The first servants and soldiers of the cross had doubtless need to have their spirits most intimately conversant with the splendours of the King of Glory. But feebleness and stumbling must likewise be the lot of their unworthy successors, if they withdraw their eyes for a moment from the same heavenly vision. The open assaults of adversity are still to be endured; the treachery of the passions is still to be watched; the craft and subtlety of the devil or man are still busy; a fearful warfare remains still to be accomplished; and nothing but disgrace and defeat can be the issue of the conflict to that servant who *will* go forth as if his own right hand could ever win him the victory, or as if any earthly honour could be compared to the honour of the triumph. No, he that would overcome must still keep the achievements of his Divine Master before his eyes. He that would stand firm in a world of tribulation, must still derive his courage and his cheer from Him that hath overcome the world.

“And why is it that I presume to dwell upon these things, surrounded as I am by numbers, from whom it would better become me to learn them, than to urge them on the remembrance of my brethren? Why is it, but because the solemnities of this day bring forcibly to our thoughts the need and the value of the consolation here administered by our Lord! Why, but because the very labour of love which has called us together bears witness to the tribulation which still, as ever, is the lot of Christ’s ministering servants, and against which, in his strength, they are appointed to contend? Why, but because we are met to cherish and to succour the widows and the children of those who have fallen in the

ranks of that warfare, and who, we would humbly hope, have entered into the joy of their Saviour's victory? I cannot imagine a more solemn and affecting commentary on his words, than the sight of helpless orphans, whose fathers were doomed to poverty, and to care, and to a stern conflict with the world, and this in the service of Him who came to teach them and us how to overcome the world!

"It is impossible, surely, to look or to think upon such spectacles, without feeling that the prediction which assigned tribulation to the ministers of the Gospel extends far beyond the period of the Church's obscurity and infancy, and that the incessant contemplation of a triumphant Redeemer is now as needful as ever to the support of multitudes among them who are dedicated to the service of the altar. It is impossible to behold these heirs of calamity and indigence, without perceiving, that bitter trials still await the stewards of God's mysteries, and witnesses of his truth: trials the more bitter because they often spring up out of the very sources of their choicest comforts, and their most virtuous enjoyments; the more bitter, because their sorest conflicts are often found in those very scenes, in which they have sought a refuge from solitude and heaviness, and an asylum from temptation and sin. Our Church has not dared to violate either nature or Scripture by condemning her ministers to a life of loneliness—to a gloomy and sullen conflict with the yearnings of the heart—to a melancholy struggle against those mental diseases which will too often seize upon the solitary spirit."—pp. x—xiii.

"It must, perhaps, be confessed, that if we could, for a moment, forget experience and history, we might be induced to fancy that an entire freedom from the distractions and entanglements of domestic responsibility must be essential to the perfection of the ministerial character. There is, beyond all question, something unspeakably affecting in the thought of a human being moving through this world in serene abstraction, even from its most blameless joys, and its tenderest anxieties—knowing no ties of kindred save those which bind immortal spirits to each other—pouring out all his benevolence and sympathy on the flock committed to his charge—lavishing his whole heart and soul in the haunts of want and sickness, or near the dying bed of penitence—without a thought or a care on earth, but to prepare his children in the Gospel for their inheritance in heaven! There is doubtless, in an image like this, something almost celestial. But, alas! we know too well with what turpitude and deformity this glorious vision was sullied, when the attempt was made to embody it on earth. As reasonably might we expect that angels should be sent visibly to minister unto us, as that men, so resembling the angels, should be found, from generation to generation, to supply the ministering orders of the Church. We feel compelled to throw away such hopes, as utterly fantastic and chimerical. We fear lest the sanctuary should be polluted by the approach of vice, in the garb of passionless and almost superhuman sanctity. We dread to see the consciences of men consigned to spiritual guides, who have no community of earthly feeling with their flock, and who may be wedded only to the honour or the interests of their order. We, therefore, confide the

sacred office to men, who can carry the domestic and social affections into the ministrations of religion. The same ruling powers, it is true, by whom our clergy were restored to their natural and Christian freedom, were pleased to couple that liberty, in many instances, with a dowry of indigence and humiliation. But however deeply we may deplore this wrong, we still are bound most thankfully to accept the benefit of that reform, as the gift of a wise and gracious Providence, maimed as that benefit has been by the hand of robbery and oppression. And when, with an aching heart, we look upon the poverty thus entailed on many of our brethren, it behoves us to assuage our anguish by the recollection, that they serve a Master who was himself *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*. It behoves us to remember that he, too, was *made perfect through sufferings*, and that he said expressly to his followers, '*In the world ye shall have tribulation.*' It likewise behoves us not to forget the words of precious comfort which he added to this, saying, '*Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.*'"—pp. xvi—xviii.

"One word, and only one, before I close, on a part of this case, which does not always meet with the equitable consideration which it merits. With us, the clerical character is (as it ought to be) indelible. When once his hand hath touched the plough, the spiritual husbandman is forbidden to look back. His retreat into gainful and secular pursuits is utterly cut off. He cannot relapse one step towards that lower region, without scandal and infamy. The farm and the merchandize are not for him. His table may be surrounded by objects more precious to him than life, who look to him for daily protection and support; and all this while he may see the shadows of adversity thickening round his dwelling—a darkness that may indeed be felt! He may perceive, with anguish of soul, that the comforts, and even the necessities of this life, are gradually dropping away, and leaving him and his to an appalling destitution. All this he may see, and yet he must call in the aid of no worldly occupation. He must not abandon, for a time, the altar to which he has devoted himself, till the labour of his hands have supplied the wants of those who depend on him for bread. The work of study and of holy ministration must still go on; and while his heart may be almost bursting with the thought of a home crowded with images of suffering—while his spirit may be fainting at the prospect of that abandonment which awaits the partners of his trials, when his head is in the dust: still must he strive to go forth among his people with a serene brow, and with an aspect which tells of faith and resignation; and still must he speak to them of the victory which overcometh the world, and of the hope that is full of immortality! These are the offices, and these are the trials, and these are the examples, which the Christian world expects in its ministers."—pp. xx—xxi.

ART. X.—*The Complete Emancipation of the Protestant Vaudois of Piedmont Advocated in a strong and unanswerable Argument, and submitted to His Grace the Duke of Wellington.* By their Countryman, Count Ferdinand Dal Pozzo, late Maître des Requêtes, and First President of the Imperial Court of Genoa. London: Rivingtons. 1829.

THE strong feeling excited in this country on behalf of the Protestant Vaudois appears, from the pamphlet before us, to be extending itself to the Continent. Its author is already advantageously known to the English reader by his work upon the Ecclesiastical Law of Germany; and the information now communicated to us increases his claim to public gratitude and attention. We must confess, however, that “the strong and unanswerable argument” is more ingenious than convincing. Count Ferdinand Dal Pozzo contends, that the transfer of Piedmont to the crown of Sardinia by the treaty of Paris in 1814, and by the treaty of Vienna in 1815, was made subject to a reservation of all the rights acquired by the inhabitants while under the dominion of France. And he grounds this claim upon a clause in the treaty of Paris, stipulating that no individual in the transferred countries shall be harassed, either in person or property, for political offences committed prior to the date of the treaty. The writer quotes “Vattel exceedingly well;” but, even with this help, he fails in his attempt to show that the allies guaranteed that *Protestant emancipation* for which he so strenuously contends. His account of the restrictions now actually existing, and the manner in which they were re-imposed by the Sardinian government, are the most valuable parts of his pamphlet.

“Servitude is not too strong a word for the restrictions and incapacities under which the Protestant Vaudois laboured. They were forced to live within the boundaries of their valleys; they could not purchase lands beyond certain limits; the number of their churches and schools was restricted; they were prohibited to have walled burial grounds; a Protestant minister could not visit a sick person, unless accompanied by a Catholic layman, nor remain by his side more than four-and-twenty hours. In the community of St. John, although the number of Protestants was very great, no Protestant church or school was allowed, nor could a Protestant clergyman pass the night there; mixed marriages were strictly forbidden; in case of any of the Vaudois going to a fair or market held beyond the valleys, they could not have there houses, shops, or rooms; however great might be, in any community, the numerical inequality of Catholics and Protestants, (and in some it was very considerable,) the number of Catholics in the corporation must exceed that of Protestants; so that it has frequently happened, that Catholics,

totally strangers to the community, have been thrust into the municipal body; and sometimes even these worthies have been of so degraded a station in life, that they have actually been clothed out of the public purse. The learned professions were closed against the Vaudois: nor could they rise to a higher grade in the army than that of non-commissioned officer.

“ This description of the incapacities of the Vaudois, I believe to be correct; but should there be any error, we may infer that it is only a trifling one, first, from the letters patent of the King of Sardinia, dated the 27th February, 1816, in which after premising that it was his Majesty’s intention *to soften the rigour of the measures adopted in ancient times respecting them*, the only modifications there introduced are the following: that they should be allowed to retain the possession of lands, purchased under the French domination, beyond the boundaries traced by the ancient edicts; and that they should be allowed to exercise every art or trade whatsoever, as well as the professions of surgeon, apothecary, architect, geometrician, land-surveyor, and every other for which the degree of doctor is not requisite; secondly, from the royal rescript of the 6th January, 1824, containing the express permission to establish an hospital for such poor Vaudois as might be in a state of illness; and, from the approval given to the most minute regulations relating to it, from which the least deviation on their part was strictly forbidden. It is even there said, that Article xviii. of these regulations, (with the contents of which I am unacquainted,) shall be disregarded, and considered as not written.

“ It may be asked by what fatality has the restoration of the King of Sardinia been instantly followed by so dreadful a consequence as the degradation of his Protestant subjects, while no similar effect was produced by the restoration of the Bourbons to France; nor by that of the other sovereigns to countries also formerly united to France, but afterwards again dismembered? Was there any edict promulgated in Piedmont, at that time, imposing anew the same restrictions and incapacities from which the Vaudois had been delivered ever since their subjection to France? No such thing. The manner in which it happened is almost incredible. The King of Sardinia, as soon as he landed from his island, surrounded by persons of very limited capacities, was persuaded indiscriminately to abolish, by one dash of his pen, all laws promulgated under the French domination, (the taxes excepted,) and indiscriminately to put in vigour the ancient laws and statutes. The wording of this provision of the edict of the 21st of May, is as follows:—‘ Without regard to any other law whatsoever, the royal constitutions of 1770, and other provisions enacted prior to the 23d June, 1800, by our royal predecessors, shall be observed.’ It was by virtue of these few words that, as if by magic, the ancient incapacities and restrictions of the Vaudois were revived, and their execution afterwards effectually enforced. This is not the place for noticing all the confusion and ill effects produced by such a sweeping enactment, which could hardly be justified after a short military occupation, and a fresh re-conquest, either by the Sardinian arms, or by a national insurrection. What is necessary to observe, with

respect to such a law, compared with the before-mentioned treaty of Paris, is, that it is but *lex sub lege graviori*; it being quite evident that, in consequence of this treaty alone, which consolidated the preceding conquest of the allied powers, and apportioned its fruits, the king was restored to his sovereignty over the Piedmontese dominions, and that, therefore, the validity of his power rested solely upon the conditions imposed by this very treaty, which really dismembered France, and prescribed new boundaries and forms to the new, (because, in fact, newly created,) states of Europe. It will be in vain to object, that the royal edict bears a date some days previous to that of the treaty itself; first, because it is clear that the force of the latter should be traced back to the moment of the occupation of the country by the Allied Powers, its object being to determine and regulate definitively the effect of occupation; secondly, because the priority of date between two conflicting laws can only prevail, when the authority and nature of the laws are the same.

“Although, therefore, the effect of the said edict of the 21st of May, with regard to the Vaudois, was much the same as if a fresh edict had subjected them *de novo* to the restrictions and incapacities under which they laboured previously to the French law, it may easily be perceived, that the impression which it made upon the public mind has obviously been infinitely less violent, less astonishing, less odious, and consequently the redress of their grievances has become infinitely more difficult. The Vaudois were not even named in the said edict; the measure was not a special one, but was cloaked, and, as it were, concealed by its generality. Finally, it assumed a certain deceitful appearance of simplicity, innocence, and almost just policy; as it appeared perfectly natural, that an ancient state, upon returning to its ancient master, should again flourish under its ancient laws.”—pp. 21—25.

ART. XI.—*Sermons, chiefly Practical.* By the Rev. Edward Bather, M. A., Archdeacon of Salop, in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; and Vicar of Meole Brace, Salop. London. Hatchard and Son. 1829. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 570. 12s.

WE have great pleasure in introducing to the notice of our readers another volume of Sermons by Archdeacon Bather. The discourses are marked by the same plainness of speech and soundness of doctrine, which characterised a former work by this useful writer. The “Advertisement” informs us that one of the Visitation Sermons inserted in the collection was published in 1823, and that the concluding Sermon, preached in behalf of the Society for Building and Enlarging Churches and Chapels, had been printed for private delivery among the congregation to whom it was addressed. The remaining Sermons are nothing more than a miscellaneous selection from the author’s ordinary parish discourses. We extract, as a specimen, several passages from a Sermon “upon the Christian method of receiving injuries.”

“Injuries and provocations, though they be not a necessary *cause* of spiritual loss, too often prove the *occasion* of it. They are so, and we are overcome by them; when, instead of calling our Christian graces into exercise, they excite our natural bad tempers and corruptions. There are two points of view in which the ill treatment we receive from men may be considered. We may look upon it, either as a cross laid upon us by God's providence for the trial of our faith and obedience, or as the effect of our fellow-creature's wickedness. He whom we profess to follow, hath shown us, in his own example, how it is to be received in *both* views. Considering the evil as coming from God, we must say, ‘the cup which our Father hath given us, shall we not drink it?’ Considering it as coming from men, we must say, ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ But if, on the contrary, injuries provoke us to fretfulness and impatience toward God, so that we forget how many outward blessings still remain to us, because one or another may be gone; or, if they excite in us a spirit of malice, or a desire of revenge towards the injurious party, so that we would have ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,’ were it in our power; wishing him evil, or watching for an opportunity of repaying him in kind; then indeed we are put to the worse before our enemies, the tempter's end in stirring up their enmity is answered, and we have sustained a real damage. For the moment that these bad passions take possession of us, sin separates between us and our God. We lose the light of God's countenance, lose that joy of the Lord, those consolations of religion, that blessed assurance of hope, that calm content and satisfaction in religion which are not only so valuable in themselves, but so great helps and encouragements also to perseverance in the way of duty. We lose our relish for spiritual exercises, are unfitted for prayer and praise; (for no discontented man can praise God, and no angry man can pray to him;) and thus, in every way, we lose ground in the Christian race. The act of sin has thrown us back, and the indisposition to communion with God which it brings upon the mind, will keep us back; and then, except the Lord ‘renew a right spirit within us,’ we shall finally lose the prize of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus. For it is written, ‘If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses.’”—pp. 51—53.

“You may be certain (though sometimes it may fail of success) that persevering kindness is the best instrument that can be employed to work upon men's hearts to soften and change them; for it is God's instrument. Men are at enmity with *him*; and he says, ‘I drew them with bands of love.’ ‘Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord.’ He makes the first advances towards reconciliation; he expostulates; he does good to them that hate him; he proclaims himself before them as abundant in goodness and truth, as pardoning iniquity, transgression and sin, and thus he draws them. The love of Christ constraineth them; they cannot hold out against it; they cannot retain their enmity any longer, but must ‘live unto him that died for them.’ Many a sinner, indeed, is roused and awakened, and made *to think*, by a different process from this. But this is the way in which all are *won*,

to serve the Lord their God with a willing mind. Surely the same mind should be in us which is in Christ Jesus, and humbly should we follow him in proceeding with our brother. Different methods indeed we may employ. Force may be repelled by force; brother may go to law with brother; and these methods may, in some cases, be even necessary, and may avail so far as to vindicate our own right: but here they stop; sooner, certainly, than a Christian would wish to stop. He therefore, except where it is unavoidable, will not have recourse to them, but will try those milder means by which he may hope not only to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by himself, but to regain a brother's regards, to subdue his resentment, and convince him of the evil of it, and thus restore a wanderer to the good shepherd and bishop of his soul."—pp. 60, 61.

"Consistency of outward conduct can proceed only from stability of inward principle, especially where, as in the case before us, very strong natural propensities are to be crossed.

"It behoves us therefore to look within, and to 'keep our hearts with all diligence.' If a man 'would do good to them that hate him, and pray for them that despitefully use him and persecute him,' he hath need in general to be a '*new man*,' 'not conformed to this world' in his tempers and dispositions, in his views and maxims, but 'transformed by the renewing of his mind;' 'born again of the Spirit;' 'created in Christ Jesus unto good works.' But to be more particular.

"1. He hath need to be, in the first place, what the men of the world are not—humble-minded. That which begets, which fosters, and which fixes variance, is *pride*. The aggressor will make no concession because he is *too proud* to do so; and the injured party will make no advances towards peace, for it would be *too much condescension*; and it is the insult, the indignity of a wrong that wounds us most. Shall we wave our pretensions? Shall we not vindicate our right? Shall we be trampled upon and set at nought! But who are we? If we could but answer this question as grace could make us answer it, we should speedily be possessed of that 'wisdom which is from above; which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits.' We are indeed very *little* people. If we did but feel it, we should bear with those that are weak, with those that are injurious, and not please ourselves. We should 'look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.' We should not suffer self-importance to stand in the way of peace.

"2. Another disposition to be cultivated is brotherly-kindness; a sort of brotherly-kindness which is Christian;—a disposition to love our neighbour as ourselves, and to care most for the immortal part of him:—to love his soul. If we had abiding in our hearts an habitual concern for the souls of men, and did consider (as indeed nothing can be more evident) how much the soul's interests are endangered by the continuance of strifes and variance, we should never rest till we had brought them to an end. Nor should we be satisfied with harbouring no malice in our own bosoms; we should not be content to 'suffer sin upon our brother;' if by any condescension, any forbearance, and kind offices of ours, we could prevail with him to tear the serpent from his breast.

"3. The last disposition which I shall mention is love to God. If the prevalence of evil tempers in our brother's heart endanger his own soul, they thereby hurt God's cause; they impede the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom. A scandal, too, is brought upon religion by contentions, if those among whom they reign be professors of religion. But, on the other hand, a sheep of Christ is recovered; his kingdom is enlarged; the doctrine is adorned; the esteem of bye-standers is conciliated; they begin to see the efficacy of religious principle, and the excellence of it, if Christians, when they have suffered wrongfully, seem to be not only placable and forgiving, but returners of good for evil, and mainly anxious that a fellow-creature should not 'sin unto death.' Christians therefore *would* act thus, if they were Christians indeed, and did love the Lord their God with all their hearts.

"To this, however, I add, that we have need to be perpetually watchful over our own spirit, and jealous of our own hearts; because even if these things be in us and abound, there is still a remainder of corruption likewise, by which (if we do not watch) we may occasionally be thrown down. And we have need to pray without ceasing for the increase and establishment of these graces in our souls, because none of them are natural to us, and 'every good and perfect gift is from above.'"—pp. 62—65.

The sermons preached for the Church-building Society contain a very clear account of the recent alteration in the law respecting Briefs, and might be advantageously circulated wherever that measure is condemned or misunderstood. And the first Visitation Sermon is not only so valuable in itself, but likewise contains so faithful a description of the Archdeacon's style of preaching, that we must request attention to some of its principal statements.

"It cannot be a preaching of Christ, therefore, which passes slightly over the paramount necessity of all holy obedience; which does not urge the necessity of a 'transformation by the renewing of the mind;' which does not argue from the love of the Redeemer, in dying for the dead in sin, to the obligation upon those who thus only are made alive again to 'live henceforth unto him, and not unto themselves:' which does not insist that hereby alone do we 'know that we know him if we keep his commandments:' which does not exhort to a diligent use of those means—prayer, hearing, and the like, through which we may have *grace* to keep them: and which does not testify and declare, that God will 'reward every man according to his works' at last.

"And further, if it be necessary, as no doubt it is, to the preaching of Christ to explicate the doctrines, it is, to the same end, not less necessary to explicate the precepts: to show what it *is* to renounce the world, the devil, and the flesh: to distinguish between praying and repeating the words of prayer: to expound the *commandments*, and *that* not only that the law, by supplying the knowledge of sin, may be 'a school-master to bring men to Christ that they may be justified by faith;'—not to this end only, but to this other also, that they who *have*

believed,' and *are* justified, 'may be careful,' and may be instructed, 'to maintain good works : ' that the rule of sanctification and of duty may be understood, as well as the way of righteousness ; that a generation, prone to mistake on all sides, and prejudiced against the truth on all sides, as licentious to the full as they are self-righteous ; as ready to ' turn the grace of God into lasciviousness,' as anxious to narrow the ' exceeding broad commandment,' and as prone to ' call evil good, and good evil,' as to deny the debt they owe to grace, and dishonour the one Redeemer ; that such a generation may not merely be *told* in general terms, which neither inform nor affect any body, that they must be good men, but that they may be *taught*, with that particularity which the case absolutely requires, ' *how* they ought to walk and to please God.'

" Our church does indeed affirm most truly, that good works do spring out of a true and lively faith *necessarily*. But she does not add, as a consequence, that by stating the truths to be believed we shall teach effectually the duties to be done. Mankind are neither honest enough, nor wise enough to be trusted so. And certainly it is no more a preaching of Christ to be for ever insisting on some favourite doctrines, be they as important as they may, and, whilst every thing else is superficially handled, to say this is the substance of the Gospel, than it is a preaching of him to be for ever enforcing some chief particulars of obedience, and to say this is the end and object of the Gospel. Both these ways are equally wrong, and he who adheres to either of them exclusively, is ' plucking down his own house with his hands.' There can be no surer way to make what we say on the practical part of religion useless, than to pass by the doctrines : and no surer way to preach the doctrines to no purpose, than to be invariably brief and general on practice. Nor can it ever be right to give to any main branch of divine truth always the same place, and always the prominent place in our discourses.

" But let me not be misunderstood. I have simply stated some chief things as of absolute necessity to be kept in view : and I desire to bear a testimony against all *partial* statements. But truly I mean no more. Fully to declare the Gospel, is an arduous work ; and a work, I believe, in which the wisest of us have yet much to learn. And no man, I think, ever has digested, or can digest into a summary the complete substance of that record which alone contains the whole truth of God. It may be easy enough to be, what some or other, by way of eminence and distinction, and more invidiously than wisely, choose to call either orthodox or evangelical. It may be easy enough to be accredited by a religious party ; and much too easy it may be, and *is*, at once to fall in with a system, and to adopt it upon small investigation, because much of it seems evidently scriptural, and the whole fits so well together. But whosoever shall have done this, and shall then look upon himself as a ' scribe fully instructed unto the kingdom of heaven,' he will ' account himself to have attained' much too soon. We must search the Scriptures, every one of us for himself, and there we must look to be ' taught of God,' both what to declare, and how to argue for

it, and from it; how to enforce, and how to illustrate. As well as we can, we must 'measure the pattern,' and study the proportions of the spiritual edifice, and endeavour not only to preserve and exhibit in our teaching the several truths of God's word so as to omit none, but also to give to each that share of consideration, and that degree of prominence, which God himself has given to it; not saying most where he says least, and least where he says most. For even truth does the work of error, if it is so dwelt upon as to cast other truths into the shade. Nor must we suffer ourselves to be warped or drawn aside from this honest method by any thing. Because one doctrine or another has been abused or perverted, we must not therefore, in any degree, suppress it, but as well fully and explicitly declare it, as explain and guard it. And we must trust Almighty God to take care of his own consistency. The whole word which he has given to us, *that* we must give to them whose ministers we are. That is our duty. And therefore, when, in any particular we have done so, we are to go on to the next; and in the discussion of that, whatsoever it may be, to say what God hath said to us, and, so far as we can, in his manner of saying it; bringing every truth fairly forth, and not fearing to adopt the plain and popular language of Scripture, (always so intelligible to simple and honest minds,) because many may not see how some forms of expression, or some positive exhortations, can accord with this or that doctrine which may have been laid down before. In short, what Revelation delivers, we, as soon as we see it, must deliver also; and where that stops we must stop too; taking heed that we do not put our reasonings *from* God's word upon a level with that word itself; and remembering, that at least it is the safest way, as well as the most honourable to our Master, always to have a text of his inditing to produce, not only for our doctrine, but also for our inferences and deductions. If we proceed in these methods, it is likely enough that we may so preach as to be accused, at one time, of 'frustrating the grace of God,' and at another, of disparaging the works of obedience: and some will say, we trifle and dwell on 'beggarly elements,' and many, that we contradict ourselves. And we shall be so opposed to all extremes, and shall adhere to such a tone of moderation, as no bigots will approve. But it is no business of ours to get a distinguishing appellation, or to escape one; to have the good word of one party, or of another; or to learn from our hearers how it would best please them to be instructed. Neither warped by approbation, nor irritated by opposition, nor discouraged by harsh judgments or unkindness: our part is, to 'speak the truth in love;' and if we are enabled to do so, this is the Lord's 'word which hath gone forth out of his mouth,' and it 'shall not return unto him void.'—pp. 467—473.

"We come, therefore, to this point: we must 'first give our own selves unto the Lord.' Let this be done, and we might say with the apostle, 'Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory.' The grand conflict would then be over; and thenceforth, as Solomon speaks, 'our eyes might look right on, and our eyelids look straight before us; we should turn neither to the right hand nor to the left, but remove our

foot from evil.' Constrained by deep sense of obligation to 'love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity,' and perpetually contemplating the 'unsearchable riches' of his grace, we could not but 'put on Christ,' as the apostle expresses it, and be 'purified unto an unfeigned love of the brethren.' We could not but look with a holy interest upon every human being whom Christ died to save, and covet earnestly that every one of them should become 'a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the Master's use.'

"So that here would be both charity and zeal. And the charity would be of that sort which a minister of the Gospel needs—a charity kind, and long-suffering, not yielding easily to opposition, or contempt: and the zeal would be 'according to knowledge.' We may read in our own hearts that we are 'sent unto a rebellious house.' They are not likely, with those of old, to 'stone them that are sent unto them.' But they who are in earnest about their souls, will always find a cross among them. The 'carnal mind is,' and ever will be, 'enmity against God.' We shall always have to do with a people 'slow of heart,' careless, prejudiced. We may always look to be thwarted, and that our good shall be evil spoken of, and, perhaps, for a season, that 'the more we love the less we shall be loved.' We have need, then, to learn, that he who will be great by being useful, must first be lowly; that difficulties are calls to prayer, and not excuses for sloth; that unkindness, scorn, reproach, misconstructions, are calls so muster our Christian principles, and 'stir up the gift that is in us;' that 'the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;' that 'the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle towards all men, patient, apt to teach, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves;' 'not overcome of evil, but overcoming evil with good.' These things, however, are the natural product of simplicity and godly sincerity in our calling, and of a supreme concern for our Master's honour. And then, I say, wisdom and discretion are hardly less so. Small casuistry may suffice an honest man: and integrity will go further than learning towards making a useful minister. It may not be easy to say, in every case, just where our conformity to the customs of the world must stop, or just how much we may mingle with it; or exactly what liberties we may allow ourselves in this or that particular. But he who lives to one end, the glory of his Redeemer, and is heartily devoted to one work, the feeding of his sheep, he will seldom greatly err after he has simply asked himself what bearing the thing proposed is likely to have upon his usefulness? He will not 'condemn himself in that which he alloweth:' and, where he doubteth, he can cheerfully abstain. It requires study, no doubt, to 'divide the word of truth;' and prudence to be advisers to the people of our charge; and 'he that winneth souls is wise.'" But the supreme love of Christ, if it be in us and abound, will both stir us up to labour and to study, and to call in all the aids of learning we can attain unto; and, at the same time, with more effect than all the learning in the world, it will direct our labours and our studies. For this we shall be 'instant in season and out of season:' for this we shall keep back, in our private expostulations,

nothing that is profitable for fear of offending ; and yet we very seldom shall offend, for we shall address every one in ‘ a spirit of meekness.’ This will fill our public discourses with whatsoever is important, and effectually exclude all that is vain or trifling. This will suggest the matter, and regulate the manner also ; will constrain us to be plain, and pertinent, and faithful, and affectionate : and, above all, this will influence our whole demeanour, so that, remembering always that we are ambassadors for Christ among sinners, we shall take good heed to be preachers *ever* ; ‘ wholesome and godly examples for the people of Christ to follow.’ ”—pp. 482—485.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES IN ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Minor Canonry in Cathedral Ch. and Willesborough, V. }	Kent . .	W. H. S. Braham	D. & C. of Canterbury
York.			
Barmston, R. . . .	E. York .	J. Bower . .	Sir F. Boynton, Bart.
Brandesburton, R. . .	E. York .	John Dobson .	St. John's Coll. Camb.
Brompton, V. . . .	N. York .	Joseph Irvin .	Sir Geo. Cayley, Bart.
Kirkby-in-Ashfield, R.	Notts . .	Hon. John Vernon	Duke of Portland.
Sowerby Bridge, C. . .	W. York .	C. Rogers . .	Vic. of Halifax.
St. Martin's, Coney-st. V	York . .	H. A. Beckwith.	The Dean & Chapter.
St. Mary, Bishophill, }	York . .	Wm. Bulmer .	The Dean & Chapter.
2d Med. R. . . . }			
Ulrome, P. C. . . .	E. York .	Thomas Irvine .	R. of Barmston.
Vic. Chor. in Cath. Ch. and St. Michael-le- Belfry, R. with St. Wilford, R. . . }	York . .	Wm. Richardson	The Dean & Chapter.
Wold Newton, V. . . .	E. York .	J. Shelton . .	Hon. M. Langley.
London.			
Alresford, R. . . .	Essex . .	Tho. Newman .	Rev. T. Newman.
Bethnal Green, }	Middlesex .	H. Wm. Maddock	Brasenose Coll. Oxf.
St. John's, C. . . }			
Black Notley, R. . .	Essex . .	Wm. Wyvill . .	M. Wyvill, Esq.
Christchurch, R. . . }	Middlesex .	Wm. Stone . .	Brasenose Coll. Oxf.
Spitalfields . . . }			
Earls-Colne, V. . . .	Essex . .	R. Watkinson .	H.H. Carwardine, Esq.
Minor Canonry in Coll. Church of . . . }	Westminster	James Lupton .	Dean of Westminster.
St. Benet, Gracech. and St. Leonard, Eastcheap, R. . . }	Middlesex .	Robert Watts . }	D. & C. of St. Paul's, & D. & C. of Canter. alt.
St. Bride, Fleet-st. V. .	Middlesex .	Jos. Allen, D.D.	D. & C. of Westmin.
St. Michael & Trinity, Queenhithe, R. . . }	Middlesex .	J. Russell, D.D. }	D. & C. of Cant. and D. & C. of London, alt.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Durham.			
Ingram, <i>R.</i>	Northumb.	James Allgood .	P. J. Selby, Esq.
Winchester.			
Abbotstone, <i>R. with</i> }	Hants . .	W. St.J. Mildmay }	Lady St. J. Mildmay. Vicar of Portsmouth.
Itchin Stoke, <i>V.</i> }	Hants . .	Henry Salmon }	
Hartley Wintney, <i>V.</i> }	Hants . .	R. Brind. Hone .	
Portsmouth, <i>C.</i> . . .			
Bath and Wells.			
Buckland Dinham, <i>V.</i>	Somerset .	H. J. Williams }	Preb. of Buckland Dinham in Cath. Ch. of Wells.
Queen Charlton . . .	Somerset .	John Ireland . .	T. Harris, Esq. & others
Rowbarrow, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	J. L. Hesse . . .	Lord Bp. of Bristol.
Stoke, St. Gregory, <i>Ch.</i>	Somerset .	R. W. Moore . .	Vicar of N. Curry.
Weston-super-Mare, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	Wm. Barlow . . .	The Lord Bishop.
Wincanton, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Somerset .	Wm. Carpendale	U.&G. Messiter, Esqrs.
Bristol.			
Bristol, St. Peter, <i>R.</i> .	Bristol . .	Hen. Crane Price	Corp. of Bristol.
West Knighton, <i>R.</i> }	Dorset . .	Fred. Urquhart .	D. Urquhart, Esq.
<i>with Broadmayne, R.</i> }			
Chester.			
Capesthorpe and Sid- }	Chester . .	R. Heptinstall . }	D. Davenport, Esq.
dington, <i>P. C.</i> . . . }			M. P.
Hawkshead, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Lancaster .	P. C. Law . . .	Chan. of D. of Lanc.
Northenden, <i>R.</i>	Chester . .	Wm. Ainger, D. D.	D. & C. of Chester.
Wilmslow, <i>R.</i>	Chester . .	Wm. Brownlow	John Clowes, Esq.
Ely.			
Great Wilbraham, <i>V.</i> .	Cambridge .	J. Studholme . .	Mrs. Hicks.
Prebendal Stall in the }	Cambridge .	Henry Dampier	The Lord Bishop.
Cathedral Church . }			E. C. & H. Walde-
Whittlesea, St. Mary, <i>V.</i>	Cambridge .	S. L. Pope . . . }	grave, Esqrs.
Exeter.			
Atherington, <i>R.</i> . . .	Devon . .	James Arthur . }	Rev. J. Pike, and
Branscombe, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	Geo. Landon . . .	T. Barnard, Esq.
Frithelstock, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Devon . .	F. L. W. Yonge	Dn. & Ch. of Exeter.
St. Stythians, <i>V.</i> . . .	Cornwall .	C. W. Woodley .	W. Johns, Esq., &c.
Stokenham, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	Henry Taylor . .	Earl of Plymouth.
Upton Helion, <i>R.</i> . . .	Devon . .	John Manley . .	The King.
Gloucester.			
Ampney Crucis, <i>V.</i> . .	Gloucester .	E. A. Daubeny .	The King.
Compton, <i>V.</i>	Gloucester .	R. Jones	Rev. R. P. Jones.
Elmstone Hardwick, <i>V.</i>	Gloucester .	Charles Gretton .	Lord Chancellor.
Wootton-under-Edge, <i>V.</i>	Gloucester .	B. Rob. Perkins	Chr. Ch. Oxford.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Aldridge, <i>R.</i>	Stafford . .	Henry Harding .	Sir Edw. Scott, Bart.
Alveton, <i>V.</i>	Stafford . .	J. P. Jones . .	Rev. W. Eddowes.
Birmingham, St. Thomas, <i>C.</i>	Warwick . .	Wm. Marsh . .	The Lord Bishop, by consent of Rector of St. Martin's.
Monyash, <i>P. C.</i>	Derby . .	F. W. Sharpe . .	
St. James C. Ashted, } Birmingham } Uttoxeter, <i>V.</i>	Warwick . .	C. T. Wade . .	D. & C. of Lichfield.
Wednesbury, <i>V.</i>	Stafford . .	C. T. Broughton	
	Stafford . .	Isaac Clarkson .	D. & Cans. of Windsor.
			The King.
Lincoln.			
Ashenden, <i>C. with</i> } Dorton, <i>C.</i> }	Bucks . .	J. Oakeley Hill }	D. & C. of Christ Ch. Oxford.
Cardington, <i>V.</i>	Beds . .	C. F. Bromhead	Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
Dunton Bassett, <i>V.</i>	Leicester . .	Wm. Roberts . .	G. Payne, Esq.
Kensworth, <i>V.</i>	Herts . .	E. G. A. Beckwith	D. & C. of St. Paul's.
Marston Fleet, <i>R.</i>	Bucks . .	J. G. Dobree . .	Lord Visc. Dillon.
Theddlethorpe, } All Saints, <i>V.</i> . . . }	Lincoln . .	M. R. Davys . .	Joseph Alcock.
Thrussington, <i>V.</i>	Leicester . .	C. B. Woolley . .	Earl of Essex.
Wlandaff.			
Llantrissant, <i>V.</i>	Glamorgan.	J. B. Williams . .	D. & C. of Gloucester.
Llantwit Major, <i>V.</i> } with Lisworney, <i>R.</i> }	Glamorgan.	R. Bateman Paul	D. & C. of Gloucester.
Norwich.			
Banburgh, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	George Carter . .	Dean and Chapter.
Beechamwell, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	Henry Dugmore .	John Motteux.
Campsey Ash, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	Joseph Parsons }	Sir C. W. Flint, Knt. and others.
Clopton, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	G. Taylor . .	Adam Taylor, Esq.
Edgefield, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	W. M. Marcon . .	W. Mason, Esq.
Euston, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	J. D. Hustler . .	Duke of Grafton.
Fakenham	Norfolk . .	J. B. Sams . .	The Duke of Grafton.
Lidgate, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	H. W. Salmon . .	Duke of Rutland.
Long Melford, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	Edward Cobbold .	John Cobbold, Esq.
Ringsfield, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	Fred. Leathes . .	S. Postle, Esq.
Stanton, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	Robert Ward . .	Corp. of Thetford.
Wheatacre Burgh, St. } Peter, <i>R.</i> }	Norfolk . .	Wm. Boycatt . .	On his own Petition.
Wickhambrook, <i>V.</i>	Suffolk . .	C. Borton . .	Lord Chancellor.
Wyverstone, <i>V.</i>	Suffolk . .	James Ware . .	Mrs. Moseley and John Moseley, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Peterborough.			
Crick, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	Thomas Speidell	St. John's Coll. Oxford
Morcott, <i>R.</i>	Lincoln . .	Edw. Thorold .	Rev. E. Thorold, Bt.
Naseby, <i>V.</i>	Northampton	W. Marshall . .	Mrs. Maddock.
Pythchley, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Northampton	Sam. E. Bernard	Bp. of Lich. & Covent.
Rochester.			
Fawkham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Kent . .	Richard Salwey .	P. Pusey, Esq.
Salisbury.			
Minor Can. in Cath. } Ch. of Windsor . }	Berks . .	John Gore . .	D. & Cns. of Windsor.
Preshute, <i>V.</i>	Wilts . .	Charles Davy .	Vic. Chor. of Salisbury
St. Peter, Marlboro', <i>R.</i>	Wilts . .	E. H. G. Williams	The Lord Bishop.
Teffont Evias, <i>R.</i> . .	Wilts . .	Charles Rookes .	J. T. Mayne, Esq.
St. David's.			
Archdeaconry of Car- } marthen in Cath. } Church }	Carmarthen	Henry T. Payne	The Lord Bishop.
Worcester.			
Tamworth, <i>V.</i> . . . } (by dispensation.) }	Warwick .	Lord Aston . .	Earl of Plymouth.

CHAPLAINSHIPS.

Dix, Edward, Domestic Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of St. Alban's.

Fitz-Clarence, Augustus, Dom. Chaplain in Ordinary to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

Saunders, Augustus P., to be one of the

Chaplains to the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Rev. Robert Daly, Rector of Powerscourt, county of Wicklow, to the Deanery of Cashel.

Rev. J. R. Young, to be Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

CHAPELRY, LECTURESHIP.

Mogridge, W. H., Minister of Streattham Chapel.

Nettleship, Wm. B. A., to the Lecture-

ship founded in the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Droitwich.

SCHOOL.

Sharpe, Lancelot, Head Master of St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark.

ORDAINED.

YORK.

By the Archbishop, July 26, at the
Palace at Bishopthorpe.

DEACONS.

J. Sadler, B.A. St. John's College.
B. Spurrell, B.A. St. John's College.
R. Twells, B.A. Trinity College, Cam-
bridge.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop, on the 14th of June.

DEACON.

Tho. Boodle, Trinity College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Henry Bond, S.C.L. Christ's College,
John Garland Harrison, B.A. Queen's
College.

H. J. Williams, S.C.L. St. John's Col-
lege, Oxford.

CHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, August 9, in the
Cathedral.

DEACONS.

George Leigh, B.A. Brasenose College,
Oxford.

Wm. Dixon, B.A. Brasenose College,
Oxford.

F. H. Gresswell, M.A. Brasenose Col-
lege, Oxford.

Jonathan Blackburne, B.A. St. John's
College, Cambridge.

Thomas Bradford, B.A. Magdalen Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Andrew Cassels, B.A. St. John's Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Robert Hornby, B.A. Downing Col-
lege, Cambridge.

W. Metcalf, St. Bee's College.

Edward Shuttleworth, B.A. St. John's
College, Cambridge.

Joseph Simpson, B.A. St. John's Col-
lege, Cambridge.

George Cole, B.A. Corpus Christi Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Theodore J. Cartwright, B.A. Univer-
sity College, Cambridge.

Thomas Harrison, B.A. Trinity College,
Dublin.

PRIESTS.

Richard Gwyllym, M.A. Brasenose
College, Oxford.

Wm. Dickson Blundell, M.A. Brase-
nose College, Oxford.

Charles Lawrence, B.A. Brasenose
College, Oxford.

John Smith Priestman, B.A. Queen's
College, Oxford.

James Machell, B.A. Brasenose Col-
lege, Oxford.

William Fullarton Walker, B.A. Mag-
dalen Hall, Oxford.

John Downall, M.A. Magdalen Hall,
Oxford.

Philip Henry Lee, B.A. Brasenose
College, Oxford.

Jacob Picton, B.A. Queen's College,
Cambridge.

John Todd, B.A. Caius College, Cam-
bridge.

Ralph Watkins Fisher, B.A. Clare Hall,
Cambridge.

Cha. James Shaw, B.A. Trinity Col-
lege, Cambridge.

James Cooper, St. Bee's College.

Sharpe Mossop, St. Bee's College.

Benjamin William Pullen.

Joseph Gibbs, B.A.

Frederick Robert Rainer.

CHICHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, July 25.

DEACONS.

James Penfold, B.A. Christ's College.

Hen. Fox Atherley, B.A. Trinity Coll.

John Pearson, B.A. Trinity College.

Rich. Waldegrave Packer, B.A. Catha-
rine Hall.

PRIESTS.

Alfred Lyall, B.A. Trinity College.

Henry Asted Victor, B.A. Clare Hall.

Henry Reeks, B.A. Clare Hall.

George Atwood, M.A. Pembroke Coll.

GLOUCESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, June 28.

DEACONS.

James Mickleburgh, B.A. Trinity Coll.

John Askew, B.A. Emmanuel College.

W. H. R. Bayley, M.A. St. John's
College, Cambridge.

John Weybridge, B.A. St. John's Col-
lege, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Robert Peel, B.A. Trinity College
Cambridge.

John Chell, B.A. St. John's College,
Cambridge.

HEREFORD.

By the Lord Bishop, September 6, in the Chapel of Winchester College.

DEACONS.

G. W. Heathcote, B.A. New College, Oxford.

W. S. Escott, B.A. New College, Oxford.

A. D. Stackpoole, B.A. New College, Oxford.

G. De Gamo Hill, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

R. Hopkins Harrison, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

P. Whitcombes, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

John Norgrove Baker, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Evan Pugh, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

George Wharton, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Richard D. Evans, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

Thomas L. Allen, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

W. Posthumous Powell, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Thomas Harrison, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

PRIESTS.

Rev. W. Ricketts, M.A. Merton College, Oxford.

Rev. C. Bird, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

Rev. Thomas Parr, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Rev. H. G. More, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

Rev. John Julius Hodges, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Rev. John Nathan Kinchant, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Rev. Thomas Watkins, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Francis Merewether, Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

LICHFIELD.

By the Lord Bishop, July 5, in the Cathedral.

DEACONS.

John Corser, B.A. Trinity College.

G. W. Sandford, B.A. Trinity College.

Robert Wedgwood, B.A. Trinity Coll.

John Young, M.A. Trinity College.

John Biddulph, B.A. Clare Hall.

William Kew Fletcher, M.A. Magdalen College.

Henry John Goodwin, B.A. Emmanuel College.

Nathan Hubbersty, B.A. St. John's College.

PRIESTS.

Josiah Bateman, B.A. St. John's Coll.

Thomas Burrow, B.A. St. John's Coll.

John Alexander Baxter, B.A. St. John's College.

Samuel Edward Bernard, B.A. Magdalen College.

Charles Birch, B.C.L. Trinity Hall.

Samuel Hey, B.A. Corpus Christi Coll.

Fred. William Sharp, B.A. Emmanuel College.

Wm. Staunton, B.A. Christ's College.

Hugh Wood, B.A. Trinity College.

NORWICH.

At a special Ordination, holden in the Cathedral on Sunday, July 19, John Mainwaring, B.A. of Caius College, Cambridge, was ordained Deacon.

WINCHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, at Farnham Castle, on Sunday, July 5.

DEACONS.

William Adams, B.A. Queen's Coll. }
By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Bristol. }

Dennis Tucker, B.A. St. Peter's Coll.

Henry Malthus, B.A. Trinity College.

Frederic Baring, B.A. Christ's College.

Augustus Smith, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Edward Young, B.A. Trinity College.

John Clark Haden, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

WORCESTER.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel at Shartlebury Castle, July 25.

DEACONS.

John Faley, B.A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

Fred. Powell, B.A. Christ's College, Oxford.

Hugh Matthie, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

James Bradshaw Tyrwhitt, B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge.

Thomas James Roche, B.A. Downing College, Cambridge.

John Piercy, S.C.L. Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

William Pye, B.A. Student of Christ's College, Oxford.

John Williams, M.A. Student of Christ's College, Oxford.

William Nettleship, B.A.

John David Watson, B.A.

Samuel Hay Parker, B.A.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Fairfield, P. C. . . .	Kent . . .	Richard Kilshaw	D. & C. of Canterbury.
York.			
Barniston, R. <i>with</i> } Ulrome, V. . . . }	E. York . .	John Gilby . .	Sir F. Boynton, Bart.
Brandesburton, R. . .	E. York . .	John Bradshaw .	St. John's Coll. Camb.
Flintham, V.	Notts . . .	Thomas Bowman	Trin. Coll. Camb.
Huddersfield, Trin. Ch.	W. York . .	Wm. Wilkins . .	Vicar of Huddersfield.
Sowerby Bridge, C. . .	W. York . .	James Franks . .	Vicar of Halifax.
Vic. Chor. in Cath Ch. of <i>And</i> Kelperthorpe, V. <i>And</i> Upper Poppleton, C. <i>And</i> Weaverthorpe, V. }	York . . . } E. York . . } W. York . . }	Richard Forrest	The Dean and Chap.
<i>with</i> West Lutton, C. }	E. York . . }		
<i>And</i> St. Mary, Bishop- hill, 2d Med. R. . . }	York . . . }		
London.			
Feering, V. <i>and</i> } Minden, V. . . . }	Essex . . .	George Hayter }	The Lord Bishop. Chan. of D. of Lancast.
Paddington, C.	Middlesex .	C. Crane, D.D.	The Lord Bishop. D. & C. of Canterbury
St. Benet, Gracechurch, <i>and</i> St. Leonard, East Cheap, R. <i>and</i> Stoke Newington, R. }	Middlesex .	G. Gaskin, D.D. }	<i>And</i> D. & C. of St. Paul's, <i>alt.</i> Preb. of Newington in Cath. Ch. of St. Paul's.
Winchester.			
Ashe, R.	Hants . . .	Benj. Lefroy . }	Trustees of late J. H. Lefroy.
Pamber, C. <i>and</i> } Sherburne, V. . . . }	Hants . . .	H. Hall, D.D. .	Queen's Coll. Oxford.
Somborne, Kings, V. }	Hants . . .	R. Taylor . . .	Sir C. Mill, Bart.
Little, C. }			
<i>and</i> Stockbridge, C. }			
Bath and Wells.			
Weston super Mare, R.	Somerset .	Fra. Blackburne	The Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Ely.			
Prebend. in the Cath. Ch. Westley Waterless, R. .	Cambridge Cambridge	G. Gaskin, D.D. R. Hopton Smith	The Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Ashreigny, R. and Wembworthy, R. . }	Devon . .	J. T. Jolinson .	Rev. J. T. Johnson.
Ashwater, R. . . .	Devon . .	Thomas Melhuish	Rev. T. Melhuish.
Atherington, R. . .	Devon . .	George Burgess .	Francis Bassett, Esq.
Holbeton, R. . . .	Exeter . .	Thomas Mends .	The King.
Stokenham	Devon . .	Cha. Holdsworth	The King.
Gloucester.			
Elmstope, Hardwick, } V. and Treddington, } Ch. }	Gloucester .	H. Bond Fowler }	Lord Chancellor. The Lord Bishop.
Woolstone, R. . . .	Gloucester .	Edw. Southouse	Earl of Coventry.
Hereford.			
Pencombe, R. . . .	Hereford .	J. Glasse . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Upton Cresset, R. . . }	Salop . .	W. Towne, D.D.	Miss Cresset.
(And Dom. Chap. to H. R. H. the D. of Cumberland, and Chap. to the City of London Lying-in- Hosp.) }			
Lich. & Coventry.			
Alveton, V. . . .	Staffordshire	Thomas Blackley	Rev. W. Eddowes.
Threckingham, V. . .	Lincoln . .	D. H. Urquhart	Sir G. Heathcote, Bt.
Uttoxeter, R. . . .	Staffordshire	H. Bond Fowler	D. & Can. of Windsor.
Lincoln.			
Arlesey, V. . . .	Bedfordshire	R. R. Houston .	R. Houston, Esq.
Barkston, R. . . .	Lincoln . .	R. Kilshaw . }	Preb. of North Gran- tham in Sarum Cath.
Norton-by-Twycross, } R. and Thrussington, V. . . }	Leicester .	William Casson }	Lord Chancellor. Earl of Essex.
(Also Dom. Chap. to Duke of Marlbro') }	Lincoln . .	T. W. Northmore	Lord Chancellor.
Winterton, V. . . .			
Landaff.			
St. Bride's, R. . . .	Monmouth	John Drake . .	T. Matthews, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Norwich.			
Barmer, C. and Houghton-in-the- Hole, V. and Twyford, R. . . . }	Norfolk . .	S. Henry Savory }	T. Kerslake, Esq. Mar. Cholmondeley.
Burgh Castle, R. . .	Suffolk . .	} H. C. Manning }	George Thomas, &c.
Thetford, St. Cuth. C. }	Norfolk . .		Lord Chancellor. Earl of Albermarle.
— St. Peter's, R. }			
Chattisham, V. and Creeting, R. . . . }	Suffolk . .	B. G. Heath . .	Eton College.
Clopton, R. and Oulton, R. . . . }	Suffolk . .	J. G. Spurgeon }	J. Spurgeon, Esq. Rev. G. Anguish.
Denston, P. C. and Wickhambrook, V. }	Suffolk . .	Tho. Seabrook }	General Robinson. Lord Chancellor.
Edgefield, R. and Long Melford, R. }	Norfolk . }	} Bransby Francis }	J. Marcon, Esq.
	Suffolk . }		Ex. of Rev. J. Leero.
Hackford, R. . . .	Norfolk . .	William Sewell .	G. H. Holley, Esq.
Melton Parva, V. and Preston St. Mary, V. }	Norfolk . }	J. Dunn . . .	Emman. Coll. Camb.
Ringsfield, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	Guntle Postle .	Samuel Postle, Esq.
Saxham, Great, R. .	Suffolk . .	J. Lowe . . .	Robert Muir, Esq.
Wyverstone, V. . .	Suffolk . .	Orbell Ray . }	Mrs. Moseley and John Moseley, Esq.
Salisbury.			
Alton Barnes, R. . .	Wilts . .	A. W. Hare . }	Warden and Fellows of New Coll. Oxford.
North Tidworth . .	Wilts . .	John Hughes .	Lord Chancellor.
St. David's.			
Llanylar, V.	Cardigan .	David Felix . .	The Lord Bishop.
Worcester.			
Astley, R.	Worcester .	J. J. D. Cooke	Rev. J. J. D. Cooke.

Name.	Residence.	County.
Anderson, Charles	Closburn	Scotland.
Aubert	Dom. Chap. to Lord Petre.	
Carter, Wilfred, D. D. . . .	Chapl. to Marq. of Queensbury.	
Chichester, George Augustus	Northlands	Sussex.
Evans, John	Chaplain of H. M. Ship <i>Java</i> , Madras Roads.	
Jee, Joseph, B. D.	Fellow of Queen's College	Cambridge.
Langton, Algernon	Reader of the Roll's Chapel.	
Mackereth, M.	Mast. of the Gram. School, Thornton, Yorkshire.	
Magan, Henry	Rutland Square	Dublin.
Roberts, Thomas	Head Mast. of the Free Gram. School, Chelmsford.	
Roope, John	Adam Street, Adelphi	Middlesex.
Sawrin, J.	Dublin.	
Ward, Joseph	Newport Pagnell	Bucks.
Williams, Thomas	Preston Candover	Hants.
Williams, J.	Mast. of Gram. School, Leominster . .	Hereford.

MARRIED.

Bathurst, W. H., Rector of Barwick on Elmet, to Mary Anne, youngest daughter of the late M. Rhodes, Esq., of Leeds.

Baylie, John, Perpetual Curate of Bloxwich, to Catharine, daughter of Wm. Neville, Esq. of Metchley Abbey, Staffordshire.

Benson, S., *M.A.*, of St. Saviour's, to Miss H. M. Waller, of Peckham.

Blyth, Edward Gwyn, Rector of Burnham Deepdale, Norfolk, and Chaplain of Holkham, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Kerslake, of Banner, in the same county.

Booker, Luke, *LL.D. F.R.S.L.*, &c. Vicar of Dudley, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Dr. Barclay, of Conduit Street, London.

Brickenden, F. W., *B.D.*, Vice-Provost of Worcester College, Oxford, Rector of Hoggston, Bucks, and Vicar of Dewsall, Herefordshire, to Anne, youngest daughter of the late Miles Coyle, Esq.

Brine, C. B., Rector of St. James's, Southclmham, Suffolk, to Margaret Augusta, eldest daughter of the late Major-General Robert Kelso.

Bromfield, Henry, *B.A.*, of Wadham College, Oxford, son of the Rev. T. R. Bromfield, Prebendary of Lichfield, to Sarah, eldest daughter of the late H. Hickman, Esq., of Newnham.

Burton, Lingen, *M.A.*, Vicar of Holy Cross and St. Giles's, Salop, to Everilda, second daughter of the late Rev. R. Rigbye, of Harrock Hall, Lancashire.

Chatfield, R. M., *B.A.*, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Anna Maria, third daughter of Thomas Jesson, Esq., of Hill-park, Kent.

Chilcott, William Francis, of Monksilver, to Miss Frances Wilson Leigh, eldest daughter of Mr. W. Leigh, of Bardon.

Cornish, Sidney William, *M.A.*, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Master of the King's School of St. Mary Ottery, to Jane, eldest daughter of Samuel Kingdon, Esq.

Cragg, S., *M.A.*, of Great Ilford, Essex, to Catharine Crewe, second daughter of Sir F. Cotgreave, Bart., of Netherleigh House, near Chester.

Cremer, C., Rector of Felbrigg and Meton, to Marianne, eldest daughter of the late George Wyndham, Esq., of Cromer Hall, Norfolk.

Curie, Thomas, of the precincts of Norwich, to Maria Elizabeth, second daughter of Robert Wall, Esq., of Yarmouth.

Dawson, G. F., *B.A.*, Minister of St. James, Guernsey, to Anna Maria Hennen, eldest daughter of the late Dr. Hennen, Inspector of Military Hospitals.

Dickinson, J., Vicar of Compton Dundon, to Frances Elizabeth, second daughter of the late Rev. T. A. Salmon, Prebend of Wells.

Dodson, Nathaniel, *M.A.*, of St. John's College, Oxford, Prebendary of Lincoln and Vicar of Abingdon, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Wapshare.

Edridge, Charles C., eldest son of the late Rev. Dr. Edridge, to Caroline Elizabeth Manners, only daughter of the Rev. R. Lockwood, Prebendary of Peterborough and Vicar of Lowestoft.

Egremont, Godfrey George, Vicar of Barrow, Lincolnshire, to Emily, youngest daughter of the late John Barkworth, Esq., of Hull.

Fry, John, Rector of Desford, Leicestershire, to Ursula Dorothy, only child of the late John Perry, Esq., of Hereford.

Gane, William, *B.C.L.*, of Milborne Port, to Mary, eldest daughter of the Rev. George Wood, Rector of the Holy Trinity, Dorchester.

Geldart, James William, *LL.D.*, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge, to Mary Jane, third daughter of Richard Wardroper, Esq.

Gibson, J. C., *M.A.*, Rector of Bermondsey, London, to Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Gartsell, Esq., of that place.

Gibson, N. W., *M.A.*, Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Mrs. Hodgkinson, daughter of William Simmons, Esq.

Gough, Henzell, to Miss Durban, of Upper Church Street, Bath.

Griffith, Charles, *M.A.*, of Llwyndwis, Cardiganshire, to Mary, youngest daughter of C. Marshall, Esq., of Steyning, Sussex.

Hanbury, A., Vicar of Bures, St. Mary, Suffolk, to Jessie, only daughter of the late Rev. Archibald Scott, of Pitmain, Lanarkshire.

Harris, James Lampen, *M.A.*, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Perpetual Curate of Plymstock, to Sophia Elizabeth, relict of the late Lieut. Colonel Henry Browne, of the 87th regiment.

Harris, T. K. W., Rector of St. Thomas, Haverfordwest, to Maria Thomasia, younger daughter of M. Reynolds, Esq., *M.D.*

Hutchins, A. B., of Weyhill, to Miss J. Frances Bourdillon.

Jones, Thomas, Rector of Hempstead, third son of Mr. Alderman Jones, of Gloucester, to Mary, second daughter of the late James Maddox, Esq., of Monmouth.

Kelly, George, Vicar of Aldborough, to Albina, fourth daughter of John Dalton, Esq., of Slemingforth Hall, Yorkshire.

Knyvell, Charles Wm., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and of Mitcham, Surrey, to Julia, second daughter of the Rev. J. B. Ferrers, Rector of Beddington.

Kynaston, John, *M.A.*, Head Master of the Free Grammar School, Drayton, Salop, to Elizabeth, second daughter of the Rev. W. Muckley, of Wakefield, Yorkshire.

Lowndes, M., Vicar of Buckfastleigh, to Sophia Elizabeth Templar, eldest daughter of Captain T. White, *R.N.* of Buckfastleigh Abbey.

Luxmoore, Charles Scott, Dean of St. Asaph, to Catharine, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. Sir John Nicholl.

Molesworth, William, *M.A.*, second son of Sir William Molesworth, Bart., of Pen-carrow, and Rector of St. Breske and St. Erwan, Cornwall, to Frances Susanna, third daughter of the late James Buller, Esq., of Downes, Devon.

Nelson, John, Minister of St. John's, Fulham, to Susannah Cooper, only child of the late Rev. W. Peat.

Pope, Alfred, of Leanington, Warwickshire, to Anna Maria, daughter of the late J. Crosby, Esq., of Westbury, Wilts.

Sankey, Richard, *M.A.*, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to Mary Thomas, eldest daughter of the Rev. Richard Boys, *M.A.*, senior Chaplain to the Hon. East India Company at St. Helena.

Sim, Henry, *M.A.*, of Bonsall, Derbyshire, to Mrs. Harriet Dod, of Matlock.

Thickens, William, to Anne, only daughter of the late Samuel Brooks, Esq., of Wolverhill Hall, Warwickshire.

Thorold, Henry Baugh, *B.A.*, of Trinity College, Oxford, to Julia, youngest daughter of John Thomas Ellis, Esq., late of Widdiall Hall, Herts.

Turner, Charles, *M.A.*, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and Curate of Lambeth, Surrey, to Katharine Anne, second daughter of George Cathrow, Esq., of Hoddesdon, Herts.

Walker, Thomas, *M.A.*, Prebendary of the Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard Fryer, Esq., of the Wergs, Staffordshire.

Williams, Charles Keven, *M.A.*, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Master of the Grammar School at Lewes, to Amelia, only child of J. Lampeen, Esq., Paymaster of the South Devon Militia.

Williams, Henry Bayley, *B.A.*, of Jesus College, Oxford, son of the Rev. P. B. Williams, *M.A.*, Rector of Laurey and Lauberris, Carnarvon, to Mary Anne, only child of the Rev. John Davids, *M.A.*, of Aldridge, Staffordshire.

Wolseley, Sir Richard, Bart., to Miss Smith, of Dublin.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

June 26.

Rev. Edward Burton, late Student of Christ's College, Regius Professor of Divinity.

Rev. Edwin Jacob, late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Vice-President of King's College, New Brunswick.

HONORARY DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

July 1, (the Encenia.)

His Excellency James Barbour, Esq. of Barbourville, in Virginia, Envoy of the United States of America.

His Excellency Sir Howard Douglas, Bart. F.R.S. Knight Companion of the Bath, and also of the Order of Charles of Spain, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of New Brunswick.

Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot, Bart. of Berkswell Hall, in the county of Warwick, F.R.S. F.S.A. F.L.S.

Sir William Edward Parry, Knight, F.R.S. Captain in the Royal Navy.

Sir John Franklin, Knight, F.R.S. Captain in the Royal Navy.

DOCTOR IN CIVIL LAW.

July 11.

Wm. Robinson, Esq. Balliol College.

DOCTOR IN MEDICINE.

July 2.

Thomas Davidson, Worcester College.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

June 25.

Rev. Edwin Jacob, late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Vice-President of King's College, New Brunswick.

BACHELOR IN MEDICINE, (with License to practise.)

June 25.

Thomas Davidson, Worcester College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

June 25.

David Vavasour Durell, Christ's College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. David Smith Stone, Exeter College, Grand Compounder.

John Aldridge, Christ's College.

William Hodgson, Queen's College.

Rev. Thomas Nixon, Lincoln College.

Rev. John Alexander Gower, Chaplain of Magdalen College.

Henry Edm. Freyer, Pembroke Coll.

Peter Stafford Carey, St. John's Coll.

Rev. William D. Johnston, St. John's College.

Rev. Proby John Ferrers, Oriel Coll.

Rev. Robert Kilvert, Oriel College.

July 2.

Rev. William Hale, Magdalen Hall.

Digby Caley Wrangham, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. James Nelson Palmer, St. John's College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. James Hutchinson, St. John's College.

Rev. Wm. S. Hadley, Queen's College.

Rev. Rob. Wickham, Christ's College.

Charles Waring Faber, Scholar of University College, and Vinerian Scholar.

William Hind, University College.

Seth Burge Plummer, University Coll.

Edward Simms, Wadham College.

Geo. Thomas Robertson, Lincoln Coll.

William Sewell, Fellow of Exeter Coll.

Rev. Augustus James Brine, Exeter College.

John Clutton, Worcester College.

Rev. Jas. Legrew Hesse, Trinity Coll.

William Robinson, Balliol College.

Rev. John Baines Graham, M.A. late Fellow of Queen's College, and Rev. C. Lawson, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge, were admitted *ad eundem*.

July 11.

Edward Powlett Blunt, Scholar of Corpus Christi College.

John Earle Pitcher, Oriel College.

Charles Dacres Bevan, Balliol College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

June 25.

Wm. Gray, Magdalen College, Grand Compounder.

Charles Sergeaunt, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.

Henry W. Wiseman, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

Alexander Murray, Magdalen Hall.

John Proctor, Brasenose College.

Walter Cecil Davies, Jesus College.

John Henry Barker, Christ's College.

Richard W. P. Davies, Worcester Coll.

Thomas Streatfield Lightfoot, Exeter College.

Henry Hugh Way, Postmaster of Mer-ton College.

Edward C. Brown, Postmaster of Mer-ton College.

John Holt Ensell, Queen's College.

Hargood B. Snooke, Pembroke Coll.

William Nicholson, Trinity College.

June 26.

John Seeley, Exeter College.

July 2.

John Hockley Taylor, Queen's College.

Wm. Abbott, Scholar of Queen's Coll.

Cha. Viscount Marsham, Christ's Coll.

Hon. Robert Liddell, Christ's College.

Simeon James Etty, New College.

H. D. Harrington, Fellow of Exeter College.

B. W. Newton, Fellow of Exeter Coll.

W. J. Copeland, Scholar of Trinity College.

Charles John Bond, Trinity College.

Tho. Henry Paddon, Trinity College.

July 11.

G. H. S. Johnson, Scholar of Queen's College.

John Capel H. Tracy, Oriel College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

June 25.

The Rev. Henry Allison Dodd, M.A., the Rev. Thomas Pearson, M.A., and the Rev. Rob. Coulthard, M.A. were elected Fellows of Queen's College, on the Old Foundation; G. H. S. Johnson, J. Richardson, and W. Abbot, Taberdars; and J. Hetherington, Thomas Dand, Thomas Calvert, Henry Hebson, Lawson Peter Dykes, Edward Fawcett, Joseph Dodd,

and Thomas Bowser Harrison Thompson, Scholars of the same Society.

June 29.

Messrs. Jas. Guillemard, John Carter, and Thomas Chandler Curteis, were admitted Fellows of St. John's College; Mr. James Parker Deane was elected Founder's Kin Fellow; and Messrs. John S. Pinketon, Edw. William Vaughan, John Joseph Pratt, and Francis John Kitson, were elected Scholars of the said Society.

June 30.

Mr. Cha. Cheyne, Commoner of Pembroke College, was elected Scholar of Lincoln College.

William Jacobson, Esq. B.A. of Lincoln College, St. Vincent Love Hammick, Esq. B.A. of Exeter College, and Richard Croft, Esq. B.A. Scholar of Balliol College, were elected Fellows of Exeter College.

Mr. M. H. G. Buckle, B.A. was elected a Probationer Fellow; and Mr. Charles Browne Dalton of the county of Essex, a Scholar of Wadham College.

July 2.

The Marquess of Abercorn, and the Marquess of Douglas and Clydesdale, eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton, were admitted Noblemen of Christ's Church.

July 11.

The Rev. William Kay, M.A. Fellow of Lincoln College, was nominated a Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*.

July 27.

The Rev. Jas. Russell Phillpott, M.A. Somersetshire; Rev. George Wells, M.A. Diocese of Chichester; and James Henry Hughes, B.A. Wiltshire, were admitted Probationer Fellows of Magdalen College.

Edw. Green and Henry Cope Onslow, Diocese of Chichester; Thomas Harris, Warwickshire; George Ayscough Chaplin, and John Montague Cholmeley, Lincolnshire, were admitted Demies of the same College.

August 3.

At the Visitation of Abingdon School, the following gentlemen were elected to Scholarships at Pembroke College:—*Tesdale Foundation*—Mr. H. Percival Skelton, Mr. Martin Hawkins (Founder's Kin), Mr. Badcock, Mr. Tho. Goodlake. *Wightwick Foundation*—Mr. Strange.

An election to the Scholarship founded in Pembroke College, by Sir John Phillips, Bart. for natives of the county of Pembroke, will take place on Wednesday, the 21st of October next, in Pembroke College. Candidates must be between the age of fourteen and twenty, and are required to produce, at the time of election, an authentic copy of the register of the parish, signed by the parson, churchwardens, and overseers of such parish for the time being, where they were respectively born, within the said county.

Persons intending to offer themselves as Candidates must notify the same to the Master of the College ten days previously to the day of election.

PRIZES.

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.

Subjects for the ensuing year:—

For Latin Verse—"Tyrus."

For an English Essay—"The Character of Socrates, as described by his disciples Xenophon and Plato under the different points of view in which it is contemplated by each of them."

For a Latin Essay—"Utrum apud Græcos an apud Romanos magis exulta fuerit civilis Scientia."

The first of the above subjects is intended for those gentlemen who, on the day appointed for sending the exercises to the Registrar of the University, shall not have exceeded four years, and the other two for such as shall have exceeded four, but not completed seven years, from the time of their matriculation.

SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.

For the best composition in English verse, not limited to fifty lines, by any Undergraduate who, on the day above specified, shall not have exceeded four years from the time of his matriculation.

Subject:—"The African Desert."

In every case the time is to be computed by calendar, not academical years, and strictly, from the day of matriculation to the day on which the exercises are to be delivered to the Registrar of the University, without reference to any intervening circumstances whatever.

No person who has already obtained a prize will be deemed entitled to a second prize of the same description.

The exercises are all to be sent under a sealed cover to the Registrar of the University on or before the first day of May next. None will be received after that time. The author is required to conceal his name, and to distinguish his composition by what motto he pleases; sending at the same time his name, and the date of his matriculation, sealed up under another cover, with the motto inscribed upon it.

The exercises to which the prizes shall have been adjudged will be repeated (after a previous rehearsal) in the Theatre, upon the Commemoration Day, immediately after the Creweian oration.

THEOLOGICAL PRIZE.

Instituted June 2, 1825.

Subject:—"Whether the doctrine of One God, differing in his nature from all other beings, was held by any Heathen nation or sect of philosophers, before the birth of Christ."

The above subject, for an English Essay, appointed by the judges, is proposed to members of the University on the following conditions:—

I. The candidate must have passed his examination for the degrees of B.A. or B.C.L.

II. He must not on this day (June 26) have exceeded his twenty-eighth Term.

III. He must have commenced his sixteenth Term eight weeks previous to the day appointed for sending in his Essay to the Registrar of the University.

In every case the Terms are to be computed from the matriculation inclusively.

The Essays are to be sent under a sealed cover to the Registrar of the University on or before the Wednesday in Easter week next ensuing. None will be received after that day.

The candidate is desired to conceal his name, and to distinguish his composition by what motto he pleases; sending at the same time his name sealed up under another cover, with the motto inscribed upon it.

The Essay to which the prize shall have been adjudged will be read before the University, in the Divinity School, on some day in the week next before the Commemoration.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

July 7th (Commencement Day).

Rev. William Dealtry, late Fellow of Trinity College, Rector of Clapham, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester.

Rev. Joseph Allen, late Fellow of Trinity College, Prebendary of Westminster.

Rev. T. Gilbank Ackland, St. John's College, Rector of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, and Lecturer of St. Andrews, Holborn, London.

Rev. Martin Joseph Naylor, late Fellow of Queen's College.

Rev. Samuel Thomas Bloomfield, Sidney College, Vicar of Bisbrooke, Rutland.

DOCTORS IN PHYSIC.

July 7 (Com. Day).

Henry Shuckburgh Roots, Jesus Coll.

George Shaw, Caius College.

Richard Pinckard, Caius College.

John Burdett Steward, Pembroke Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

July 7 (Com. Day).

DOWNING COLL.

William Gurdon
William Ford Bally
Alfred Power

JESUS COLL.

William Goodwin
Henry Wm. Crick
James Hayes Sadler
Harvey Bawtree
William Warren
James Carver
E. Richard Otter
George Sharland
William Steggall
George Otter
R. M. Baddeley

CAIUS COLL.

Richard Day
F. Offey Martin
Robert Willis
Wm. Henry Hanson
Henry Clinton
Samuel Stone
Thomas Hulton
Charles Dade
Charles Paul
G. Oakes Miller
H. Beaumont Leeson
J. Theoph. Debrisay
John Day Hurst

KING'S COLL.

G. O. Townshend
W. Gifford Cookesley

TRINITY COLL.

John Bishton
Robert Maitland
Henry Collins
John Hodgson
William Law
Marmaduke Prickett
Henry Ashington
Francis Ford Pinder
W. Margetson Heald
Evan Jenkins
Richard Atkinson

William Hopwood

Charles Nairne
William Mason
Markland Barnard
Robert H. Lewin
William Webb
John Dixon Hales
R. Bourne Baker
James Darnell
J. B. Bulmer Clarke
Henry Peter Daniell
John Fitz-Gerald
Thomas Stratton
John Roach Bovell
G. Henry Bower
William Overton
Oswald Head
John Warner
E. Arthur Smedley
James Losh
G. Darby St. Quintin
David Ricardo
Charles J. Sympton
John Lane Freer
George Thornton
Pierce Morton
Edward Heneage
John Alex. Kinglake
James Allen
W. M. S. Marriott
Thomas Rawson
ST. JOHN'S COLL.
George Hepper
Gawen Hodgson
W. H. Ricketts Bayley
John Hymers
E. Bowyer Sparke
Henry Jesson
William Keeling
W. Hallows Miller
William Metcalf
J. A. Deverell Meakin
Rice Davies Powell
W. Rolph Richards
Samuel Revell

H. Reginald Yorke
Richard Foster
J. Lynham Tanner
Benjamin Maddy
W. W. Robinson
John Henry Fludyer
J. Howard Marsden
John Pedder
W. L. Suttaby
Henry Fox
Edward Cole
W. Everest Stevens
F. H. Stoddart Say
G. H. Lee Warner
J. Henshaw Gregg
John Greensall
Josiah F. Flavell
Thomas Mee Gorst
John Henry Rowlatt
Frederick Jacob Hall
Frederick E. Gretton
Nathan Hubbersty
Thomas Hollway
Derwent Coleridge
Wm. Henry Foster
G. J. Philip Smith
Edward Gibson
Daniel Rose Fearon
Robert Lowe

ST. PETER'S COLL.

John Gautier Milne
William Stone
B. Franklin Couch
Samuel Hudson
R. Montagu Poore

CLARE HALL.

Thomas Bonney
John Champion
James Young Cooke

PEMBROKE COLL.

Robert South
Richard Trott Fisher
John Holt Simpson
John Wreford Budd

CORP. CHRISTI COLL.

Wm. Milner Farish
John Bragg
Philip Booth
William Wells

EMMANUEL COLL.

Ralph Clutton
Alex. Henry Small
William Jones
George Ainslie
H. Prescott Blencowe
Charles Tyrell
Robert Wilson

QUEEN'S COLL.

James Rawlings
Thomas Bell
Thomas Clark
John Simons
John Harington
Nicholas Chinnery
Richard Gascoyne
Henry Bagnall
Thomas Ramsay

CHRIST COLL.

James Pedder
Charles Wallington
T. Sheldon Green
Barwick John Sams
Oliver A. Heywood

SIDNEY COLL.

John Gibson
Henry Alford
William Sykes
W. Bagshaw Harrison
George Gibbons
George G. Wyatville
Anthony Boulton

CATHARINE HALL.

John Gibson

MAGDALENE HALL.

George Marriott
T. Lovick Cooper
Thomas Husband
Theodosius Wood

July 9.

Rev. Edward Cox, Trinity College,
Thomas Newberry, Queen's College.

July 6.

Rev. William Spencer Phillips, B.D.
late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, was
admitted *ad eundem*.

July 9.

Rev. Richard Greswell, M.A. Fellow
and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford,
was admitted *ad eundem*.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

July 4.

Rev. John N. White, St. Peter's Coll.
Rev. John Thomas, St. John's College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

July 4.

Rev. William Brown Hall, St. Peter's
College.

July 6.

Rev. George Pocock, Trinity Hall.
Harris Prendergast, Esq. Trinity Coll.
Rev. A. B. Russell, Emmanuel College.

BACHELOR IN PHYSIC.

July 4.

Leonard Richard Willan, St. Peter's
College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

July 4.

Charles Quayle Constable, Trinity Coll.
Roger Smith, Magdalene College.
William F. Raymond, St. Peter's Coll.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

July 4.

A grace passed the Senate for the adop-
tion of the following recommendation of
the Syndics appointed to consider of the
arrangements concerning the "Old Court,
lately purchased of King's College."

"That they consider it necessary that
provision should be made, not merely for
a large increase of the accommodation of
the Public Library, but likewise for four
additional Lecture Rooms, for Museums
of Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, and, if
practicable, of Zoology, for a new office
for the Registrary, for an additional School
for the Professor of Physic, and for other
purposes connected with the despatch of
the ordinary business of the University:—

That they consider the extent of ground,
now the property of the University, inclu-
ding the site of the present Library, as
amply sufficient for all these objects:—
That they consider it expedient to make
application to four architects, for complete
plans, elevations, and estimates, to be
forwarded to the Vice-Chancellor, on or
before the 1st of November next: and
that the Syndicate should be authorised to
give the necessary instructions; to offer
the sum of 100 guineas to each of the
three architects whose plans shall not be
adopted; and to make a further report to
the Senate before the end of the next
term."

July 14.

Rev. Samuel Wilkes Wand, M.A. of
Magdalen College, was elected a founda-
tion Fellow of that society.

Sep. 19.

Mr. Louis Wm. Simpson, of King's
College, was admitted a Fellow of that
society.

REPORT OF THE PREVIOUS EXAMINA-
TION SYNDICATE.

The Syndicate appointed by Grace of
the Senate, May 27, 1829, "to consider
what alterations it is expedient to make in
the mode of conducting the previous Exa-
mination," beg leave to recommend to the
Senate that the following plan of examina-
tion be substituted for that now in force:—

*1. That the previous Examination of
the Junior Sophs in the Senate-House
shall begin on the Monday in the week
before the end of the Lent term in each
year; and that this examination shall
continue throughout that week (with the
exception of Friday) and during the Mon-
day, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday
of the week following.

2. That the subjects of examination shall
be one of the four Gospels or the Acts of
the Apostles in the original Greek, Paley's
Evidences of Christianity, one of the Greek
and one of the Latin Classics.

3. That the appointment of the parti-
cular subject in the New Testament, and
in regard to the two last-mentioned sub-
jects, the appointment both of the authors
and of the portions of their works which it
may be expedient to select, shall rest with
the Vice-Chancellor for the time being,
the three Regii Professors of Divinity,
Civil Law, and Physic, the Regius Pro-
fessor of Greek, and the Public Orator
(provided that not more than two of them
are members of the same college); upon
this clear understanding, that in the exer-

cise of the powers thus to be vested in them they shall so limit the examination, that every one who is to be examined may be reasonably expected to show a competent knowledge of all the subjects.

4. That in case three or more of those to whom the appointment of the subjects of examination has been assigned, shall belong to the same college, deputies for any number exceeding two shall be appointed, every year, by a Grace of the Senate.

5. That every person, when examined, shall be required: (1) to translate some portion of each of the subjects appointed as aforesaid; (2) to construe and explain passages of the same; and (3) to answer printed questions relating to the evidences of Christianity.

*6. That previously to the commencement of the examination, the Examiners shall prepare an alphabetical list of all the persons to be examined, and divide them into equal portions according to the number of days of examination; and that they shall send a copy of such list to the Prælector of each college, notifying the day on which each of the persons to be examined belonging to that college shall be required to attend the examination.

*7. That each of the persons to be examined shall be required to attend from eight o'clock till eleven in the morning, and from twelve o'clock till three in the afternoon on the day of which he has previously received notice.

*8. That the persons to be examined each day shall be formed into two divisions; that each of these divisions shall be examined in the Greek subject by two of the Examiners, and in the Latin subject by the other two during the morning; and that the Greek Testament and Paley's Evidences shall be the subjects of examination in the afternoon.

*9. That the persons under examination shall be employed in translating the passages, or answering the printed questions proposed, each individual being called upon in turn during the time of examination to construe and explain passages of the appointed subjects.

*10. That in general the examination of each individual shall be concluded in one day, and that the result of each day's examination shall be notified as soon as conveniently may be to the Prælector of each college: but if the Examiners shall judge it expedient to examine any person further, in order to ascertain whether he shall be permitted to have a certificate of ap-

proval, they shall send notice of the day on which his further attendance will be required.

*11. That every Undergraduate shall be required to attend the examination in the year next but one after that in which he commences his residence.

12. That in case any one shall be prevented by illness (a certificate of which shall be submitted to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for the time being, for their approbation), from attending the regular examination of his year, he shall be required to attend the next following examination, and so on; and that, if any one shall absent himself upon any other account from the proper examination of his year, he shall not be allowed the term in which the examination takes place, and shall, moreover, be required to attend the examination of the next year, and so on.

13. That two classes (each of them arranged alphabetically) shall be formed out of those examined—the first consisting of those who have passed their examination with credit—and the second, of those to whom the Examiners have *only not refused* their certificate of approval.

14. That those who shall not be *approved* by the Examiners, shall be required to attend the examination of the following year, and so on; and that no degree of B.A. M.B. or B.C.L. shall be granted, unless a certificate be presented to the Caput, showing that the candidate for such degree has passed, to the satisfaction of the Examiners, some one of these examinations.

*15. That public notice of the subjects of examination in each year shall be issued in the first week of the Lent term of the year preceding.

16. That, in every year, at the first congregation after the 10th day of October, the Senate shall elect four Examiners, (who shall be members of the Senate, and appointed by the several Colleges according to the cycle of Proctors and Taxors,) to conduct the examination of the succeeding year.

17. That each of the Examiners shall receive 20*l.* from the University chest.

18. That the foregoing regulations shall not interfere with the composition between the University and King's College.

* The regulations, which contain deviations from those now in force, have an asterisk prefixed.

A grace for the adoption of the above recommendation will be offered to the Senate in the ensuing term.

COMBINATION PAPER.

PRIOR COMB.

- Agu. 2. Mr. Farbrace, Chr.
 9. Mr. Gedge, Cath.
 16. Mr. Howman, C. C.
 23. Mr. Hutchinson, Jes.
 30. Coll. Regal.
 Sept. 6. Coll. Trin.
 13. Coll. Joh.
 20. Mr. Synge, Pet.
 27. Mr. Sandys, Pemb.
 Oct. 4. Mr. Chaplin, Clar.
 11. Mr. Holditch, Cai.
 18. Coll. Regal.
 25. Coll. Trin.
 Nov. 1. Coll. Joh.
 8. Mr. Blyth, Chr.
 15. Mr. Dunning, Regiu.
 22. Mr. Dale, C. C.
 29. Mr. Whitaker, Emman.
 Dec. 6. Coll. Regal.
 13. Coll. Trin.
 20. Coll. Joh.
 27. Mr. Blackburn, Ch.

POSTER COMB.

- Aug. 2. Mr. Carnegie, Emman.
 9. Mr. Heathcote, Trin.
 16. Mr. Green, Regal.
 23. Mr. Nicholas, Regal.
 24. FEST. S. BARTHOL. Mr. Oldfield, Joh.
 30. Mr. Burroughes, Emman.
 Sept. 6. Mr. Richards, Regiu.
 13. Mr. Croft, Trin.
 20. Mr. Warren, Jes.
 21. FEST. S. MATT. Mr. Hind, Sid.
 27. Mr. Harvey, Cath.
 29. FEST. S. MICH. { Mr. Pope, Em.
 { Mr. Peach, Joh.
 Oct. 4. Mr. Attwood, Pemb.
 11. Mr. Pearce, Jes.
 18. FEST. S. LUC. Professor Henslow, Joh.
 25. Mr. Studholme, Jes.
 28. FEST. SS. SIM. ET. JUD. Mr. Greenwood, Cor.
 Nov. 1. FEST. OM. { Mr. Skinner, Jes.
 { Mr. Lunn, Joh.
 8. Mr. Venn, Regiu.
 15. Mr. Courtenay, Joh.
 22. Mr. Topham, Joh.
 29. Mr. Evans, Joh.
 30. FEST. S. AND. Mr. Wyat, Jes.
 Dec. 6. Mr. Hett, Jes.
 13. Mr. G. Ward, Trin.
 20. Mr. Wingfield, Clar.

- Dec. 21. FEST. S. THOM. Mr. Torlesse, Trin.
 25. FEST. NATIV. Mr. R. H. Simpson, Trin.
 26. FEST. S. STEPH. Mr. Tritton, Joh.
 27. FEST. S. JOH. Mr. Coldwell, Cath.
 28. FEST. INNOC. Mr. Tyson, Cath.

Resp. in Theol.

Oppon.

- Mr. Matthew, Trin. { Mr. Hett, Jes.
 { Coll. Regal.
 { Coll. Trin.
 Mr. Feachem, Joh. { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Lane, Magd.
 { Mr. Walker, Regiu.
 { Mr. T. B. Wilkin-
 son, Corp. C.
 Mr. Otter, Jes. . . . { Mr. White, Jes.
 { Coll. Regal.

Resp. in Jur. Civ.

Oppon.

- Mr. Hustler, Jes. . . { Mr. Doughty, Cai.
 { Mr. Clarkson, Jes.

Resp. in Medic.

Oppon.

- Mr. Stockdale, Pem. { Mr. Bond, Corp. C.
 { Mr. Mair, Jes.

Singuli suo ordine concionabuntur, respondebunt, disputabunt, cæterasque exercitationes ipsi per se suâ in personâ præstabunt, nisi justa causa incidit secundum Statuta approbanda.

Ad Conciones in Templo Beatæ-MARIÆ nullâ de causâ quisquam alterum sibi surroget, qui ad Concionem aliquam habendam omnino non sit (a principio ad finem circuli Combinationum) assignatus, sine expressâ licentiâ a Procancellario prius obtentâ, quo de ipsius gradu, sacris ordinibus, canonicâ obedientiâ, cæterisque requisitis constet Procancellario, antequam admittatur ad Concionem publicam.

G. AINSLIE, Procancellarius.

A Grace having passed the Senate to the following effect:—That those to whom the Sunday afternoon turns, and the turns for Christmas Day and Good Friday are assigned, shall, from the 10th of October, 1829, to the end of May, 1830, provide no other substitute than such as are appointed in conformity with that Grace:—The following persons have been elected, each for the month to which his name is affixed:

1829 October—Professor Musgrave, Trinity Coll.

November — Professor Scholefield,
Trinity Coll.
December—Mr. Corrie, Cath. Hall.
1830 January—Mr. Evans, Trinity Coll.
February—Mr. Bowers, Clare Hall.
March—Mr. Rose, Trinity Coll.
April—Dr. Walton, Trinity Coll.
May—Mr. Pooley, St. John's Coll.

There will be Congregations on the following days of the ensuing Michaelmas Term:—

Saturday Oct. 10, at ten.
Thursday Oct. 29, at eleven.
Wednesday Nov. 18, at eleven.
Wednesday Dec. 9, at eleven.
Wednesday Dec. 16, (end of term)
at ten.

PRIZES.

SIR WILLIAM BROWN'S MEDALS.

Subject (Greek Ode):—

“*γῆσαν, Αἰγαίη ὅσαι εἰν ἀλι ναυστάουσι.*”

Adjudged to

Charles Rann Kennedy, Trinity College.

Subject (Latin Ode):—

“*Cæsar, consecutus cohortes, ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provincie ejus finis erat, paulum constitit.*”

Adjudged to

Charles Merivale, St. John's College.

Subject (Greek Epigram):—

“*σκόπον δεδορκώς.*”

Adjudged to

Charles Merivale, St. John's College.

Subject (Latin Epigram):—

“*Splendidè mendux.*”

Adjudged to

Charles Merivale, St. John's College.

MEMBERS' PRIZES.

[Of Fifteen Guineas each, to two Bachelors of Arts, for the encouragement of Latin prose composition.]

Subject:—

“*An putandum sit posthac fore ut gentes Meridionales sub Septentrionalium viribus iterum succumbant?*”

Adjudged to

George Langshaw, St. John's College.

INDEX

OF THE

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

CRITICISMS, EXTRACTS, ECCLESIASTICAL AND UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

A.

Abbot, (George,) Archbishop of Canterbury, hostility of, to Laud, 422. 424—state of the Church at his death, 441.

Abbot, (Richard,) specimen of his insulting address to Laud, 425.

Alliance between Church and State, Warburton's theory of, examined, 232—235—observations on the dissolution of such alliance, 272—275—evils thereof, 301, 303.

Anne of Cleves, observations on the dissolution of her marriage with Henry VIII., 32.

Articles and Formularies of Faith which preceded the Thirty-nine Articles: account of those in the time of Henry VIII., 81—articles of Edward VI., 82—88—observations on some of the subscriptions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Thirty-nine Articles in the reign of Elizabeth, 89—92—and on the "Little Book" of articles referred to in the Act of 1566, 92—94—opinion of Bishop Pearson, that the articles were not substantially altered or added to in the time of Charles I., 95—statement and examination of the evidence that the disputed clause of the twentieth article was omitted by the Convocation, and added by Queen Elizabeth, 95—97.

Atheist, pastoral conversation with one, described, 217—219.

Authenticity of the Scriptures, general argument for, stated, 196—200.

B.

Bartholomew, (St.) See *Massacre*.

Bather, (Rev. Mr. Archdeacon,) observa-

tions of, on the Christian duty of forgiving injuries, 493—495—on the manner of preaching Christ, 495—497—and on the qualifications of the clergy, 497—499.

Battle of Dettingen, account of, 317—319.

Bébégi, an inland town of Africa, notice of, 64.

Belló, sultan of Sakatù, his treatment of Capt. Clapperton, 66, 67—anecdotes of, 68, 69.

Beverley Town, site of, 365—notice of John of Beverley, 366—modern changes in the town, 368—decorations of the church, 369.

Bishops, remarks on the nomination of, by the Crown, 294—296—and on their having seats in parliament, 298, 299.

Boleyn, (Anne,) observations on the annulling of her marriage with Henry VIII., 32.

Brantôme, (Abbé,) biographical notice of, 174, 175—his character as an historical writer, 176—signal instance of his carelessness and inaccuracy, 176—178.

Browning, (Mr.) on the definition of the term Huguenot, 179—his account of the massacre of the Protestants at Vassy, 180, 181—correction of his mistake respecting the conduct of the Duke of Anjou towards the Prince of Condé, 183—his observations on the letters of Pope Pius V. after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, *ib.* 184—account of the providential escape of the Marshal de la Force from that massacre, 185, 186—just strictures on Dr. Lingard's version of that transaction, 186—189—description of a procession of penitents got up by the Leaguers, 192, 193—

remarks on the style of his history of the Huguenots, 193.

Buonaparte and Cromwell, parallel between, 106, 107.

Burghley, (William Cecil, Lord,) early education of, 5—his proficiency at the University, 6—his studies at Gray's Inn, *ib.*—reclaimed from gambling, 7—his first marriage, *ib.*—discomfits two Romish priests, 8—is introduced to Henry VIII., *ib.*—succeeds to the office of Custos Brevium, *ib.*—is appointed Master of Requests to the Protector, Somerset, *ib.*—his second marriage, 8—providential escape at the battle of Musselborough, *ib.* 9—is appointed secretary to the Protector, 9—conference with Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, *ib.*—is imprisoned on the fall of the Protector, *ib.*—reappointed secretary of state by the Earl of Northumberland, *ib.*—observations on the conduct of Cecil towards his patron the Protector, 10—his public conduct as secretary of state during the reign of Edward VI., 10, 11—nominated chancellor of the Order of the Garter, 11—remarks on Cecil's conduct in signing the patent for altering the succession to the throne of England, *ib.* 12—he declares in favour of Queen Mary, 15—declines taking office under her, *ib.*—his occupations during retirement, *ib.* 16—services rendered by him to the Reformation, 16, 17—conforms with his family to Popery during the reign of Mary, 17—strictures on his conduct in this respect, *ib.* 18.

C.

Cambridge University, degrees conferred at, 260, 261. 514, 515—elections to scholarships, 265—prizes adjudged, 266. 518—junior sophs' examination, 262, 263—report of the previous examination syndicate, 515, 516—proceedings relative to the observatory, 265—lists of University preachers appointed, 517, 518—miscellaneous University intelligence, 263, 264. 515—result of Trinity College examination, 265, 266.

Catherine de Medicis, character of, 190, 191.

Cecil. See *Burghley*.

Charles I., coronation of, 430.

Charles IX. King of France, character of, 190.

Christ's kingdom, in what sense not of this world, 270, 271.

Christianity, duty and necessity of giving popular instruction on the evidences of, 194—196—on the present state of Christianity in North America, 288, 289—in what sense Christianity is part of the law of the land, 286, *note*.

Church and State, observations on the dissolution of the alliance between, 273—277. 301—303—examination of Warburton's theory of such alliance, 282—285—and of the possible case of a church established without any connexion with the state, 290—292.

Church of England, despoiled of her endowment by Henry VIII., 21, 22—and during the reign of Elizabeth, 24—fruitless remonstrances against these spoliations, 24—the character of its true reformers, 26, 27—particularly of Cranmer, 30—36—refutation of the assertion that the opposition of the Church of England to the measures of James II. commenced only when he invaded her rights, 40—44—doctrine of her liturgy, respecting the separate existence of the soul, 158—want of church-room the true cause of crime, 226—persecution no part of the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England, 275—277—observations on her ecclesiastical judicature, 277—281—apt representation of the actual state of the Church of England, 292—294—on the supremacy of the King in, 294—296—and his nomination of bishops, 297—effects of annihilating ecclesiastical establishments, 301—cases in which the Church has no power to interfere, 305—statement of her rights, 307—311—observations on the present dangers of the Church, 466, 467.

Clapperton, (Capt.) state of his health before he quitted England on his second expedition, 47—circumstances which led to his mission, 48—his associates, *ib.*—arrives at the capital of Yûriba, 50—and at the town of Jannah, *ib.*—notice of it, 51, 52—his interview with the cabecêira or chief, 51—death of some of his associates, 52—arrival of Capt. Clapperton at Ayô, 53—his interviews with the king of Yûriba, 53, 54—favourable reception from the sultan of Kiama, 57—arrives at Wawâ, 58—and at Busâ, where he obtains information respecting the circumstances of Mungo Park's death, 59, 60—his perilous journey until he reached Sultan Bellô's ter-

- ritory, 61—63—sufferings of Captain Clapperton on his journey, 65—arrives at the banks of the lakes of Gondamie, *ib.*—his interviews with Sultan Bellô, 66, 67—circumstances of his illness and death, 69—71—biographical notes of his early years, 71, 72—his interment by his faithful attendant Lander, 73—strictures on the manner in which his journals have been published, 78, 79—and on the itineraries communicated to him, 80.
- Clarendon's* (Lord) remonstrance to Archbishop Laud on the violence of his temper, 417—the archbishop's reply to him, 418.
- Clarke*, (Dr. Samuel,) argument of, for the immateriality of the soul, 135, 136—observations thereon, 136.
- Clergy* of the Church of England, lists of, preferred, 241—244. 500—503—ordained, 245—248. 504, 505—married, 252, 253. 509, 510—deceased, 249—251. 506—508—the firmness of the clergy helped to save the Protestant constitution in the time of James II., 39—their notions of non-resistance, 40, 41—their instrumentality in the three great national deliverances, 43, 44—observations on the manner in which the festival of the sons of the clergy is conducted, 485, 486—eloquent appeal in their behalf, 487—489.
- Cleveland*, (John,) the poet, tyrannical treatment of, by Cromwell, 118.
- Colepeper*, (Colonel,) extraordinary anecdote of, 382—letter of, on a process for embalming the dead, 383—propositions made by him to King Charles II. *ib.* 384—letter of, to the Duke of Marlborough, 384.
- Coligny*, (Admiral,) vindicated from the charge of being privy to the assassination of the Duke of Guise, 181, 182.
- Colynet's* History of the Civil Wars in France, notice of, 173, 174.
- Consecration* of the Churches of St. Catherine Cree and St. Giles by Laud, observations on, 440, 441.
- Cony's* case, observations on, 122—his successful resistance of Cromwell's tyranny, *ib.* 123.
- Coronation-oath*, not altered by Archbishop Laud, 430, 431.
- Coxe*, (Rev. William,) observations on the materials consulted by him for his *Memoirs of the Pellham Administration*, 314, 315—character of his work, 313, 314.
- Cranmer*, (Archbishop,) remarks on the charges brought against, 30—particularly his serving Henry VIII. in the affair of his divorce from Queen Katharine, 31—in annulling his marriage with Anne Boleyn, 32—in the dissolution of his marriage with Anne of Cleves, *ib.*—his interference in behalf of Cromwell, *ib.*—his conduct in the project of Northumberland, 33—his integrity in religious matters, *ib.*—particularly with regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, 34—his noble conduct at the stake, 36—the Articles of Religion published in 1551 compiled by him, 82—probable history of them, 86, 87.
- Crime*, true cause of the increase of, 225, 226.
- Cromwell*, (Oliver,) remarks on the steps by which he rose to power, 99, 100—description of his person in 1640, 100, 101—examination of the basis of his reputation as a soldier, 101—charges of cowardice brought against him by Lord Hollis, 102, 103, 104—and by Baillie, 102, 103—proofs that he was a brave man rather than a great general, by an examination of his campaign in Scotland in 1650, 105—and of the campaign which terminated in the battle of Worcester, *ib.* 106—his skill in influencing the minds of his soldiers, 106—parallel between him and Buonaparte, 107—his sanguinary conduct in the Irish campaign, 107, 108—examination of his character as a statesman, 108—origin of his power as a civilian, 108—at one period disposed to close with the king, 109—general estimate of him as a politician, 110, 111—character of his administration, 111—remarks on the policy of his conduct towards Holland, *ib.*—on his alliance with France and war with Spain, 112, 113—his government at home, 114—vigilance in obtaining intelligence, 115—disaffection of the English nation to him, *ib.* 116—remarks on his military decimation of England, 116, 117—extract of his instructions to his major-generals, 117—their tyranny, 118—unjustifiable interference in the courts of law, *ib.*—particularly in the case of Colonel Lilburn, *ib.*—and Sir Henry Vane, 119—caused several thousand captives after the battle of Worcester to be sent to Barbados and sold for slaves, 119—treatment of the petition of some persons who had been so sold, 120—tyrannical proceedings of

his high courts of justice, 121—he is foiled in the case of Cony, 122—Cromwell's interference in the nomination of juries, 123—nobly resisted by Sir Matthew Hale, *ib.*—unpopularity of his government, 124—description of his policy as a religionist, *ib.*—proofs of his hypocritical dissimulation, *ib.* 125—inconsistency of his conduct in regard to religious toleration, 125, 126—fanaticism of his chaplains, 127—his letter to the governor of Edinburgh respecting the Presbyterian ministers, 128—specimen of his oratory, 129—character of Cromwell by Clarendon and others, 130.

Cumberland, (Duke of,) checks the progress of the rebels in 1745, 333—severity of his proceedings in Scotland, 336—cruel sportiveness of some of his expressions, 337—his ungenerous omission to notice the services of his aide-de-camp, *ib.*

D.

Davila's History of France, character of, 167, 168—his opportunities for obtaining information, 167—observations on Mezeray's strictures upon his work, 169—and Maimbourg's, 170, 171—his character of Catherine de Medicis, 190, 191—remarks on his eulogy of Henry III. King of France, 191.

Degrees conferred, at Oxford, 254—256. 511, 512—at Cambridge, 260, 261. 514, 515.

De la Force, (Marshal,) providential escape of, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 185, 186.

Deluge, Druidical tradition of, 365, 366.

De Thou, biographical notice of, 163, 164—the best edition of his history published under the superintendence of Dr. Mead, 164—character of his Latinity, 165—Dacier's testimony to his character as a scholar, 166—his fidelity as a historian, *ib.*

Dettingen, account of the battle of, 317—319.

Digby, (Sir Kenelm,) anecdote of, 376, 377.

Dioceses, state of, in England and Wales, 240—251. 500—508.

Dissent, increase of, not the cause of crime, 226.

Dunbar, observations on the battle of, 106.

E.

Ecclesiastical Courts, observations on the judicature of, 277—280—and on the modifications which might be made, 280, 281.

Edward VI., account of the Book of Articles published in the reign of, 82—evidence that they did not receive the sanction of the convocation, 82, 83—examination of the contrary evidence, that they did receive synodal authority, 83—86.

Egypt, prophecies respecting and their fulfilment, 211.

Episcopalian, observations of one, on Church reform, examined and refuted, 267—313.

Evidences of Christianity, observations on the duty of stating them in a popular way, 194—196.

F.

Fanshawe, (Lady,) early education of, 372—married to Sir Richard Fanshawe, 373—account of her journey to Bristol, 374, 375—sufferings in the Isle of Scilly, 376—interview with Charles I. *ib.*—narrow escape from the rebels in Cork, 377—extraordinary adventure of a ghost, *ib.*—beautiful trait of her affection for her husband during their voyage to Spain, 378—visits him during his imprisonment after the battle of Worcester, 380—liberation of Sir Richard Fanshawe, *ib.*—they go to France, *ib.*—return to England with Charles II., 381—Sir Richard Fanshawe sent ambassador to Lisbon, 382—and to Spain, 384—his reception, 385—beautiful prayer composed by Lady Fanshawe on occasion of his death, 386—she returns to England, 387—observations on the manner in which her 'Memoirs' have been edited, 370, 371.

Fisher, the Jesuit, account of Archbishop Laud's conference with, 427, 428.

Force.—See *De la Force*.

Forgiveness of injuries, observations on the duty of, 493—495.

G.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, anecdote of, 9.

Gauden, (Dr.) remonstrance of, to Laud on the violence of his temper, 418, *note*.
Geology, science of, too imperfect at present to rank as an ally of divine revelation, 392, 393. 409—examination of Mr. Penn's scheme of Mosaic Geology, 395, 396—and of Dr. Ure's System of Geology, 397—410.
George II. intrepid conduct of, at the battle of Dettingen, 318, 319—his reluctant dismissal of Lord Granville, 327—notes of an interview between the King and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, 327—331—opposes the nomination of Mr. Pitt to be secretary at war, 334—ungenerous conduct of, to an old servant, the Earl of Harrington, 341—exposure of his low personal views with regard to Hanover, 341—345.
Germany, observations on the past and present state of religion in, 469—472—various causes assigned for the late relapse of the German Church into Rationalism, 472—479.
Gibbon's five causes of the propagation of Christianity, remark on, 205.
Gibson, (Bishop,) remark of, on the business of an ecclesiastical court, 279, *note*.
Glasgow, progress of sceptical principles at, 389, 390—effects produced by them, 390, 391.
God's name and house, conformity between the law of the Old and New Testament respecting the sanctity of, 226—228.
Gondamie lakes, described, 65, 66.
Gray, (Lady Jane,) observations on the patent for transferring the succession to the crown of England to her, 11—14.
Gregory XIII. approved the massacre of the Protestants in France, 178.

H.

Hale, (Sir Matthew,) anecdote of, 123.
Hallam, (Mr.) observations of, on the conduct of the clergy during the reign of Charles II. 40, 41—on Cromwell's administration of the laws, 123.
Hallet, (Mr.) observations of, on the cessation of the faculties of the soul at death, 147, 148—on the practical consequences of the doctrine of the materiality or immateriality of the soul, 161, 162.
Hardwicke, (Lord Chancellor,) notes of

his interview with George II. 327—331.
Harrington, (Lord,) appointed secretary of state, 327—his resignation and return to office, 335—appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, 338—his removal, *ib.*—efforts of the Pelham administration to provide for him, 339, 340—ungenerous conduct of George II. towards him, 341.
Harrison, (Sir John,) loyal services of, to King Charles I. 373—anecdote of his lady, 372.
Heathens, popular notions of, respecting the separate existence of the soul, 148—150.
Hebrew language, objections to, from its alleged scantiness and poverty, when compared with the Sanscrit or Greek, refuted, 349—refutation of philosophical objections against the Hebrew and Arabic languages, *ib.*—350—352—Hebrew not the native language of Canaan, 352, 353.
Henry III. king of France, anecdote of his reception by the Elector Palatine, 189—his character, 191—anecdotes of him, 192—Procession of Penitents got up by the Leaguers to soften his heart, 192, 193.
Henry VIII. king of England, remarks on the conduct of, in promoting the Reformation, 20, 21—his spoliation of church property, 21, 22—observations on his divorce from Queen Katharine, 31—on the dissolution of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, 32—and with Anne of Cleve, *ib.*—notice of the Book of Articles put forth in his reign, 81.
Hollis, (Denzil, Lord,) anecdotes related by him of Cromwell's cowardice, 102, 103, 104.
Hotham, (Sir John,) anecdotes of the apprehension of, by the rebels, 367, 368.
Huguenots, probable origin of the word, 179—curious etymologies of it, *ib.*—murdered at Vassy by the followers of the Duke of Guise, 180—remarks on that transaction, *ib.* 181.—See *Massacre*.
Huntingford's (Rev. Thomas,) strictures on Dr. Whateley's opinions, as tending to materialism, observations on, 130—132—on his perversion of Dr. Whateley's arguments, 133, 134.
Hypocrisy of Cromwell, 124, 125.

I.

Immateriality of the soul, Dr. Clarke's

argument for, 135, 136—observations thereon, 136 — Mr. Locke's opinion, 137 — difficulties attending the arguments of the strict immaterialists, 138.
Infidelity, progress of, among the mechanics of Glasgow, 389, 390—its effects, 390, 391.
Injuries, on the Christian duty of forgiving, 493—495.

J.

Jalibâ, river, course of, 61.
James I. efforts of, to restore episcopacy in Scotland, 444.
Jews, opinions of, respecting the separate existence of the soul, before the coming of Christ, 151—and during the time of Christ, 152.
John the Baptist, observations on the fulfilment of prophecy respecting, 206, 207.

K.

Katharine, (Queen,) observations on the divorce of Henry VIII. from her, 31.
Keith, (Rev. Alexander,) pertinent remark of, on Gibbon, 205—character of his work on prophecy, 203—205. 212—remarks on the execution of some parts of it, 206, 207—209—212—his view of the prophecies respecting Egypt, 211, 212.
Kennedy, (Mr. Vans,) objections of, to the Hebrew language being the parent of all languages, examined and refuted, 349—refutation of his objections to the Arabic language also, 349—352—his objections to the Mosaic history refuted, 353, 354.
Kiama, an inland town of Africa, notice of, 58.
King, observations on the supremacy of, 294—296—and on his nomination of bishops, 297.
Kulfû, or Kulfî, an inland city of Africa, trade of, 62—state of slavery there, *ib.* — Population, *ibid.*—character of the inhabitants, 63.
Kwarâ, a river of Africa, course of, 61.

L.

Lamb, (Rev. Dr.) opinion of, that the articles of 1552 did not receive the sanction of convocation, stated and examined, 82, 83—statement of the contrary evidence to prove that they did

receive synodal authority, 83—86—his observations on some of the subscriptions of the lower house of convocation, which are attached to the Latin MS. of the Thirty-nine Articles, 89, 90—examination thereof, 90 — 95 — correction of his mistake respecting the editions of the articles in which the disputed clause in article twenty is found, 97.

Lander, (Richard,) the faithful attendant of Captain Clapperton, his account of his master's last illness and death, 70, 71—and of his burial of him, 73—abstract of his perilous route towards the sea, 73—77—hospitably received by the sultan of Zegzeg, 75—attempts of some Portuguese slave merchants to get him poisoned, 77—his arrival in England, 78.

Laud, (William,) Archbishop of Canterbury, character of Mr. Lawson's life of, 414, 415—variety of opinions respecting, 415—sketch of his earlier years, 422—consequences of his marrying the Earl of Devonshire and Lady Devereux, 423 — prayer composed by Laud on that occasion, *ib. note*—became obnoxious to the Puritans, 424—his various minor preferments, *ib.*—specimen of the abuse uttered against him from the university pulpit at Oxford, 425 — his successful efforts, as dean, in restoring the cathedral and divine service at Gloucester, 426—introduced an organ into John's St. College, *ib.*—raised to the see of St. David's, *ib.* — holds his memorable conference with Fisher the Jesuit, 427—remarks thereon, 428—quarrel between him and Bishop Williams, 429—vindicated from popish innovations at the coronation of Charles I. 430, 431—remarks on the instructions drawn up by him, recommending the payment of taxes not imposed by parliament, 431—promotion of Laud to the see of Bath and Wells, 431—and of London, 435—obloquy unjustly cast upon him for procuring new statutes for regulating the election of proctors at Oxford, 435—his effort in suppressing abuses of the pulpit, 436—vindicates himself to Vossius, 437 — his integrity while at the head of the treasury, 438 — chosen chancellor of the University of Oxford, 438—not chargeable with the severe punishment of Leighton, 439—observations on his consecration of the churches of St. Catharine Cree and St. Giles, 440, 441—

advanced to the primacy, 441—resolves on decisive measures, *ib.* 442—interferes with the foreign Protestant churches in this country, 442—how far he was a party to the punishment of Prynne, 443—unsuccessfully attempts to introduce the English Church into Scotland, 444—his impeachment, 445—character of his “History of his Trial and Troubles,” 445—extracts from his vindication of himself, with regard to the imposing of the service book on Scotland, 446, 447—remarks thereon, 448, 449—severe treatment of him during the three years of his imprisonment without a trial, 447, 448—account of his trial, 448, 449—Laud unjustly charged with having forged the disputed clause in article twenty of the Thirty-nine Articles, 95, 96—general estimate of his character, 417—422—462—464—observations on his alleged political delinquencies, 452—on his treatment of Sectarians or Separatists, and his exaction of uniformity in the celebration of the public worship of the Church, 453—458—on his refusal of a cardinal’s hat, 459—461—conduct on that occasion, and his sentiments on a reconciliation with Rome, 461, 462—his meekness under calumny attested by Limborch, 464—testimony of John Hales to his intellectual endowments, 465—his liberality and zeal for promotion of learning, 466—extracts from his diary, attesting his benevolence and piety, 421.

Lav’s (Bishop) collection of scripture evidences for the unconsciousness and inactivity of the soul during the interval between death and the resurrection of the human body, examined, 142—146—observations thereon, 146,

Le Bas, (Rev. C. W.) eloquent appeal of, in behalf of the sons of the clergy, 487—489.

Leighton, (Alexander,) severe punishment of, not chargeable on Laud, 439.

Lilburn, (Colonel,) tyrannical treatment of, by Cromwell, 118, 119.

Lingard’s (Dr.) misrepresentation and palliation of the wholesale massacres of Queen Mary, exposed, 35—and of his account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 186—189.

Liturgies of the ancient Christian Church, testimonies of, to the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul, 157, 158—similar testimony of the liturgy of the Church of England, 158.

Locke, (Mr.) observations of, on the immateriality of the divine being, and of the soul of man, 137, 138.

M.

Maimbourg’s History of the League, character of, 172, 173—and of his other works, 172.

Mainwaring, (Dr.) proceedings of parliament against, for his political sermon, 434.

Marsh, (Bishop,) observations of, to prove that Tyndal’s translation of the New Testament was indebted to Luther’s German version, 233—236—reply thereto by Professor Walter, 236—243.

Marston Moor, observations on the conduct of the principal leaders in the battle of, 101, 102.

Massacre of the Protestants at Vassy, account of, 180, 181—providential escape of the Marshal de la Force from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 185, 186—celebration of this massacre by Pope Gregory XIII. 178—Dr. Lingard’s misrepresentations of it exposed, 186—189.

Materiality of the soul, observations on Dr. Priestley’s arguments for, 139—141.

Messiah’s kingdom, erroneous notions of the Jews respecting, 270.

Mezeray’s History of France, character of, 168, 169—observations on his strictures upon Davila, 169, 170.

Miller, (Rev. Dr.) observations of, on the change of the sabbath, 230—232.

Ministerial qualifications, 493—495.

N.

Nares, (Rev. Dr.) mass of historical materials consulted by him for his life of Lord Burghley, 2—plan pursued by him in that work, 3, 4—remarks on its execution, 4, 5. See *Burghley*.

New Testament, authenticity of, briefly stated and proved, 198—200.

Non-resistance, observations on the doctrine of, as held by the clergy of the Church of England in the time of James II., 40, 41.

Norris, (Rev. H. H.) observations of, on the conformity between the law of the old and new covenants respecting the sanctity of the name and place of the House of God, 226—228.

Northumberland, (Duke of,) observations on the conduct of, in altering, or procuring to be altered, the patent for transferring the succession to the crown of England to Lady Jane Grey, 13, 14.

O.

Old Testament, authenticity of, briefly stated and proved, 196—198.

Ordinations of clergymen, lists of, 245—248. 504, 505.

Oxford University, degrees conferred at, 254—257. 511, 512—prizes awarded, 259—prizes announced, 513—public examinations, 258, 259—miscellaneous University intelligence, 257, 258. 514, 515.

P.

Park, (Mungo,) account of the death of, 59, 60.

Parliament, right of bishops to a seat in, 298—and of the clergy to vote at the election of members of parliament, 299.

Paul, (St.) doctrine of, respecting the separate existence of the soul, 154, 155.

Pelham Family, notices of, 315, 316—education and early pursuits of Mr. Henry Pelham, 316—Horace Walpole's antipathy to him and his brother accounted for, 321—becomes prime minister, 317—322—congratulated on his appointment by the Earl of Orford, 323—his advice to Mr. Pelham, 323, 324—Mr. Pelham supports the grant to George II. for his Hanoverian forces, 324—pasquinades on the campaign of 1744, 325—difficult situation of his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, 325, 326—the Pelham administration present a memorial to the King, 326—death of Lord Orford, 331—the Pelhams not negligent in providing, though ineffectually, to meet the rebellion of 1745, 332—circumstances which led to the resignation of the Pelham administration, 334, 335—they are restored to power, 336—exposure of George II.'s conduct toward them, 341—345—character of Mr. Henry Pelham as a statesman, 345—anecdotes of his kindness, 346—his death, *ib.*

Penn's (Mr. Granville) scheme of the Mosaic geology examined, 395, 396.

Pius V. stimulated Charles II. to extirpate

the Protestants in France, 178—circumstances which render it probable that he was not privy to the plot for massacring them, 184.

Polycarp, testimony of, to the separate existence of the soul, 156.

Pozzo, (Count Ferdinand dal,) observations of, on the oppressed state of the Vaudois, 490—492.

Preaching of Christ, duty of, explained, 495—497.

Preferments, clerical, lists of, 241—244—500—503.

Priestley, (Dr. Joseph,) arguments of, for the materiality of the soul, considered, 139—141.

Priests, defeat of two Romish, by Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, 8.

Prophecy, observations on the fulfilment of, 214—216.

Prynne, (William,) punishment of, how far imputable to Archbishop Laud, 443.

Pusey, (Rev. E. B.) observations of, on the causes assigned by the Rev. Mr. Rose for the late lapse of the German Church into Rationalism, 472—474—reply thereto by Mr. Rose, 474, 475—causes assigned by Mr. Pusey, 476—479—remarks thereon, 479—Mr. Pusey's obligations to the unpublished lectures of Professor Tholuck, 482, 483—the practical effect of his inquiry into the causes of Rationalism in Germany, 483, 484—and on certain rationalist expressions made use of by him, 484, 485.

R.

Rationalism, causes of the late relapse of the German Church into, 472—479.

Rebellion of 1745, notices of, 333—336.

Reformation, observations on the instrumentality of Henry VIII. in promoting it, 20, 21—vindication of the characters of the English reformers, particularly of Cranmer, 27—36.

Romanists, observations on our duty since their admission to power, 44, 45.

Rose, (Rev. Hugh James,) object of his University sermons on the state of Protestantism in Germany, 469—his reply to the causes assigned by Mr. Pusey for the late lapse of the German Church into Rationalism, 474, 475—his account of the real causes of such relapse, 479—482—his observations on the extent of Mr. Pusey's obligations to Professor

Tholuck, 482, 483—and on certain expressions employed by Mr. Pusey, 484, 485.

S.

Sabbath-day, observations on the change of, 250—252.

Sack, (Professor,) observations of, on the past and present state of religion in Germany, 469—471.

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, vulgar mistakes respecting, exposed, 222—225.

Sanskrit language, a fabrication, 360, 361.

Sardinia, (King of,) his oppression of the Vaudois, 491.

Scotland, notices of the Rebellion in, in 1745, 333—336—Laud's unsuccessful attempt to introduce the Liturgy there, 444—extracts from his diary relative thereto, 446, 447—zeal of the Scotch for the solemn league and covenant, 444, 445.

Simon, (Père,) refutation of his objections to Bishop Walton's position that man must originally have been endued both with speech and with reason, 355—357—coincidence of his opinions with those of the modern neologians of Germany, 358, 359.

Soames's, (Rev. Mr.) observations on his character of the Reformers and Reformation in England, 27—29.

Sons of the Clergy, observations on the manner in which the festival of, is conducted, 485, 486—powerful appeal in behalf of the charity, 487, 489.

Soul, Dr. Clarke's argument for the immateriality of, 135, 136—observations thereon, 136—Mr. Locke's opinion on this subject, 137—difficulties attending the hypothesis of the strict immaterialists, 138—observations on Dr. Priestley's arguments for the materiality of the soul, 139—141—examination of Bishop Law's scriptural evidence for the unconsciousness and inactivity of the soul during the interval between death and the resurrection of the human body, 142—146—observations thereon, 146—on the popular notions respecting the separate existence of the soul, among ancient and modern heathen nations, 148—150—on the notions entertained by the Jews before the coming of Christ, 151—and during the time of Christ, 152—on Christ's relation of the different fates of the rich man and Lazarus, 153—on his promise to the repentant robber, *ib.* 154—doc-
NO. XII.—OCT. 1829.

trine of St. Paul on the separate existence of the soul, 154, 155—sentiments of the early Christians, 155, 156, 157—of the Christian Church in her public liturgies, 157, 158—particularly of the Church of England, 158—practical importance of the doctrine of the soul's separate existence, 159—162.

Supremacy of the crown, observations on, 294—296.

T.

Tertiary strata of England and France, alleged existence of, before the deluge, disproved, 407, 408.

Tertullian, testimony of, to the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul, 156, 157.

Tests of Scripture incidentally explained:

Gen. xv. 12,	353, 354.
Exod. xii. 40,	<i>ib.</i>
Isa. xiv.	151.
Mal. iv. 5, 6,	206, 207.
2 Macc. xii. 43,	45, 151.
Matt. x. 28,	144, 146.
Luke, xvi. 22,	24, 153.
— xxiii. 43,	<i>ib.</i>
John, xviii. 36	270 and <i>note</i> .
Acts, vii. 6,	353, 354.
— xxiii. 6,	152.
— xxvi. 5,	7, <i>ib.</i>
2 Cor. v. 1—9,	155.
1 Thess. iv. 4,	155.

Topographical researches of Leland, 363—progress of topographical study in the seventeenth century, *ib.*—encouragement now given to topographers, 364—plan to be pursued by them in their publications, *ib.*

Transition-rocks, observations on the formation of, 401—403.

Twistin, observations of, on the state of religion in Germany, 471, 472.

Tyndal's translation of the New Testament charged by Bishop Marsh to be borrowed from Luther's German version, 233—236—reply thereto by Professor Walter, 236—240.

U.

Universities, proceedings of:—Oxford, 254—259. 511—513—Cambridge, 260—266. 514—518.

Ure, (Dr. Andrew,) observations on the progress of sceptical principles among the mechanics of Glasgow, 389, 390—character of his system of geology, 396,

INDEX.

Norris, (Rev. H. H.) Sermons on occasion of the Royal Letter in aid of the Society for Repairing, Enlarging, and Building of Churches, 225.

O.

Oliver, (Rev. George,) the History and Antiquities of Beverley, 362.

P.

Pozzo, (Count Ferdinand dal,) the Complete Emancipation of the Protestant Vaudois of Piedmont advocated, 490.

Pusey, (Rev. E. B. D.D.) Historical Inquiry into the probable causes of the Rationalist Character in the Theology of Germany, 469.

R.

Rose, (Rev. Hugh James,) a Letter to the

Lord Bishop of London in Reply to Mr. Pusey's Work, 469.

U.

Ure, (Dr. Andrew,) A New System of Geology, 387.

W.

Walter, (Rev. Henry, B.D.) A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on the Independence of the Authorized Version of the Bible, 232.

Warton, (Rev. John, D.D.) Death-bed Scenes, Vol. III. 216.

Wilson, (Rev. Daniel,) the Evidences of Christianity stated in a Popular and Practical Manner, 194.

Wrangham, (Franciscus,) Biani Waltoni in Biblia Polyglotta, Prolegomena Specialia cum Notis, 346.

INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED.

* * For Remarkable Passages in the Criticisms, Extracts, Ecclesiastical and other Intelligence, see the Index at the end of the Volume.

B.

Bather, (Rev. Edward,) Sermons, 492.
Browning, (W. S. Esq.) the History of the Huguenots during the sixteenth century, 162.

C.

Church, Letters on the, by an Episcopalian, 267.
Church Reform, by a Churchman, *ibid.*
Clapperton, (Capt.) Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 46.
Cox, (Rev. William,) Memoires of the Administration of the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, 313.

F.

Fanshawe, (Lady,) Memoirs of, 369.

G.

Godwin, (William,) History of the Commonwealth, 98.

H.

Hull, (William Winstanley,) An Inquiry concerning the Means and Expedience of making any change in the Canons, &c. of the Church of England, 267.

Huntingford, (Rev. Thomas,) Testimonies in proof of the separate Existence of the Soul in a state of self-consciousness between Death and the Resurrection, 130.

K.

Keith, (Rev. Alexander,) Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion from the fulfilment of Prophecy, 203.

L.

Lamb, (John, D. D.) Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles, 81.
Lawson, (John Parker,) The Life and Times of Archbishop Laud, 412.
Le Bas, (Rev. Charles Webb,) Sermon at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, 485.

M.

Marsh, (Right Rev. Herbert, D. D. Bishop of Peterborough,) Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation, 232.
Miller, (Rev. George, D. D.) the Change of the Sabbath, and Institution of the Scriptures, illustrated from the Jewish Scriptures, 228.

N.

Nares, (Rev. Edward, D. D.) Memoirs of the Life and Administration of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 1.

397—examination of it, 397—proofs that the physical causes, which he has assumed, do not explain the geological facts which he ascribes to their operation, 397—403—and that he recognises the existence of geological events, which there is no reason to believe could possibly have occurred within the limits of the period to which he has restricted his inquiry, 403—407—refutation of his assertion, that the tertiary strata of England and France existed before the deluge, 407—410—concluding advice to Dr. Ure, 411, 412.

V.

Vane, (Sir Henry,) tyrannical treatment of, by Cromwell, 119.

Vassy, massacre of the Protestants at, 180—remarks thereon, *ib.* 181.

Vaudois, observations on the present oppressed state of, 490—492.

W.

Walpole, (Sir Robert, Earl of Orford,) letters of, to Mr. Pelham, 321—323—his death, 331.

Walpole, (Horace,) antipathy of, to the Pelhams, accounted for, 321—strictures on his *Memoires*, 332.

Walter, (Rev. Henry,) observations of, in proof of the originality of Tyndal's version of the New Testament, 236—240.

Walton's (Bishop) *Prolegomena*, character of, 347—and of Mr. Archdeacon Wrangham's additions, 361, 362—vindication of the bishop's position, that man must originally have been endowed

both with speech and reason, against the objections of Father Simon, 355—357.

Warton, (Rev. Dr.) extract from his account of the death-bed scene of an Atheist, 217—218—his interview and conversations with a murderer, 219—221—exposure of vulgar errors respecting the sacrament, 222—225.

Warwick, (Sir Philip,) his description of Cromwell's person, 101.

Wdwa, an inland town of Africa, notice of, 59.

Whateley, (Rev. Dr.) observations of, on the state of the soul, in the interval between death and the resurrection, 133—Mr. Huntingford's representations of his doctrine considered, 130—134.

Williams, (Bishop,) enmity of, against Archbishop Laud, 429, 430.

Wilson, (Rev. Daniel,) observations of, on the duty and necessity of giving popular instruction on the evidences of Christianity, 194—196—his statement of the general argument for the authenticity of the Old Testament, 196—198 and of the New Testament, 198—200 observations of, on the study of the Scriptures, 200—202.

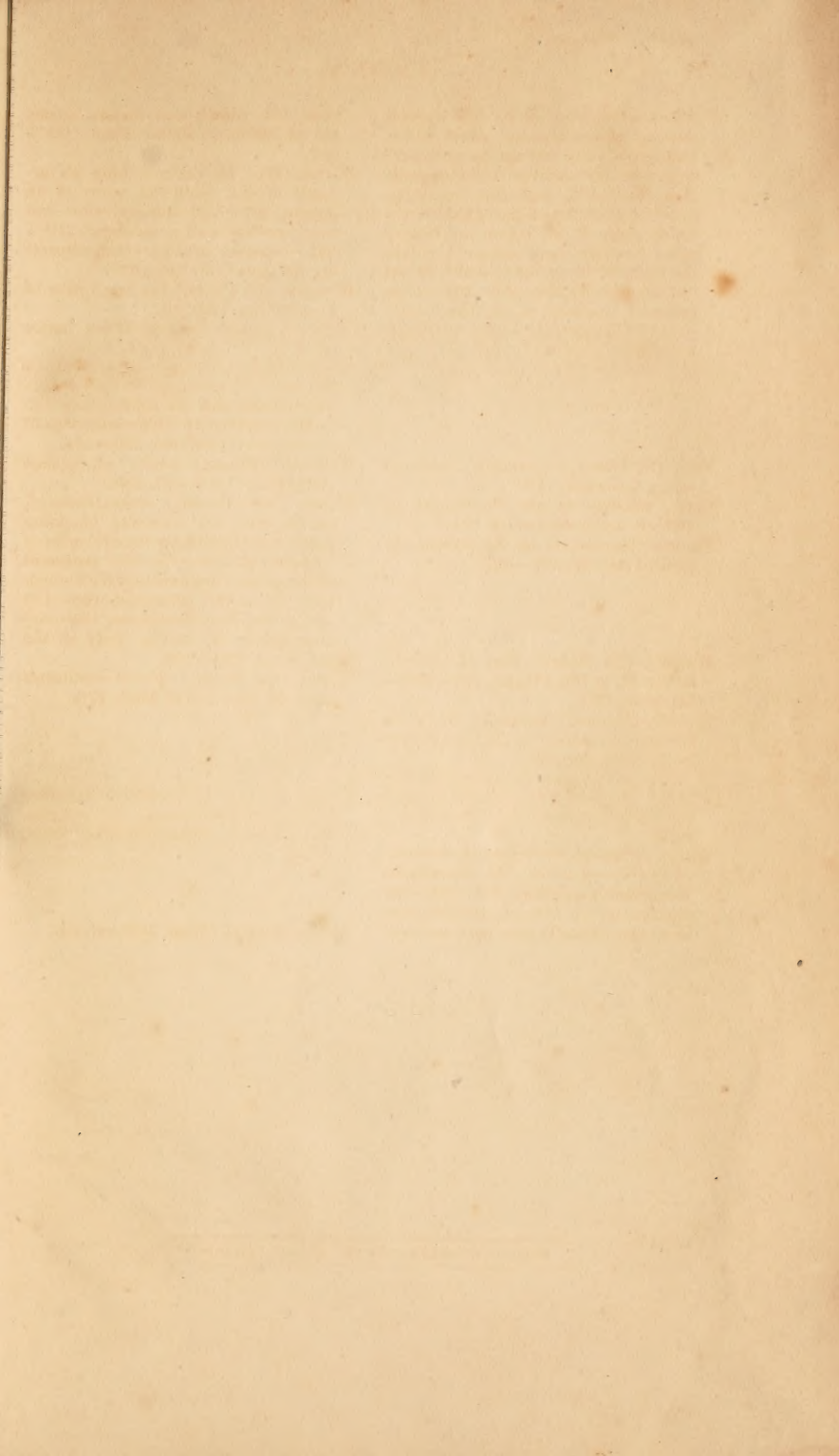
Wotton, (Sir Henry,) devout sentiments of, at the approach of death, 176.

Y.

Yariba, country of, boundaries and situation, 55—government and religion, *ib.*—human victims sacrificed there, *ib.* 56.

Z.

Zaria, a town of Africa, notice of, 64.





P

LE
D

322778

Author

British critic, ser.4.6,1829

Title

NAME OF BORROWER.

University of Toronto Library

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket
LOWE-MARTIN CO. LIMITED

